





**The Victoria History of the
Counties of England**

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

**A HISTORY OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
VOLUME II**

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



High Wycombe.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
BUCKINGHAM

EDITED BY
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VOLUME TWO



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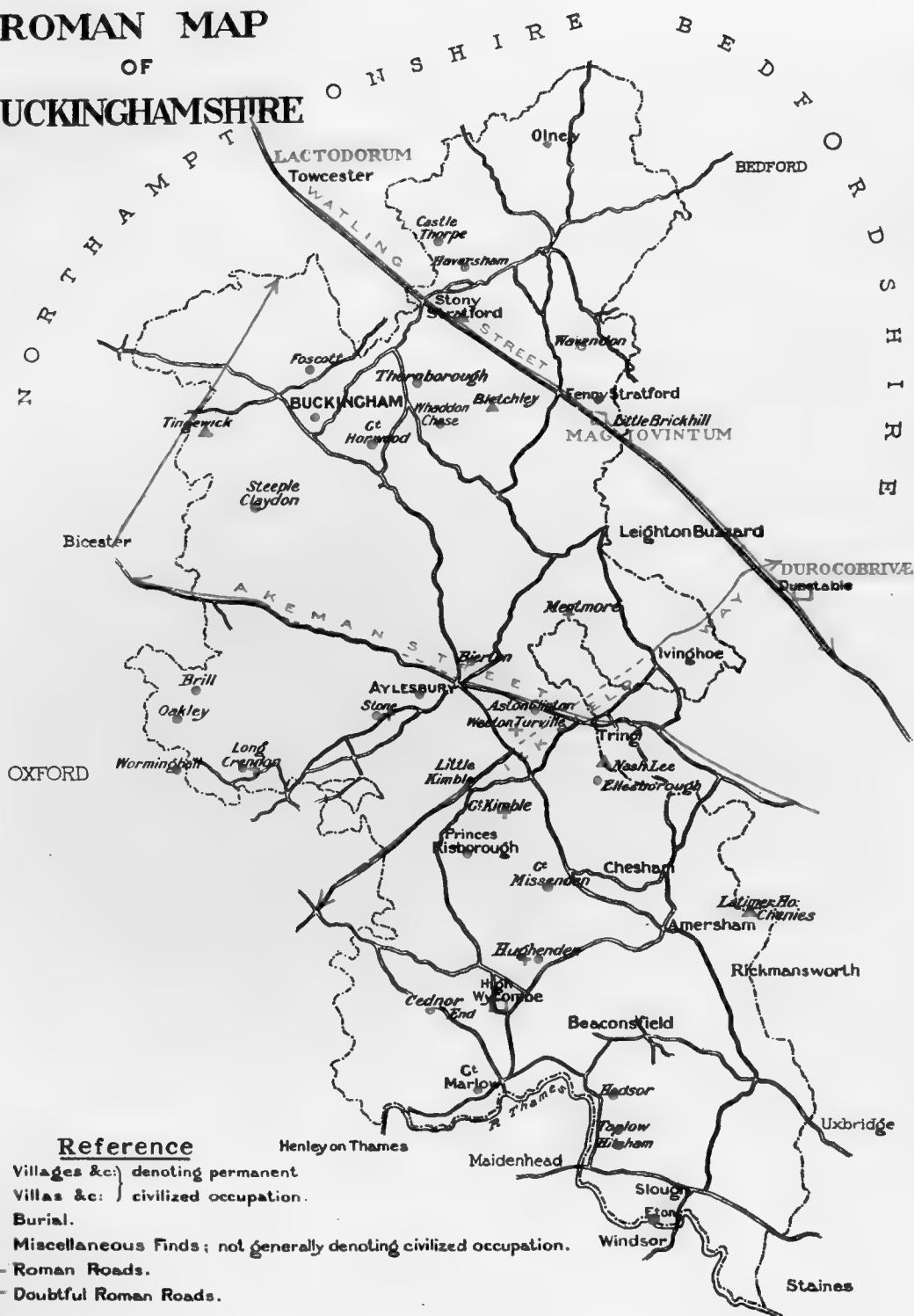
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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editor wishes to express his indebtedness to Prof. F. Haverfield, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., for reading the proofs of the article on the Romano-British Remains of the county; to the late Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A., for suggestions regarding the article on Earthworks; to Mr. William Crouch, clerk of the peace of the county, and Mr. A. J. Clarke, town clerk of High Wycombe, for information supplied to the author of the article on the Social and Economic History; to the Earl Howe, G.C.V.O.; Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.; Mr. A. Heneage Cocks, M.A., F.S.A.; Rev. G. Blamire Brown, M.A.; Mr. A. E. W. Charsley; Lieut.-Colonel L. E. Goodall, D.L., J.P.; Mr. A. Lasenby Liberty, D.L., J.P.; and Mr. W. Rose for information as to the history and descent of manors, and to Mr. A. Heneage Cocks and the proprietors of the *Reliquary* for illustrations.

A HISTORY OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

ROMAN MAP OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

THE county of Buckingham partakes of the essential characteristics of the midland counties, and shares in that lack of striking physical features which especially marks this part of England. It is traversed by no great rivers or high hills, the Chilterns constituting its highest range, and, with the exception of the extreme southern border where the River Thames divides the county from Berkshire, is unusually artificial in the position of its boundaries. Hence, taken as an item in the Roman Province of Britain, it is comparatively unimportant. It is difficult in describing its Roman remains to satisfy the demands which a county history necessarily makes, and to separate the county district from surrounding areas, or to evolve any history of these remains. Buckinghamshire constituted in Roman times a small district in that part of Britain which may be described as the Lowlands. The greater Roman highways for the most part run outside the county. It is only in the extreme north-east that one of these traverses it, and that only for a few miles, where Watling Street runs through Fenny Stratford and Stony Stratford. As a natural corollary to this, there were no towns of any importance throughout the district, nothing, in fact, larger than the posting station at Magiovintum on Watling Street. The Roman remains for the most part participate in the undistinguished character of the physical features of the county, and there is very little which can throw light on the character and customs of the former inhabitants.

With the exception of a few isolated sites, at Olney in the extreme north, at Mentmore in the east, and at High Wycombe, Latimer, and Great Missenden in the south, these remains fall into lines along the course of the roads or tracks in the county.

Thus, we have those near to the course of Watling Street, at Stony Stratford, Shenley, and a little distance from it, at Haversham and Castle Thorpe. There is another rough line of remains along the modern road passing through Buckingham and Fenny Stratford, consisting of those at Buckingham, Thornborough, Whaddon Chase, Bletchley, and Fenny Stratford, which last stands on Watling Street.

The third line constitutes the Roman branch-way from Alcester to Magiovintum and passes through Bicester, Steeple Claydon, and Winslow,

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

terminating at Little Brickhill; and the last line follows the course of the British way which runs in two parallel lines known as the Upper and Lower Icknield Way.

With regard to these remains there are two facts to be specially noticed. There are no traces of military occupation. There are few villas, and these, where they do occur, are unimportant, and lie away from the track of the roads.

The villas are insignificant in character, few in number, and, as would be expected from their position in the district, show no signs of wealth or luxury. They point rather to habitation by a poor people whose occupation was chiefly pastoral, as would be expected in low-lying lands. The traces of any local industry are extremely scanty, consisting simply of three isolated relics—the melting crucible and compasses at Tingewick, the steelyard weight at Haversham, and the kiln at Stone—and these indicate the satisfaction of individual needs rather than the establishment of any general industry. The villa at High Wycombe and the burial, apparently that of a woman, at Weston Turville alone raise doubts concerning the theory as to the poverty of the inhabitants of this district. The villa, by its size, and the burial, in the costly character of some of the relics, point to wealth possessed by the owners of two individual properties. Probably the valley of High Wycombe, in which the villa was situated, tended to the production at least of agricultural wealth.

The one great exception to the general lack of individual interest or importance is the pit at Stone. This is quite unusual in its characteristics (*vide* Index). The orderly nature of the remains found within it, together with the shape of the pit, has led many archaeologists to the conclusion that it was made especially for purposes of sepulture, and was not merely a rubbish hole, as are the majority of the somewhat similar pits which have now and again been described as sepulchral. It has been thought, indeed, to have been a rough columbarium, resembling in its general attributes those at Rome. It is compared by Akerman¹ with the pits at Ewell, near Epsom, and others in the Isle of Thanet.

THE ROADS

Watling Street.—Of the four great Roman roads mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, only one passes through Buckinghamshire. This is given in the Itinerary as running from Luguvallium (Carlisle) ad portum Ritupis (Richborough). Of this road the part between Uriconium (Wroxeter) and Richborough is generally known as Watling Street, and the part which here concerns us is that small portion running from Durocibrivae (Dunstable) to Lactodurum (Towcester), across a part of Buckinghamshire which can only be called its north-eastern protuberance. The Roman character of this road is testified with much certainty, both by literary and archaeological evidence. The distances given in the Itinerary—from Lactodurum XII m.p.m., from Magiovinum XVII m.p.m., from Durocibrivae XII m.p.m.—coincide with the distances between the modern Towcester, Little Brickhill, and Dunstable.

¹ *Arch.* xxxii, 451.

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

For once antiquaries are in agreement as to its course, which Lysons² describes in the following passage :—

The Watling Street enters the county with the modern Irish Road, at the 42nd milestone, and proceeds perfectly straight through Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford and Stony Stratford, at which last town it crosses the Ouse into Northamptonshire ; all traces of the Roman causeway are of course obliterated by the present turnpike road, but no doubt seems to be entertained of its line, whatever difference of opinion there may be in determining the sites of the Itinerary stations upon it.

Though all actual traces of the Roman causeway may have been obliterated, there exists almost certain evidence of its course, in the straight boundary line between the parishes which lie along the route between Little Brickhill and Stony Stratford. Moreover, the names Stony Stratford, Fenny Stratford, and Old Stratford speak of a Roman origin. The archaeological evidence is further strengthened by the discovery of what are certainly Roman remains at these places ; of foundations in the Auld Fields near Fenny Stratford, of an urn and bust of Roman workmanship at Little Brickhill, and the remains of a villa, and an urn containing silver plates, etc., near Stony Stratford.

But though there can be no question as to the course of Watling Street through the county, yet there has been much dispute with regard to the position of the Itinerary stations upon it. First as to Lactodurum. There can be little real doubt that the modern Towcester is built upon the site of this Roman station. But again and again we hear that Stony Stratford marks the site, and Stukeley, with his usual ingenuity, has derived the name Stony Stratford from 'Lactorodum,' which he takes as the name of the Roman station.

From Lactodurum we pass on to Magiovintum and Durocobrivae. With regard to these there can be little doubt that the Roman stations were at or near the modern Fenny Stratford and Dunstable, respectively, a conclusion which has been well worked out by Akerman.³ Indeed, it is only by placing the sites thus that the distances can be made to coincide with the distances given in the Itinerary. As to the precise situation of Magiovintum, however, many surmises have been raised, and Fenny Stratford and Little Brickhill have run the gauntlet of antiquarian opinion. Fenny Stratford has usually had the pre-eminence, for Leland, alone, of the antiquaries before the present century, places Magiovintum at Little Brickhill. It seems now better established, however, that Magiovintum should be placed at or near Little Brickhill, and that the site near Fenny Stratford has less probability.

The other Roman, or possibly Roman, roads are four in number, and are for the most part merely branch roads.

*Road from Bicester to Towcester, or to a point within some little distance of it.*⁴—This road, starting from Alcester, runs north-east and south-west between Fringford and Stratton Audley, through Newton Purcell, and enters Buckinghamshire a little to the north of Barton Hartshorn.

Here it becomes coincident with the north-west boundary of the county, proceeds to Little Tingewick, where its course is marked by a villa and a

² *Magna Britannia*, i, 483.

³ *Arch.* xxvii, 96.

⁴ Dr. Plot, *Nat. Hist. of Oxon.* x, 13 ; Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum*, 18, 21, &c. ; *Rec. of Bucks.* (Arch. Soc. of Bucks.), iv, 154 ; Burgess, *Roman Roads in Bucks.* ; Lysons, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 483 ; O.S. xxvii, NE. SE., etc. ; *V.C.H. Northants.* i.

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considerable number of remains. From here it passes to Water Stratford where the name again testifies to Roman origin, runs near Stowe, leaves the county near Lillingstone Lovell apparently on its way to Towcester, the Lactodurum of the Romans, where, or near where, it joins the Watling Street.

*Road from Grandborough to Akeman Street.*⁵—Mr. Haverfield has called attention to a possible road which would probably run into the Akeman Street. It began near to where the Claydon brook forks close to the Grandborough Road Station and followed probably the line of a boundary between the parishes of Grandborough and Hogsham to the place where the roads from Grandborough village, Grandborough Road Station, and Waddesdon meet. It thence follows the road to Waddesdon for about four miles, forming the boundary of various parishes.

Akeman Street.—This road runs from Alcester, where it is joined by another road (also called Akeman Street) which runs from Alcester to Cirencester. There are branches of the Akeman Street given by Stukeley and Dr. Plot, but little probability can be attached to these branch roads. Akeman Street proceeds by way of Waddesdon into Buckinghamshire, running through Aylesbury,⁶ where Roman coins have been discovered. There it takes a straight course through Aston Clinton and leaves the county west of Tring.

The Icknield Way.—It is fairly certain that this road must be considered of British extraction. In its general character it is quite unlike a Roman road.⁷ Mr. Haverfield thinks that some portion of it was employed as a road by the Romans, but that it was not Roman in its origin (1-in. O.S. Bucks., 237, 238).

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

ASTON CLINTON.—A Roman *amphora* was discovered in the spring of 1871 on the Vetches Farm. It was buried on its side in the large field immediately opposite the farm-house, about 2 ft. from the surface, filled with burnt wood and earth. It is 2 ft. 10 in. in height, 2 ft. 10 in. in circumference, and is now in the possession of Mr. W. L. Lutton, of North Church [*Rec. of Bucks.* iv, 147; Bucks. 25-in. O.S. xxxiv.]. Near Aston Hill is the supposed site of a Roman or British encampment. In a cottage garden, not many years ago, a coin of Vespasian (A.D. 70–9) and one of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) were discovered. They are now in the possession of Mr. Fowler, of the 'White Hart,' Aylesbury.

AYLESBURY.—Roman pottery, spindles, etc., were dug up in Granville Street; they are now exhibited in the museum at Aylesbury. Silver and copper coins were also shown in the Loan Exhibition at Buckingham, 1855 [Catalogue in *Rec. of Bucks.* i].

BIERTON.—Part of a large urn 15 in. in diameter, 12 in. in depth, said to be Roman, was discovered here 3 ft. from the surface. It was imperfectly burnt, and had a rude attempt at ornamentation. Human remains and coins were found in a field to the west of the Red Lion Inn [*Rec. of Bucks.* iv, 224]. Human remains and Roman urns were also found in a garden on the east side of a road to the east of the Red Lion Inn [25-in. O.S. xxviii, 2].

BLETCHLEY.—At the Dove Cote Farm, on the Shenley estate, near Bletchley, portions of a tessellated pavement, bricks and other indications of a Roman villa were discovered by Mr. Grimwood [Haverfield, 'Quarterly Notes on Roman Brit.' *Antiq.* xxxvii].

BRICKHILL, LITTLE.—Near Fenny Stratford in the parish of Little Brickhill a small intaglio (exhibited by Mr. Byles, of Boxmoor Station), of pale cornelian, of oval form and small size,

⁵ Bucks. 1-in. O.S. 219, 237.

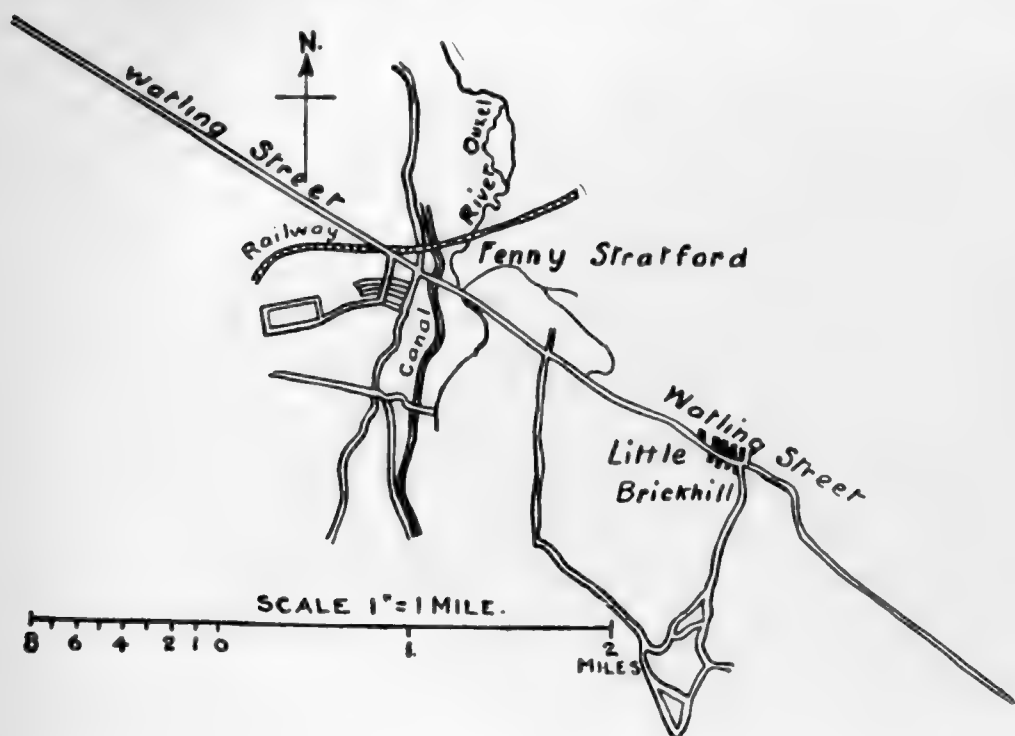
⁶ Burgess, 'Roman Roads in Bucks.'; *Rec. of Bucks.* (Bucks. Arch. Soc.), iv, 154.

⁷ For discussion as to the name vide *V.C.H. Norf.* i, 287. It crosses the Watling Street at Dunstable, enters Buckinghamshire a little to the north-west of Dagnall, and is to be clearly traced as far as Ivinghoe. Thence to Little Kimble, where there is a Roman villa and other remains, its course can only be conjectured, but from Little Kimble to Bledlow, where it leaves the county, it is again clear.

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

engraved with a figure of Jupiter, his right hand extended and his left holding a sceptre, with an eagle at his feet, was found with an early bronze *fibula* made in one piece, and a plain *armilla* [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), ii, 60]. The station of Magiovintum has been placed by the concurrent opinions of antiquaries at Fenny Stratford [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* i, 246; otherwise, *Arch.* xxvii, 96], a conclusion which Mr. Pretty of Northampton thinks is confirmed by the discovery of numerous Roman coins and other remains in its vicinity, more particularly in certain fields adjoining to and in the neighbourhood of the White Hart Inn; chief among these were the figure of an eagle discovered on Little Heath, and coins of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–35); two third brass of Gordianus Pius (A.D. 238); Postumus (A.D. 258–68); Tetricus (A.D. 268–73); Valens (A.D. 364–78); Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268–70) [*Rec. of Bucks.* v, 154; MS. Min. Soc. Antiq. xxv, 126. Inf. supplied by Mr. W. Bradbrook]; also a bust of Roman workmanship [*Arch.* xxvii, 96]. ‘At Fenny Stratford in a place called the Auld-Fields,’ says Lysons, ‘foundations of buildings have been found as well as coins’ [*Hist. Bucks.* 483]. The site of the Roman station of Magiovintum has been placed with more probability at Little Brickhill on the Watling Street, a short distance from Fenny Stratford.

BRILL.—Roman coins were discovered 14 December 1758 [MS. Min. Soc. Antiq. viii, 98]. There is a square entrenchment described as a ‘Roman Camp’ on Muswell Hill [Bucks. 6-in. O.S. xxvi, SE.]. Camden [*Brit.* ii, 330 (ed. Gough, 1722)] mentions Cold Harbour



PLAN OF LITTLE BRICKHILL

Farm, north-east of Brill, as the site of a Roman town, and he is quoted to this effect by Stukeley, but there seems no evidence to warrant such a statement, and the name does not necessarily imply a Roman connexion [Bucks. 1-in. O.S. 237].

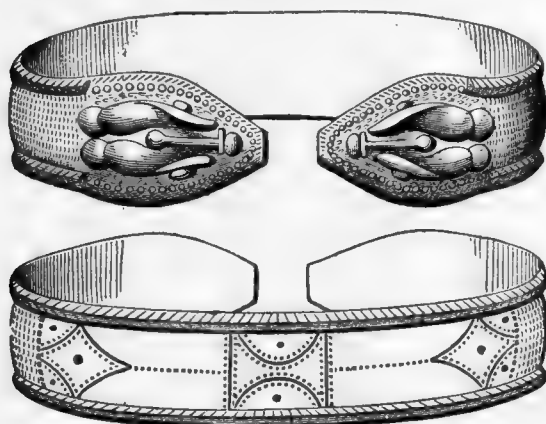
BUCKINGHAM.—Many Roman coins have been dug up in the vicinity of Buckingham; a coin of Antoninus (A.D. 138–61) in 1819 [Lipscomb, *Bucks.* ii, 547], and in 1741 a copper coin of Carausius (A.D. 287–93) [MS. Min. Soc. Antiq. iv, 56]. Pottery, coins, implements and ornaments from Grove Hill Farm, discovered in 1875, were also exhibited at the Loan Exhibition, Aylesbury, July 1905, by Mr. T. Gardner [*Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*].

CADMORE END.—In 1877 five Roman coins were discovered here, of Titus (A.D. 79–81), Domitian (A.D. 81–96), Trajan (A.D. 98–117), Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), Faustina (A.D. 138–41), respectively. They were exhibited in the Loan Exhibition at Aylesbury 1905, by the Rev. R. Bruce Dickson of Stewkley [*Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*].

CASTLE THORPE.—In a field called Burtles Hill was found a small black urn containing a pair of *armillae* and a silver ring, with twenty silver and about twenty-five large brass coins of the Upper Empire, ranging from Nero (A.D. 54–68) to Verus (A.D. 166–70), one being a coin of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61) with Britannia reverse. The coins are now in the possession of

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Mr. F. H. Hughes [*Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* ii, 352-3; *Num. Chron.* vii, pl. iv.] Bracelets of the pattern illustrated have been found more than once in England, and can be dated with precision. They are of base silver, with the terminals slightly expanded to represent serpents' heads, and the hoop engraved with geometrical designs. The serpents' heads may have had some religious significance [cf. gold specimen from Backworth, Northumberland, *Arch. Journ.*



ARMILLAE FROM CASTLE THORPE

viii, 39]. They were originally in the Bateman Collection, Lomberdale House, Derbyshire, but are now in the British Museum. Similar bracelets have been found near Carlswark, Derbyshire [Jewitt, *Reliq.* viii, 113], at Ham Saltings, Upchurch, Kent, now in the British Museum with part of another from Coldham Common, Cambs. [Payne, *Collectanea Cantiana*, 74]. The ring which is set with a cornelian intaglio is of a type common about A.D. 200 [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 35; Bateman Coll., Lomberdale House, *Catalogue*, 130-1; *Reliq.* xiii, pl. xviii]. Though a skull and pottery fragments were later found on the site, this deposit of about A.D. 170 was evidently a hoard un-

connected with any burial. Mr. Pretty of Northampton, who recorded the find, added that there was probably a villa at Calverton End near Castle Thorpe, a fact which he deduced from the discovery of pottery there. Professor Haverfield, however, considers that this is inconclusive. Mr. Pretty's additional note on the subject of the Portway Lane in Castle Thorpe drew attention to the fact that the name Port does not imply a Roman origin.

COLNBROOK.—Camden [*Brit.* 327 (ed. Gough, 1722)] wrongly identifies Colnbrook with the *Pontes* of Antoninus, because it is at equal distance on both sides from Wallingford and London, and here the Coln is divided into four channels, which, for the convenience of travellers, have as many bridges over them [Reynolds, *Iter. Brit.* (1848), 340].

CRENDON or LONG CRENDON.—In the year 1824 labourers, digging in a field at the north side of the church near a road named the Angle Way, found the remains of a cemetery near the supposed site of the castle of the Giffards. The field which contained these remains is of stone brash, in which each of the urns discovered was embedded separately. The principal objects found were an urn described as of blue clay, unglazed; a small portion of another urn, of large size, 3 ft. in height, diameter at brim 6 in., with handles 5 in. in circumference, joined to the neck and body of the vessel, which was of coarse yellowish ware, with a reddish tint. It was quite plain, had the marks of the lathe perfect, and appeared to have been coated with varnish. Besides ashes and burnt bones, including those of birds, there were also found seven rings of brass, so much decayed that the stones set in most of them were corroded and destroyed. Two of these had portions of wire attached to them and might have been ear pendants. There were also found a number of small urns; eight *paterae* of Samian ware, each 6½ in. in diameter, 1½ in. deep, having a small rim; one stamped OF. L. Q. VIRIL.; a small incense pot of the same fabric formed in two half circles, the larger above the smaller, and, intersecting it, with a circular stamp or cipher at the bottom; a lamp quite perfect and of the same ware; a small sarcophagus containing three small urns all perfect [Lipscomb, *Bucks.* i, 212; C. R. Smith, *Coll. Antiq.* iv, 155; Letter from G. Lipscomb, *Gent. Mag.* (1831)]. There was also found at a later date near the site of the former discoveries a pot of small Roman coins, some of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). The greater number were much corroded. It is probable that this group of remains is of Roman date, but a further note of Lipscomb points to the fact that a Saxon interment was made on the site of the Roman one, as some of the remains which he indicates could not have been Roman. He adds: 'Many skeletons were found regularly interred, and near them abundant and satisfactory indications of cremation and urn burial; great quantities of ashes, *scoriae* and semi-vitrified masses, together with vast numbers of fragments of urns and other vessels, bones of large quadrupeds and of birds promiscuously intermingled.'

ELLESBOROUGH.—Foundations of buildings [Lysons, *Bucks.* 483] and Roman coins have been found here [Lipscomb, *Bucks.* ii, 171. *Vide* Little Kimble].

ETON.—A Roman vase was discovered in 1863-4, 507 yds. north of Barnes Pool Bridge, a little to the west of the main road from Windsor to Slough. A Roman urn, 21 in. high, and the same

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

in extreme diameter was discovered in 1890 about 18 in. below the surface of a field at Willowbrook, a little to the north of Eton on the way to Slough [Inf. from Mr. R. P. L. Booker, M.A., F.S.A.].

FOSCOTT.—The following remains from a supposed Roman villa at Foscott were exhibited at the Loan Exhibition at Buckingham in 1855, by the Rev. W. Lloyd of Lillingstone. Hypocaust tiles, bone spoons, pin, part of bone pipe, a bronze socket, glass and pottery fragments, a piece of oak pile, and some glass, also fragments of tessellated pavement [Catalogue of Exhibition, *Rec. of Bucks*, i].

HAVERSHAM.—A Roman steelyard weight in form of a woman's head was ploughed up in the parish of Haversham near Newport Pagnell [*Bucks. N. and Q.* (1901), 228; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), v, 13]. Roman coins have also been found here, one a first brass of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80) [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 355]. Mr. Pretty of Northampton, who notes the discovery of the coins, adds that it is a significant fact that the coins found on the Buckingham side of the River Tove, among which those at Haversham are included, are generally of earlier date than those discovered at Cosgrove, Old Stratford, and Paulerspury.

HEDSOR.—The remains of pile dwellings were discovered here in 1894, but the objects accompanying them, e.g. spear heads and the bones of animals, point to a pre-Roman origin [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (Ser. 2), v, 267]. Similar dwellings have been found at Cookham in Berkshire, which is near Hedsor [*V.C.H. Berks.* i, 198, 205].

HITCHAM.—A Roman key, together with Roman coins, was found near the present Bath road [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiii, 206; xlix, 176].

HORWOOD, GREAT, AND WINSLOW.—A silver drinking-cup of late Roman work, of a common form in pottery, but uncommon in silver, height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., greatest width $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., was

turned up in a field and broken by the ploughshare, so that the fracture revealed other objects, some of which had been bent in order to put them into the cup: two silver spoons, very much bent, having oval bowls decorated with a kind of ribbed or feathery pattern; one had the inscription *VENERIA VIVAS* (compare with this a sepulchral inscription to Lady Veneria in the Museum at Caerleon). Altogether five spoons were found on this occasion, and a small pin $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with a flat circular head, closely resembling other



SARCOPHAGUS CONTAINING THREE URNS AT CRENDON

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Roman pins in bronze ; a small *fibula*, showing signs of wear, the type of which is rare in England ; also a silver ring with octagonal exterior and a blank facet [*Rec. of Bucks.* iv, 209 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxxiii, 357].

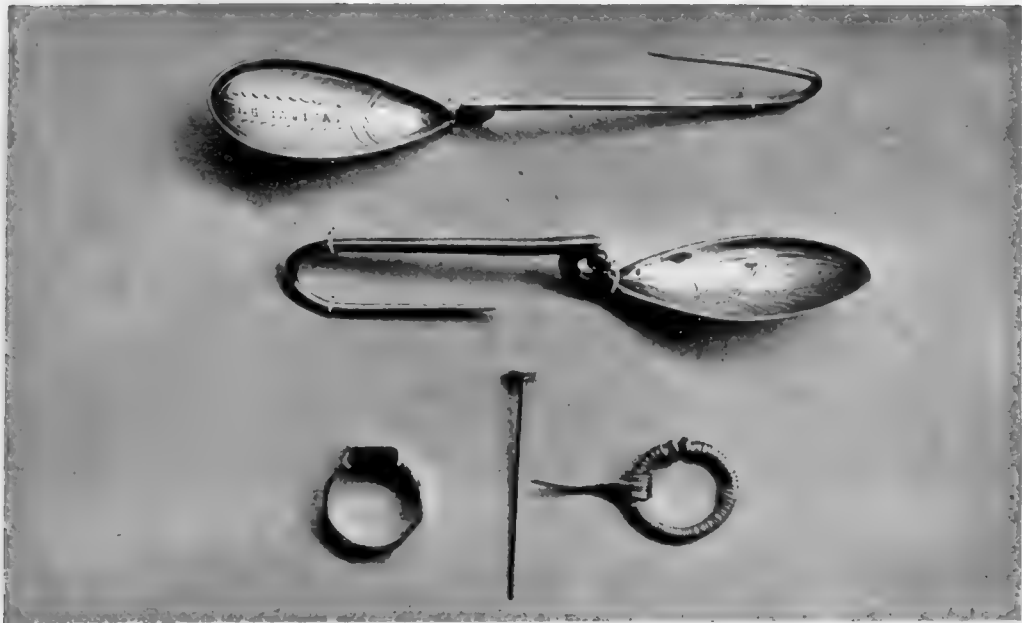
HUGHENDEN.—In 1826 an urn containing four small silver coins and three copper ones was turned up in a field near Hazlemere turnpike-gate ; near this deposit was an arch of flints, supported by two side walls, about the size of a common grave, not more than 3 ft. long. About it were several broken Roman tiles, pieces of urns, fragments of unburnt pottery and of what appeared to be part of a quern [Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* iii, 583]. It has been suggested that this was a Roman burying-place, but there is not sufficient evidence for such a conclusion. Yet the remains are not entirely Roman in character, for a battle-axe was also discovered, which points to a deposit, perhaps a later one, of Saxon origin. A vase, probably Roman, was also discovered in the excavations at Hughenden Vicarage, 1883. This was exhibited at the Loan Exhibition at Aylesbury, 1905 [*Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*].

KIMBLE, GREAT.—Great Kimble stands on the higher track known as the Upper Icknield Way, to which should probably be assigned a British origin, though it is possible that the road was here used by the Romans. The following remains were found in a barrow and are very probably British, although described as Romano-British [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xii, 340] : two urns, the larger of the two in an inverted position with the smaller one resting on its shoulder, 17 in. in height, containing white powder and a small perforated vessel, which was possibly an incense cup, these were buried in a shallow grave in the chalk. The lower part of the grave was covered with black ashes. Lipscomb [*Hist. Bucks.* ii, 341] also speaks of a square camp commanding the track of the Icknield Way, on the brow of the hill, south of the church, at the north-west corner of Pulpit Wood.

KIMBLE, LITTLE.—The remains possibly of a Roman villa were discovered here. Fragments of a small tessellated pavement were found near the turnpike road, laid in mortar, measuring 4 ft. by 3 ft. Foundations of flint were discovered at the same time, and in the adjoining fields near Great Kimble, Roman tiles and coins have been occasionally found, and buckles, rings, tiles, *tesserae*, and painted plaster, fragments of which were exhibited at the Loan Exhibition at Buckingham, 1855 [*Rec. of Bucks.* i, 39 ; *Ibid.* 'Catalogue of Exhibition']. The three sites of Great Kimble, Little Kimble, and Ellesborough are in such close proximity that it is possible the three together formed one settlement.

LATIMER.—A little to the south-west of Latimer, which is situated on the road from Chenies to Chesham, is Dell Farm, shut in on two sides by Lane Wood and West Wood. On this spot there is a slightly-elevated mound, in which Roman *tesserae* were discovered in 1834 by workmen who were employed in diverting the road here, which originally ran between the farmhouse and the river. A few yards to the north-west were four human skeletons with coins and fragments of earthen vessels deposited near them, which were taken away by a stranger. The following account of later discoveries is given by the Rev. Bryant Burgess [*Rec. of Bucks.* iii, no. 5, pp. 181–5]. 'In 1863 numerous *tesserae* of various sizes, pieces of tile and mortar, with the peculiar pink tinge which is characteristic of Roman manufacture, were found lying by the side of the road where it was cut through the mound, and at three inches below the level of the road a tessellated pavement of coarse red ware.'

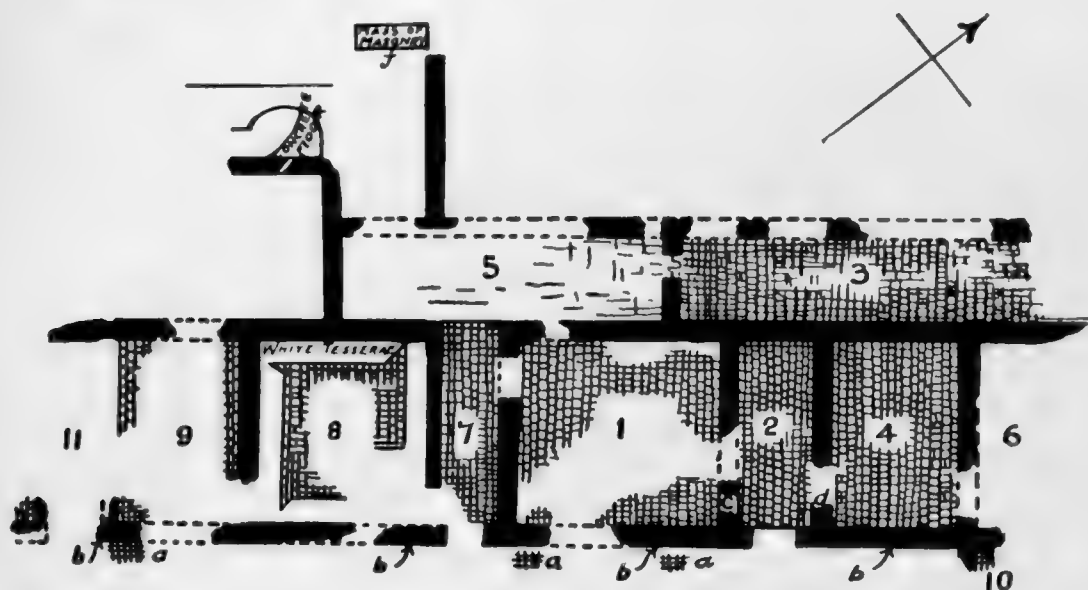
Excavations were made in 1864 and are described by Mr. Bryant Burgess. From his description it appears that a portion of a villa of the corridor type was disclosed, comprising a range of rooms with a corridor on the north-west 8 ft. 6 in. wide (3, 5 on plan). The corridor was divided by a wall and doorway, to the south-west of which it ran for 34 ft. and was paved with flat tiles 16 in. by 12 in., and to the north-east it was traced for 39 ft. and was paved with red *tesserae*. There was probably a corridor on the opposite side of the range of rooms, as fragments of a tessellated floor were discovered at *a, a, a*, on plan. Room 1 (see plan) measured 19 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. ; the *tesserae* in the room were 1½ in. square. The walls were plastered, and the part remaining was coloured a dull red, but pieces of plaster were found in the room painted white with a red or green stripe, and some of three different colours. The floor here, as in the other rooms, was covered with a black powder of decayed wood, with which iron nails from 1½ in. to 5 in. in length were intermingled ; above this was a mass of broken ridge and flanged tiles, together with large flints and mortar, evidently the remains of the rafters and roof-tiles. These would perhaps point to the villa having fallen to decay and not having been destroyed. Room 2, which was 19 ft. 6 in. in length by 9 ft. 3 in. in breadth, communicated with room 1 by a doorway 5 ft. wide, and also by another doorway to room 4. Possibly it was a vestibule, as it had a doorway 6 ft. wide through the north-east wall. The floor was of concrete. Room 4 was 19 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. It was paved with red *tesserae*, and contained a considerable quantity of broken pottery and charred wood. Upon the south-west wall were the remains of colour. Rooms 6 and 10 were only partially traced. A few *tesserae*



SILVER SPOONS, ETC. FROM GREAT HORWOOD

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were found in one corner of each, but the ground had been lowered at a previous date and the floor destroyed. Room No. 7 formed a passage 5 ft. 5 in. wide, with a step at the entrance to the north-west corridor. It was paved with red *tesserae*. Room 8 was 19 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 9 in. The wall on the south-east was scarcely traceable, but the other walls were in good condition to the height of 18 in. The pavement, the middle of which was destroyed, was of white *tesserae* for a width of 27 in. from the wall; the interior, so far as it remained, had the usual red pavement, but in the three corners it was continued for some inches into the border. Room 9 measured 19 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 9 in.; the *tesserae* of the pavement were mostly red, with a few white, yellow, and black, which in some cases adhered together in an ornamental pattern as they had been laid. Room 11 was probably a passage. Another range of buildings extended to the north-west of room 5, and at *f* there was a mass of rubble wall with tile courses, which was traced to a depth of 4 ft. Here a number of small bones of a cat or rabbit were found. The following articles were found in the villa:—Two brass coins of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–37); a brazen or copper coin of Tetricus (A.D. 268–73); a small British coin of brass, possibly of the age of Tetricus; a pin of ivory or very hard bone, carved, in perfect preservation, except the point, measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; another pin, of darker colour, and finer workmanship, imperfect; a great deal of broken pottery, with a few pieces of Castor and Samian ware; a piece of stag's horn; oyster shells and whelks, the former in considerable



PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA DISCOVERED AT LATIMER. Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

quantities; pointed pieces of iron, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length; pieces of lead and a large quantity of iron nails; a small piece of a glass vessel and fragments of window-glass; flue-tiles, mostly broken, measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., one nearly perfect, ornamented on two sides with a pattern, the rest merely scored on the wider side with a comb; flanged roof-tiles, measuring 16 in. by 12 in. at the broader and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the narrower end, but the measurements vary considerably in different tiles; these, together with ridge-tiles measuring about 15 in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. were found mostly in a broken state, overlying the pavements in all parts of the building [*Rec. of Bucks.* iii (5), 181, et seq.].

LEE.—Roman remains from Bray's Wood, near Lee, were exhibited at the Loan Exhibition at Buckingham, July 1855. There is a square entrenchment at Bray's Wood [Bucks. 6-in. O.S. xxxviii, NE.; *Rec. of Bucks.* vi, 297; Lipscomb, *Bucks.* ii, 359].

MARLOW.—On 4 May 1780 two small bronze human figures, supposed to be of women, were found near Marlow [MS. Min. Soc. Antiq. xvii, 37]. In February 1779 a bronze Roman *fibula* was also found near here [MS. Min. Soc. Antiq. xvi, 213].

MENTMORE.—Remains were discovered here which possibly indicate a Saxon interment on a Roman site, though the coins, which are the only indication of a Roman origin, may have accompanied the Saxon burial [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* iii, 72]. In 1852 there were found a spear-head (obviously a Saxon relic), a bronze clasp, a coin of Constans or Constantius, several bones of animals, and Roman coins [Bucks. 6-in. O.S. xxiv, SE.]. At a date previous to this a cup-shaped *fibula* and an 'ornament probably from a soldier's belt' were revealed [*Arch.* xxxv, 380].

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MISSENDEN, GREAT.—Fragments of Roman pottery have been dug up to the south-east of the village [*Rec. of Bucks.* vi, 297].

NASH LEE.—At this place is said to be the site of a Roman villa [6-in. O.S. Bucks. xxxiii, SE. par. Ellesborough]. The following extract is given in the Name Book of the original Ordnance Survey of Buckinghamshire, dated 1896-8 :—‘No visible remains of this ancient building now exist, but undoubted evidence of its former existence were discovered by the late G. S. Stone, Esq. In the month of September 1858 the foundations of a Roman Villa, together with Roman tiles and pieces of Roman pottery, including the greater portion of two urns and two bronze coins, one on the foundation and the other a short distance off, were discovered by this gentleman and presented by him to the Bucks. Archaeological Society.’

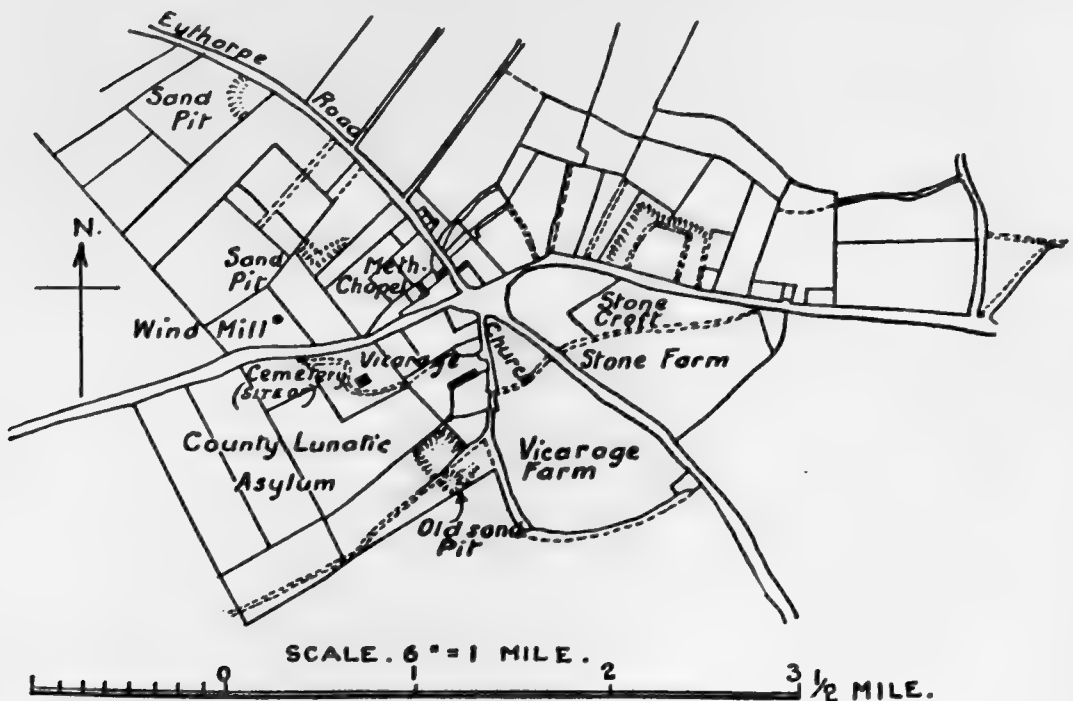
OAKLEY.—Roman pottery and coins were found in a field on Ixhill Farm, midway between Oakley and Worminghall, also part of a flue-tile. In 1892 excavations were made to remove some large stones which interfered with ploughing, and several cart-loads of stone were dug up and removed, which, it has been suggested, point to the existence of some Roman building here [*Journ. of the Berks. Bucks. and Oxon. Assoc.* iv, 46].

OLNEY.—Silver coins were found in the neighbourhood between the Lavendon and Warrington Roads in a field called Ashfurlongs, north of Olney; three of Gratian (A.D. 375-84) or Gallienus (A.D. 253-68), Victorinus (A.D. 265-7), and Allectus (293-6), respectively, still remain at Olney [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iii, 255; 25-in. O.S. ii, 16]. In the *Journ. of the Berks. Bucks. and Oxon. Assoc.* (April 1904, p. 26) are mentioned coins dating from Nero (A.D. 54-68) to Constantine (A.D. 306-37). One fragment of Samian, some gray and black ware, and a bronze figure of Mercury were also found.

PRINCES RISBOROUGH.—‘Coins have been found at Princes Risborough’ [Lysons, *Bucks.* 483], and others were discovered on Risborough Top, Chiltern Hills, three-quarters of a mile east of Princes Risborough [25-in. O.S. xxxvii, 7].

STEEPLE CLAYDON.—‘In 1620 an earthen pot full of brass money bearing the stamp, name, and picture, some of Carausius (A.D. 287-93), some of Allectus (293-6) was found under the root of a tree . . . by the great pond there in the wood of the worthy knight Sir Thomas Challoner’ [White Kennet, *Paroch. Antiq. Bucks.* ii, 419].

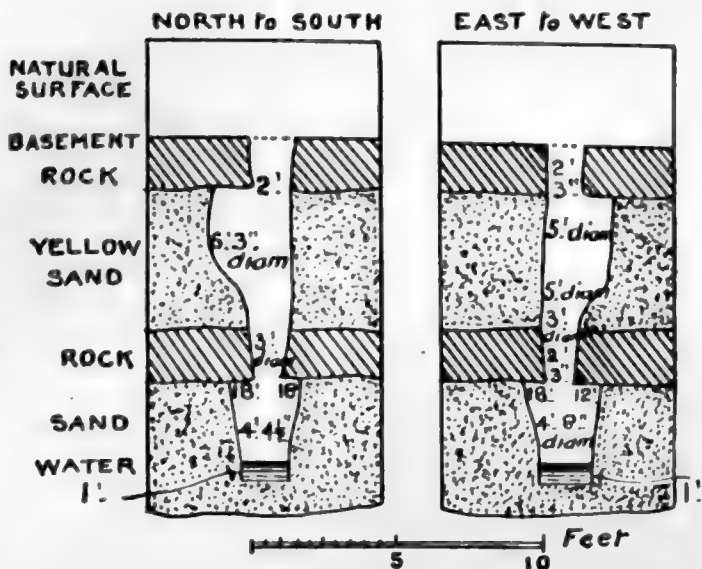
STONE.—Many antiquities, probably from a Roman cemetery, have been found here. On the north side of the road, immediately opposite the vicarage, in December 1871, a natural hill of sand was excavated, and what was apparently a Roman kiln, in the shape of a basin, lined with burnt clay, 4 ft. in diameter inside, 2½ ft. in depth, the top 1 ft. from the surface, therefore whole depth 3½ ft., was found. It was filled with sand, charcoal, and a great quantity of coarse broken



PLAN OF STONE, SHOWING SITES OF ROMAN REMAINS

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pottery [*Rec. of Bucks.* iv, 122; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (Ser. 2), ii, 116]. A pit or well was discovered in the field where the County Lunatic Asylum now stands. At a depth of 8 ft. the workmen came to a stratum of hard blue stone, a foot in thickness, through which a circular hole had been made. Immediately beneath a chamber was found in which were discovered many fragments of cinerary urns made of dark slate-coloured clay, some of which contained human bones, the bones of some large animal, and portions of burnt oak and beech. Through the centre of the chamber the perpendicular shaft was continued for 11 ft. to another and thicker stratum of rock. Beneath this, again, a second chamber was discovered and cleared out. The contents were similar, with the addition of the skull, teeth, and one horn of an ox, a portion of skin, tanned and preserved by the action of the sulphurous acid of the blue clay below, and wood burnt, unburnt and partially consumed, twelve urns of various forms and sizes, two bronze rings, apparently formed for *armillae*, of the rudest construction, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, and a bucket with iron hoops and cleets for the handle, which could not be found. About 50 yds. north-west of the pit, 2 ft. below the surface, were a double-handled urn, one of smaller size, an urn with a single handle, and a smaller one of dark clay. Thirty yards south-west of the pit were several fragments of urns, 2 ft. below the surface, of the coarsest fabric [*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xx, 276-7; *Arch.* xxxiv, 26; xlvi, 447; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ii, 101; *Arch. Journ.* viii, 95]. Near the same spot were two coins in middle brass of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) (reverse, fig. of *Spes*) and Vespasian (A.D. 70-9) (reverse, altar between letters S.C.).



SECTIONS OF A CAVITY CONTAINING ROMAN REMAINS, FOUND AT STONE, BUCKS.

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STONY STRATFORD.—A Roman villa has been discovered in the parish of Paulerspury near Stony Stratford, close to the course of Watling Street. In 1850 it was recorded that 'a fine tessellated pavement is already cleared' [*Illus. Lond. News*, 1850, i, 214]. It has perhaps been sufficiently proved that Towcester, and not Stony Stratford, occupies the site of Lactodurum, though the opinion hitherto held by the majority of antiquaries was that the latter marked the site of the Roman town. An urn found in 1835 was exhibited in the Loan Exhibition at Aylesbury, 1905. In 1789 Roman silver plates and other articles in silver and brass were found in an urn at Windmill Field near Stony Stratford [*MS. Min. Soc. Antiq.* xxxiii, 306, June 1813]. Lysons describes them in the *MS. Minutes* as 'a considerable number of plates of silver, of a base quality in form of leaves, much resembling those at Barkway, together with many other articles of silver and brass of various shapes,' and suggests that they were parts of Roman military standards. Lysons states that the following inscription is on one of the silver plates, which, though very slightly cut, may be read thus:—

DEO IOVI ET VOLCA
VASSINVS
CVM VELLINT
ME CONSACRATVM
CONSERVAARE PRO
MISI DENARIOS SEX
PRO VOTO

The remainder of the last line is obliterated except the final three letters, which seem to be *LIT*. Drawings, together with the most remarkable of the antiquities, were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries. The originals are now in the British Museum and have been copied by Prof. Hübnér (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, Nos. 80, 81, 82). Lysons mentions a thin piece of brass worked in a conical form with several appendages of the same metal fastened to it with

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chains, which he suggests was fixed at the top of the staff. Other objects he describes as possibly 'the *pilae*, sometimes styled *circuli*, and *clypei*, which are said by Isidorus to have been just added by Augustus.' These were of brass, with apparently plates of silver soldered to them on one side. They were soldered together, and probably had rings by which they were suspended to the staff. Several thin plates of silver in the form of leaves were found, two of which had scratched on them an inscription, which may be read DEO MARTI SANCTO, and others had figures of Mars standing in front of a temple, Mars and Victory, and Apollo. Two brass *fibulae* were found at the same time.

TAPLOW.—In a mound or barrow near the old parish church objects in gold, silver, bronze, glass, and pottery were found. They were of Anglo-Saxon date, except some slight early remains of Samian and other pottery [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), x, 19; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xl, 63, 211].

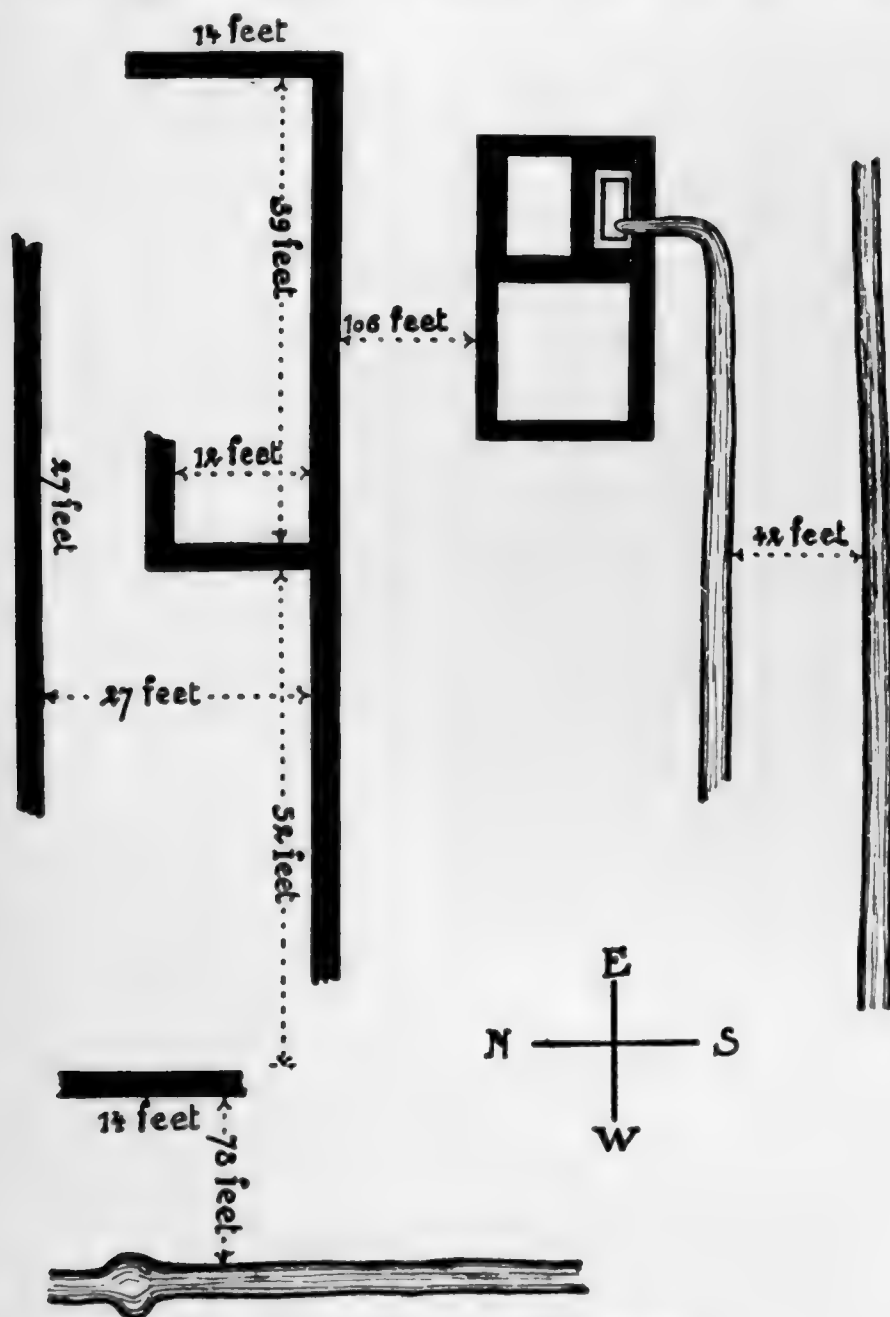
THORNBOROUGH.—Bronze vases, a cinerary urn of glass, a bronze lamp with a crescent on the handle resembling one found near Halesworth in Suffolk, and other remains were discovered in a tumulus on the estate of the Duke of Buckingham, and exhibited at the Loan Exhibition at Buckingham by the Hon. Richard Neville [*Arch. Journ.* vii, 82; xii, 276].

TINGEWICK.—The remains of a Roman villa were found in the parish of Tingewick, which lies about two miles westward from Buckingham, and near to the ancient road from Bicester, through Stratton Audley and Water Stratford in the direction of Towcester. The field in which the discoveries were made is called 'Stollidge,' and is more than a quarter of a mile from the village. The foundations stood on the brow of a hill, which slopes in a north-westerly direction towards the River Ouse, about a quarter of a mile below Tingewick Mill, a situation unusual for the Romans, who generally chose a southern slope. The first discovery was made in 1860, and the excavation was continued in 1862. The foundations had in places been disturbed, and were too fragmentary to give a complete plan of the building; but from the plan and description made at the time the main building seems to have been a villa of the corridor type, lying east and west, the corridor running along the north side. The total length of the house was about 93 ft., and the width 27 ft., inside measurements, the rooms being about 12 ft. wide, and the walls about 2 ft. thick. To the south of this building, about 106 ft. away, was a smaller one, measuring externally 22 ft. 4 in. by 12 ft. It was divided into two apartments, the larger of which, to the west, measured 11 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 6 in., and had walls on the south and west sides 18 in. to 20 in. thick, and on the north 12 in. thick. The smaller apartment was divided into two, the larger part of which was 6 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. 10 in., and the smaller 3 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. The latter, which was apparently a tank, was surrounded by strong masonry, on the south 18 in., on the east 2 ft. 10 in., on the north 2 ft., and on the west 3 ft. thick. The floor, which was 17 in. below the ground level, was, together with the sides, plastered with mortar said to be hardened by fire. It had a moulding 2½ in. wide carried round the bottom, and a drain or flue 5½ in. by 6 in., sunk a little below the level, and passing through the outer wall in the lowest course of the foundation, the top of the drain being formed by one tile 15 in. long by 1½ in. thick. The drain, on passing out of the building, curved in a westerly direction and ran down the hill. The floor of the larger apartment was paved with tiles, and was 13 in. below the bottom of the tank and 2 ft. 6 in. below the probable level of the smaller apartment. A number of flue-tiles were found within and without the walls, which suggested to Mr. Beesley the idea that this small building was a bath; but it seems more likely to have been a workshop of some kind, possibly a part of one of the small dye-works which seem to have been a feature of Roman Britain. Southward of the drain above mentioned, about 42 ft. distant, were traces of another drain or ditch running parallel to it. About 78 ft. westward of the corridor house was a third drain on the slope of the hill, which is said to have contained several circular holes or rubbish pits, which were excavated to a depth of about 120 ft. From this last ditch the greater number of the antiquities was taken. They are very numerous, comprising broken pottery, floor, roof, and other tiles, bones of animals, iron nails, coins, and implements; and also earthenware vessels. In one part of the field a large quantity of dark-coloured earth was found, and this yielded several objects of interest. Amongst others were found close to the smaller building, a pair of bronze compasses (fig. 1) in perfect preservation, 6½ in. long, which work on a nail as a pivot or axis, the pointed or sharp end of the nail projecting half an inch on the side opposite to the head or nut, and having the point bent downwards; portions of bronze *armillae* (figs. 2 to 7); part of necklace (fig. 8), made of rings of silver wire, ornamented with glass beads, the rings, each consisting of two coils of fine wire, set alternately, two and three together, divided by small beads of dark blue glass. The fragment is 3 in. in length, and the clasp at one end perfect. There were found also the pin of a *fibula* (fig. 9), 4 in. in length, and formerly gilt, a very similar bronze pin from Wood-perry, Oxon., may be compared with this [*Arch. Journ.* (1846), iii, 120]; a bronze ring with

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

hoop and two links of wire chain broken (fig. 10); part of a clasp, or snap (fig. 11), bronze, formerly gilded, which seems to have belonged to a belt; a triangular piece of bronze (fig. 12), the surface and edges, which are rough, appear to have been plated with gold, probably part of some ornament; two bronze rings (figs. 13, 14); the bone handle of a knife (fig. 15); a fragment of a bone *armilla* or bracelet (fig. 16); a bone pin, broken at both ends (fig. 17); a comb formed of several pieces of bone riveted together with bronze fastenings, it was quite perfect when discovered; a flat piece of bone nearly square, with a small hole perforated at each of the four corners; portions of iron cutlery or knives; a bronze knife; an iron ladle; the head of a small iron spear; an iron arrow head, and other iron objects.

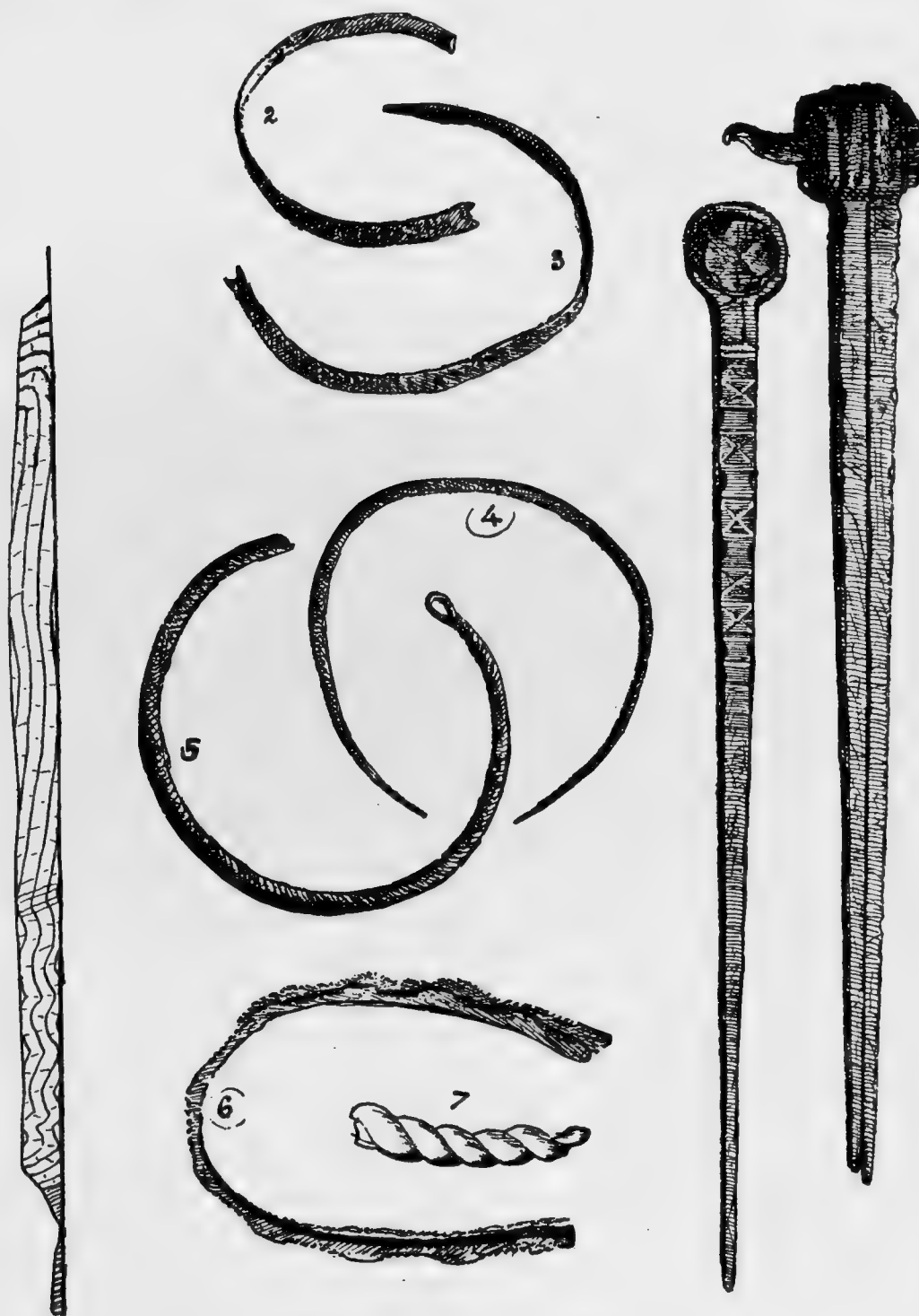
Besides these were discovered a large iron ladle for melting metal, a lump of molten lead, another of bronze, pieces of charcoal, a large quantity of nails, an iron spindle, several bronze styles or pins, a key, numerous fragments of Stonesfield slate used for the roofs, some of them having the nails by which they were fastened to the timber still remaining on them, and a piece of Andernach lava, which, from its shape, may have formed the keystone of an arch, or was possibly part of a quern. The fragments of pottery were very numerous, though



PLAN OF ROMAN FOUNDATIONS AT TINGEWICK

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

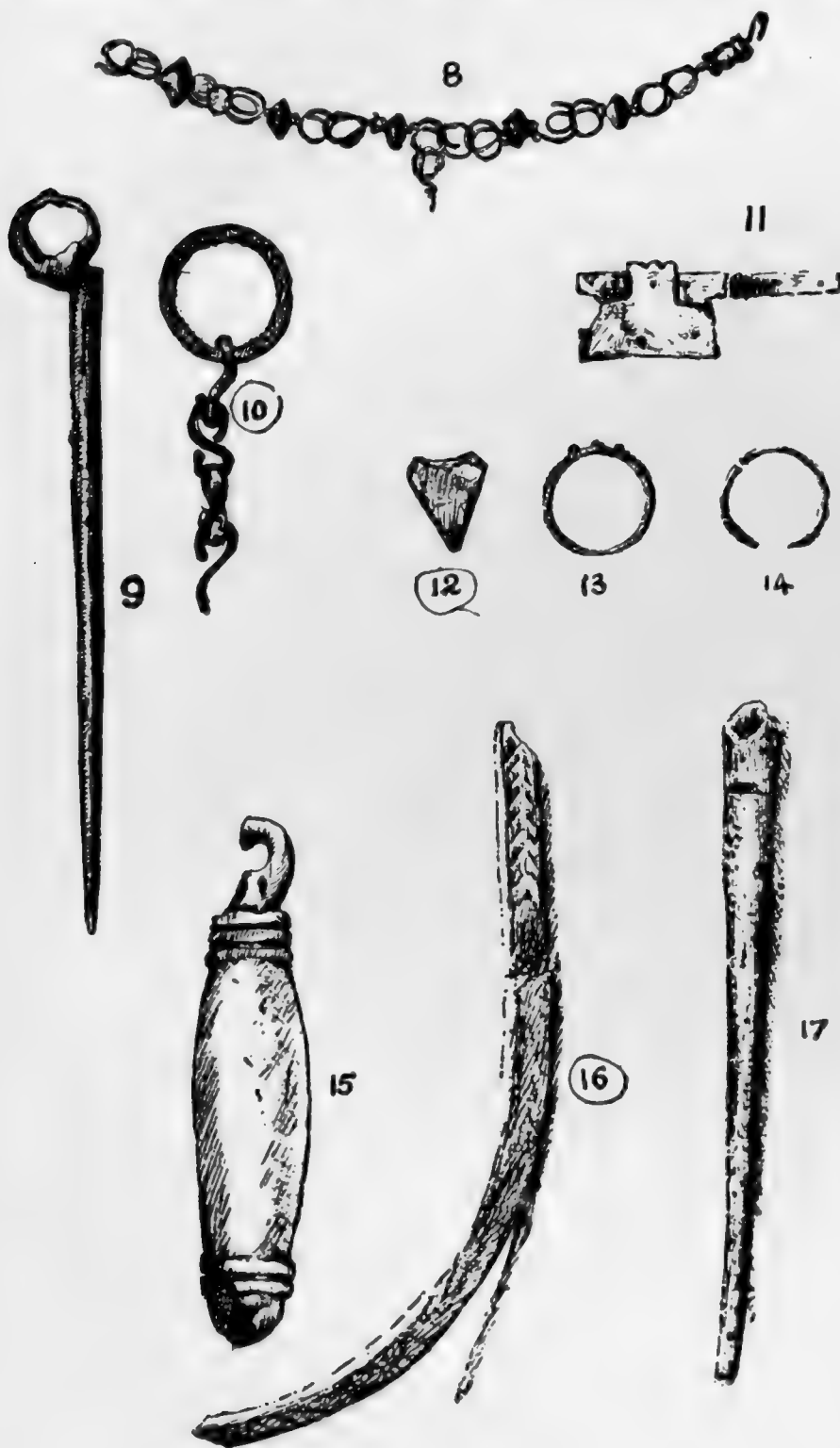
no complete articles were found, and none were large enough for the investigators to distinguish the shape, size, and ornamentation of the vessels to which they belonged. Among them were several fragments of *amphorae* of large size, in coarse light red ware, and of *mortaria*, one of which was roughened with iron *scoriae*. There was only one piece of Samian ware. One fragment of a crucible of blacklead ware like those used by metallurgists, was found. A few pieces of glass were found, yellower in colour than the usual Roman glass. In addition to these antiquities thirty-nine coins were discovered, singly distributed throughout the field, ranging in date from Elagabalus (A.D. 218-22) to Theodosius (A.D. 379-95).
WAVENDON HEATH.—An *amphora* was found in a sand-pit [Lysons, *Bucks.* 483].



ROMAN OBJECTS FOUND AT TINGEWICK

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

WESTON TURVILLE.—Remains of a Roman burial were discovered here in 1855 [*Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 290; *Illus. Lond. News*, 21 July 1855]. In the rectory garden, at a depth of 4 ft. 6 in. below the surface, a Roman vessel of coarse yellow pottery was found, which bore traces of old fractures, probably either an *amphora* or a cinerary urn. It was placed in a hole 18 in. in diameter, in cretaceous clay, very tenacious and impervious to water; the contiguous clay was streaked with dark lines. The accompanying objects were in glass: a bluish-green circular vessel, with pieces of bone adhering to it; a green glass vessel, 6 in. in height, 2½ in. square,

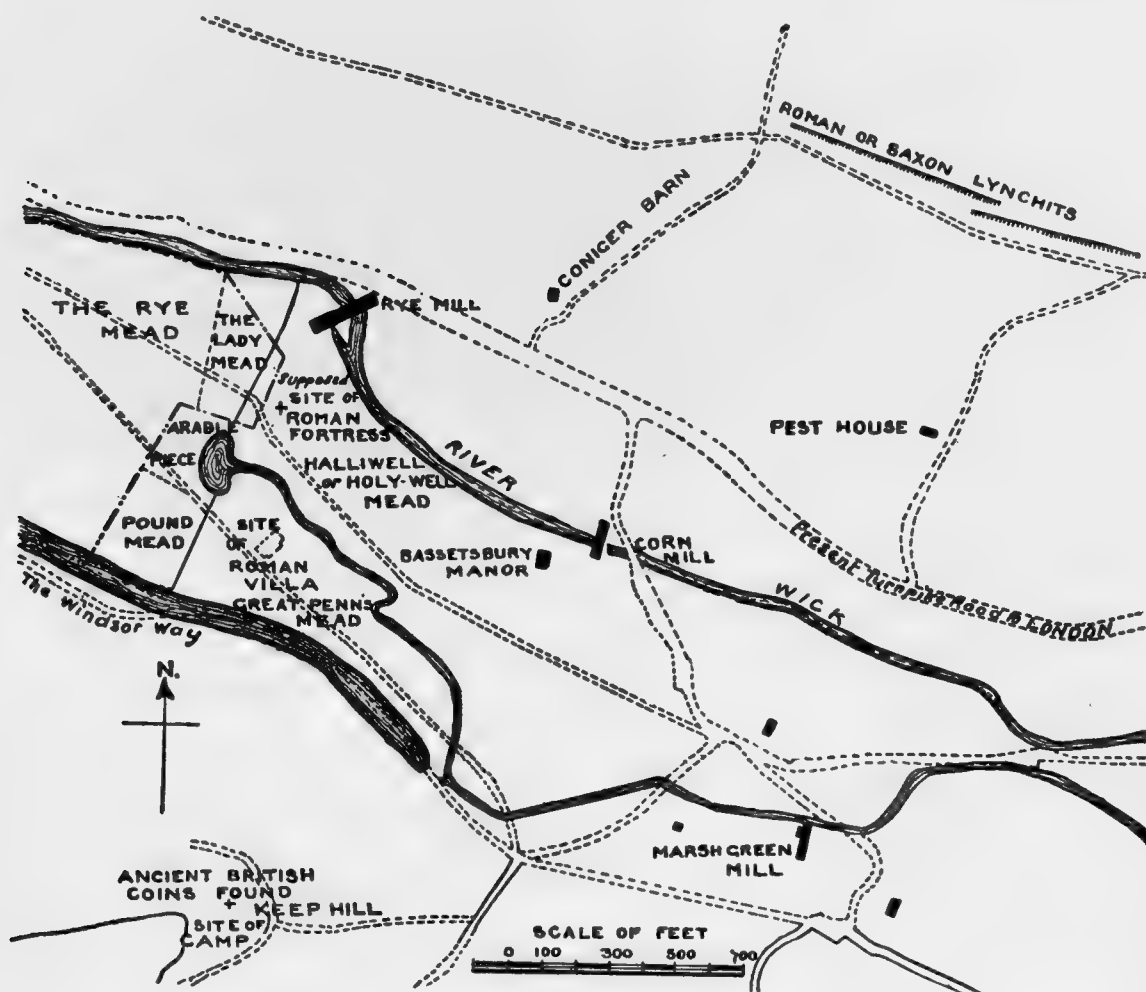


ROMAN OBJECTS FOUND AT TINGEWICK

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

which contained ashes; a similar vessel, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. square, of which only the bottom was found, containing ashes; a vessel of thinner glass, of lighter green, 3 in. square. A *patera* of Samian ware, nearly entire, more than 2 in. high, diameter 7 in., potter's mark MVXTVLLIM, containing ashes and leaves; another *patera*, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter; a cup with the potter's name, MEIII. M., nearly 2 in. in height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. at bottom, was also found, and some silver beads with wire attached to them; with them were an ornament like a bugle in shape, $\frac{2}{3}$ in. long; a *fibula*, or brooch, in bronze; and a bronze ornament 1 in. high, like a fly; also a vessel of coarse light red pottery, with the neck broken off, 7 in. in height, largest diameter 4 in., containing ashes; vessels in drab-coloured ware, one ornamented with an imperfect cross-barred pattern, height rather more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter 3 in.; another, probably about 9 in. or 10 in. high, diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; a third, more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, in diameter not quite 2 in. Besides these there were ornaments and various articles: iron with rivets, and short nails with fibres of wood adhering to them; *fibulae*; a segment of a circular plate in silvery bronze, perhaps part of a mirror or circular *fibula*; part of a pin with ornamented head, 2 in. long, in coloured bone; part of a plain bone pin, 3 in. long; a small piece of leather with nails in it. Probably these were the remains of a female burial.

WHADDON CHASE.—In February 1849 coins, together with the fragments of an urn or earthen vessel, were discovered by a labourer while ploughing a portion of Whaddon Chase, but it is doubtful if the coins were Roman. About three hundred and twenty of the coins were preserved. It is said that none were inscribed; about a quarter of them were stamped with the figure of a horse unbridled, the reverse was a wreath dividing the field, while one division was filled by a flower. The average weight of the coins was 90 grains Troy [*Rec. of Bucks.* i, 15]. Our authority states that 'further search in a part of the adjacent chase yet uncleared led to the discovery of a very perfect Roman camp, inclosing an area of about five acres.'



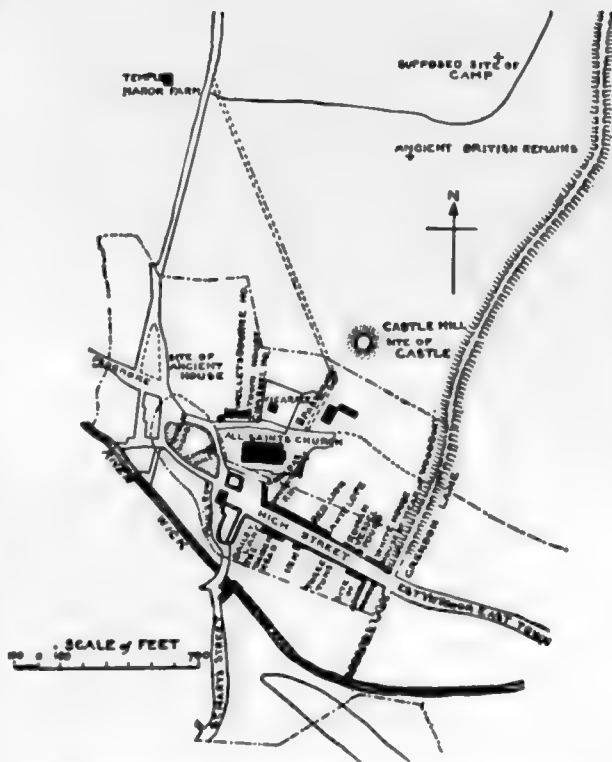
PLAN OF ROMAN SETTLEMENT NEAR WYCOMBE

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

WORMINGHALL.—A Constantinian bronze coin found here was exhibited in the Loan Exhibition at Aylesbury, July 1905, by Mr. R. W. Stone of Long Crendon [*Catalogue of the Exhibition*].

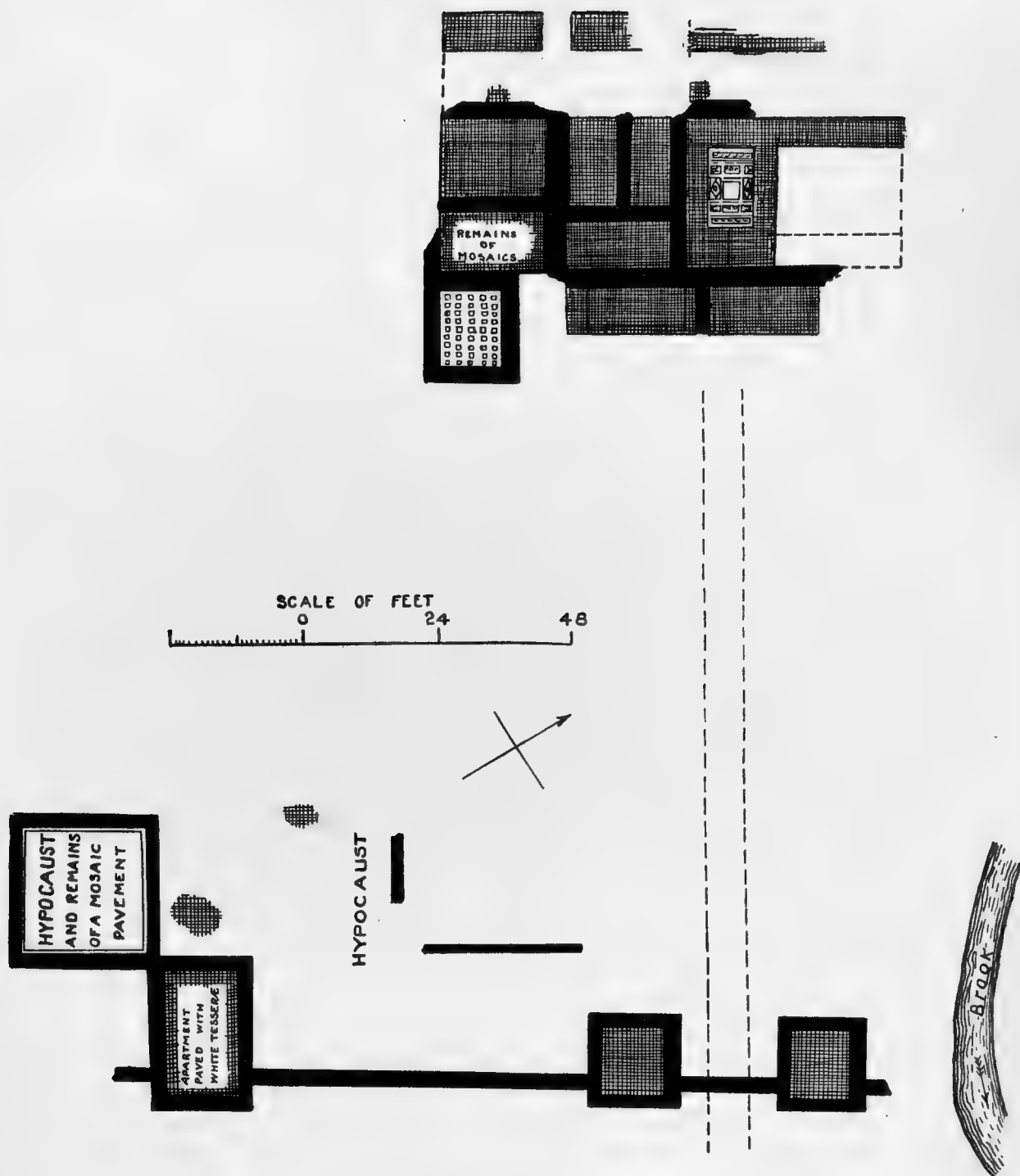
WYCOMBE.—There seems to have been a Roman settlement here of some importance. A tessellated pavement was discovered in 1724 in Penn Mead at the west end of a pasture called the Rye, about half a mile from Wycombe. According to a record of the time it was 'set in curious figures, as circles, squares, diamond squares, eight squares, hearts, and many other curious figures, with a beast in the centre in a circle, like a dog standing sideways by a tree,¹ all set with stones in red, black, yellow, and white, about a quarter of an inch square; the whole pavement was about fourteen foot square, the fine work in the middle was ten foot long and eight foot broad, the rest was filled up with Roman brick about an inch and a half square.' In 1862 excavations were made on the site at the expense of the late Lord Carrington, and under the supervision of Mr. E. J. Payne and Mr. William Burgess. It is difficult to follow the lines of the building disclosed from the plan of these excavations that has been preserved, but the villa was only partially explored. Mr. Payne in his paper on the excavations, and Mr. Parker following him in his *History of Wycombe*, describe a portion of a range of buildings, to the south-east of which were found two apartments 18 ft. apart. These are described as towers forming an entrance to the range of buildings before mentioned, south-west of which were found other living rooms. The suggestion as to the towers is improbable, notwithstanding the assertion that 'traces of wheels' still remain in the wall connecting them. The walls, which are only about two feet thick, are not strong enough for towers, and fortification of this nature would be unusual with the Romano-Britons. If complete excavations of the site were made they would probably show that the rooms and walls discovered formed portions of a courtyard type of house of the Romano-British period.

The principal part uncovered was apparently the north-western range, which comprised an inner and outer corridor with a series of apartments between them. The large room at the north-eastern end of the north-western range had a tessellated pavement at its south-western end, which has been thus described: it consisted of a 'square flanked by two oblongs. To the south-west of this were other tessellated pavements, one with the remains of a design in very fine *tesserae*; to the south-east of this was another room, the floor of which was destroyed and the *pilae* of the hypocaust exposed.' A small apartment at the south-western end of the range, which is shown by Mr. Parker, but not by Mr. Payne, is supposed by the former to be that discovered in 1724. In the south-eastern range were the two rooms paved with common red *tesserae* which have been described as towers, and southward of these were other remains which were only partially explored, consisting of a large apartment with a hypocaust and the ruins of *pilae* mixed with pieces of pavement of guilloche pattern. Adjoining this was found what Mr. Parker describes as without doubt the bath, with a pavement of white *tesserae* about an inch square, and a margin of red *tesserae*. The walls were decorated with paintings, a 'part of a fish resembling a roach' being seen. Remains of other walls were found which were possibly on the line of the inner corridor. Among the objects brought to light were an arrow head, two bone pins, a bronze steel-yard similar to one found at Cirencester, and many fragments of pottery. The designs of the pavements were worked in very fine *tesserae*, described as no larger than peas, indicating probably good work and an early date. Near to these villas is the site of an ancient camp, in which eleven ancient British gold coins have been found.



PLAN OF TOWN OF WYCOMBE, SHOWING ROMAN SITES

¹ This central subject, Mr. John Parker suggests, is *Cave Canem*, but we may with more probability suppose that it represented some mythological incident.



PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA AT WYCOMBE

ROMANO-BRITISH BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Some Roman *tesserae* were discovered a little to the north of this villa in a field called Holywell or Hallewell Mead, which has given rise to an improbable theory that here was a Roman fortress. A Roman vessel was found in High Street, Wycombe, and Roman coins of Nerva (A.D. 96-7), Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61), and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-80) have been found in the neighbourhood, and a Roman wall and tessellated pavements in the garden of a house in All-hallows Lane, adjoining a house called The Priory, on the west [E. J. Payne, *Rec. of Bucks.* iii, no. 5, p. 160 et seq.; Parker, *The Early Hist. and Antiq. of Wycombe*, 2, 3]. In 1863 a bronze ornament was discovered, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. long; a quadrangular tube with flanges round three sides of one end, and a bust of Minerva at the other end; midway on each side of the tube was a square hole. The workmanship of the head was bold and coarse. Probably it was part of the pole of a chariot. It is now in the British Museum.

Recent excavations for the Great Western and Great Central Railway Companies in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe have disclosed Roman coins. One was of the date A.D. 322. The obverse has a bust to the right with the legend CRISPUS NOBIL C. In its centre the reverse has a decorated altar inscribed VOTIS XX; around it BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, and below, P. LOND., indicating a London mint. Another coin of the date A.D. 300 shows the bust of the Emperor Valerius; the legend is MAXIMIANVS NOB. CÆS., the reverse a standing figure representing the genius of the Roman people, with the legend surrounding it GENIO POPULI ROMANI [*Daily Telegraph*, 3 Mar. 1904]. A third isolated coin of the 2nd century is silver. The obverse has a bust of the empress, with face to the right and superscription JULIA PIA FELIX AVG.; the reverse has VENVS GENETRIX, with an image of a goddess [*Daily Chron.* 26 Aug. 1902].

MAP
showing
EARTHWORKS
of
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE



ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

The student of the earthworks of a county, or larger tract of country, who attempts anything in the way of classification finds his efforts beset with considerable difficulties. The present form of the ramparts and fosses is a matter which causes little, if any, trouble, and the plans published in the maps of the Ordnance Survey (25 in. to the mile) will be found generally sufficient.

The chief difficulties he encounters are : (1) in ascertaining the respective ages or periods of the works ; and (2) in discovering to what extent the earthworks, as originally constructed, have been modified or obliterated. Without something more than an examination of the surface this is often not only difficult, but impossible. Under these circumstances the decision of the Congress of Archaeological Societies to record the remains as they actually exist, without at present attempting to assign them to any particular period, is undoubtedly wise. Certain works, such as regular Roman camps and Norman strongholds, are, of course, sufficiently well marked to be classified.

The present description of the ancient defensive and other earthworks of Buckinghamshire, which has been written in conformity with this principle, will be understood, it is hoped, to be by no means a final or complete record of these interesting relics of ancient times. Before any such precise summary can be written it will be necessary to make careful and minute investigations, aided by extensive excavations of the various sites.

The main divisions of ancient defensive earthworks contemplated in the scheme of the Congress just referred to are as follows :—

- A.—Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by banks or walls.
- B.—Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of hill* ; or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.
- C.—Rectangular or other simple inclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.
- D.—Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.
- E.—Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.
- F.—Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple inclosures formed into artificial islands by water-moats.
- G.—Inclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.
- H.—Ancient village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses.
- X.—Defensive works which fall under none of these headings.

The ancient defensive earthworks of Buckinghamshire are divisible into several classes, the earliest hill-top fortifications being closely related to the Chiltern Hills, a range of chalk downs which, with the exception of the

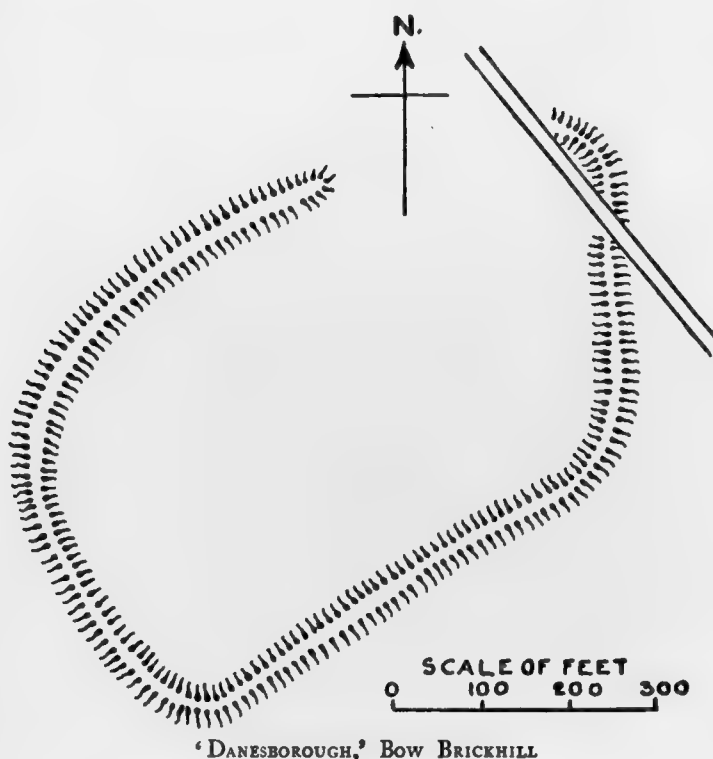
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Thames Valley in the extreme south, occupies practically the whole of the southern half of the county.

Compared with the earthworks of some other counties the works of Buckinghamshire are of small extent, and, owing to the wooded character of the hills, they are less easily seen than they are in such a district as the South Downs of Sussex, for instance, where the ramparts and fosses are prominent features, sometimes visible from considerable distances.

In any attempt to take a general survey of the ancient camps of Buckinghamshire, it is desirable to bear in mind the important natural features of the Chiltern Hills, which run across the county in a practically-east-and-west direction, the hilly ground of the chalk being to the south, and the low-lying pasturage ground of the Vale of Aylesbury stretching away to the north. The

hills of Buckinghamshire never afforded such an essentially grazing district as the South Downs, and there was no reason to construct camps of large size capable of inclosing and defending vast flocks of sheep or herds of cattle. The fertile plains of Buckinghamshire were apparently brought into cultivation at a time when this system of protective inclosure was no longer in vogue nor necessary.



HILL FORTS

(CLASS B)

A number of the Buckinghamshire earthworks come under this heading owing to the fact that the lines of artificial defence follow the natural contour of the ground, and are placed at the point where tolerably level ground or table-land develops into inconvenient or dangerous declivity.

BOW BRICKHILL : DANESBOROUGH.—This is a rather irregular oval earthwork consisting of a single rampart, broken by a considerable space on the north, and damaged from the north-east side by the construction of a modern road.

CHOLESBURY CAMP.—The form of this camp, as will be seen from the accompanying plan, is fairly oval, slight irregularities being discernible on the west and north-west sides.

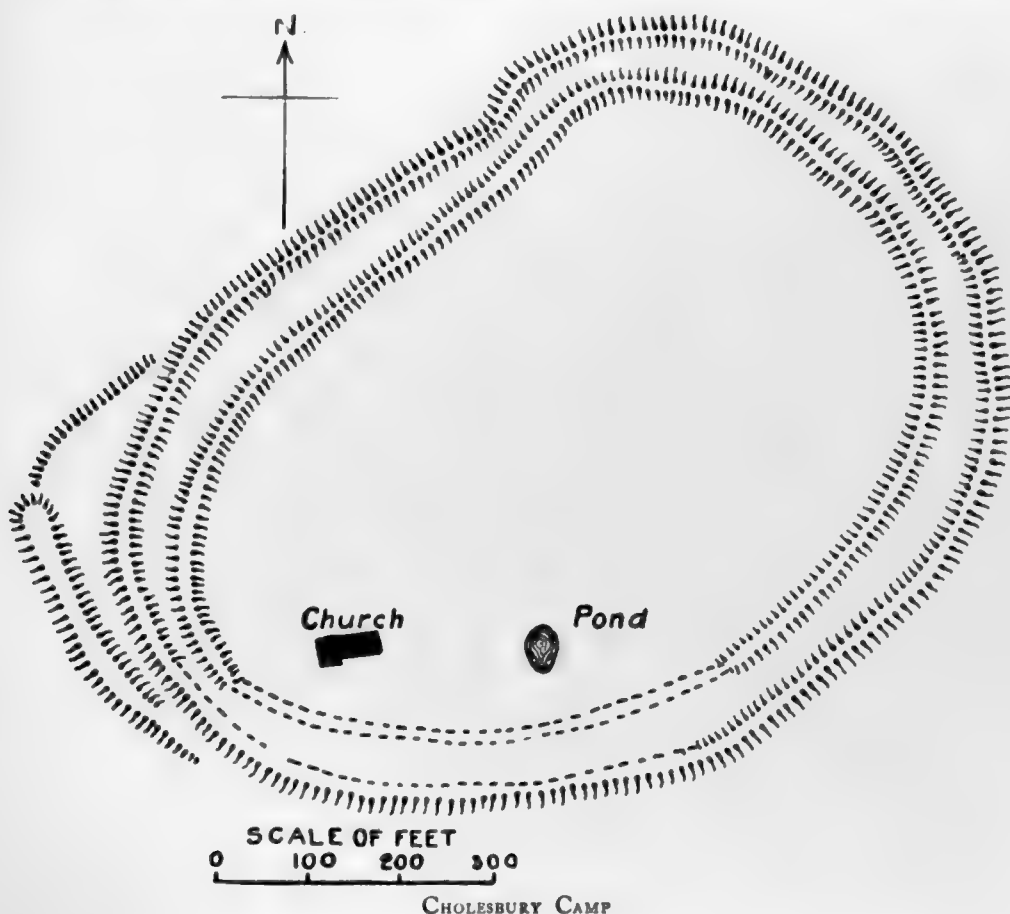
The camp, locally known as ‘the Bury,’ occupies a piece of level ground on the summit of a range of the Chiltern Hills which marks the junction of the eastern part of Buckinghamshire and the western part of Hertfordshire.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

The works, which encompass an area of about ten acres, inclose the parish church and churchyard of Cholesbury, which are situated in the south-west part of the inclosure.

Lipscomb, in his *History of Buckinghamshire*,¹ writes :—

The lines consist of a very deep trench and strong vallum or rampart of earth, on the north, east, and part of the south sides, strengthened by a second line at the north-eastern and north-western angles ; and also from the south-eastern part, in a parallel line along that side, until it disappears near the churchyard : part of which seems to occupy the inner bank, as the site of the minister's house does likewise the exterior rampart, which has evidently been levelled. On the east and west sides or ends of the encampment the foss is single ; in some places 30 ft. in depth, but towards the south-west it is nearly obliterated. In those parts where the trench is double, the width is about equal to the depth ; and the



rampart between them, as well as the sides of the ditches and verge exteriorly, are covered with trees and brushwood, excepting only where a narrow approach to the area has been left on the south and west. About the centre of the north side appears to have been another opening, but long disused, so as to have become obscured by trees and bushes ; and now, only to be conjectured one of the original entrances.

Lipscomb speaks subsequently of the camp as an oblong square, an opinion formed apparently by his misunderstanding of the addition to the north-west corner of the camp already alluded to. The fosses on the southern side of the camp are of considerable depth, and the curve they follow is determined apparently by the natural contour of the hill. On the

¹ (1847) iii, 314. The camp is regarded by Lipscomb as of British or Danish workmanship.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

north side the contiguous ground is nearly on a level with the area inclosed by the vallum : but on the east and west, where the trench is single but of great depth, it declines rapidly. On the south, where are two fosses, the ground immediately contiguous is nearly on a level with the entrenchment, but soon gradually declines. Along this part of the camp is the course of an ancient road.

The general conclusions formed by Lipscomb from his examination of the camp are that it is a work of Danish origin,³ and that originally it was constructed as a single vallum round the top of an eminence, advantage having been taken of the irregularities of the ground. He saw traces of only two entrances, but a subsequent writer⁴ succeeded in finding definite traces of four entrances.

There is a good pond inside the area of the camp, which like West Wycombe and Castle Thorpe incloses the church of the parish.

DESBOROUGH CASTLE.—This important earthwork, popularly called ‘The Roundabout,’ lies on the top of a hill a little to the south-west of the road which leads along the valley from High Wycombe to West Wycombe. The camp must have been one of considerable strength in ancient times on account of its important strategic situation and the arrangement of its defences.

Originally the top of the hill appears to have been occupied by a pre-historic camp inclosing a considerable area of ground. Subsequently a smaller camp, oval in outline, and consisting of an outer fosse and an inner rampart of great height and strength, was thrown up. A writer on this camp, Mr. R. S. Downs, of Wycombe (*Rec. of Bucks.* v, 249), regards the older camp as outworks of the newer camp, in which, he remarks, there can be little doubt that there was a building of considerable strength, as the remains of old tiling, hewn stone, and masonry plainly indicate.

Whilst felling trees which grew here about 1743 (he writes) portions of stone gothic work were dug up resembling the jambs of a church window. Of the once-famous Desborough Castle, nothing now remains but the name and the tradition that such a building once existed here.

The earlier earthworks at Desborough Castle have become much modified since the period when they were thrown up. Flint implements have been found upon the site.

Numerous attempts have been made by different writers to show that Desborough Castle is of Saxon or Danish origin, but these theories appear to be merely speculations based on no solid or sufficient evidence. It is significant, however, that Desborough Hundred derives its name from this castle. Desborough⁴ was also probably a place of popular meeting or folk-mote, and from every point of view was a central and locally important place ; but an inspection of its interesting earthworks is sufficient to suggest that its importance began at a far earlier time than the Saxon or Danish periods.

HEDGERLEY : BULSTRODE PARK.—The chief feature about this camp is its size, which is unusually large for Buckinghamshire. The entrenchments, it will be noticed, are double on the north-east side, treble at one or two points, and inclose an area of 21 acres of land. The breaks on the north-

³ Of this we can find no evidence.

⁴ Rev. W. Hastings Kelke, *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 273.

⁴ *Rec. of Bucks.* viii, 464.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

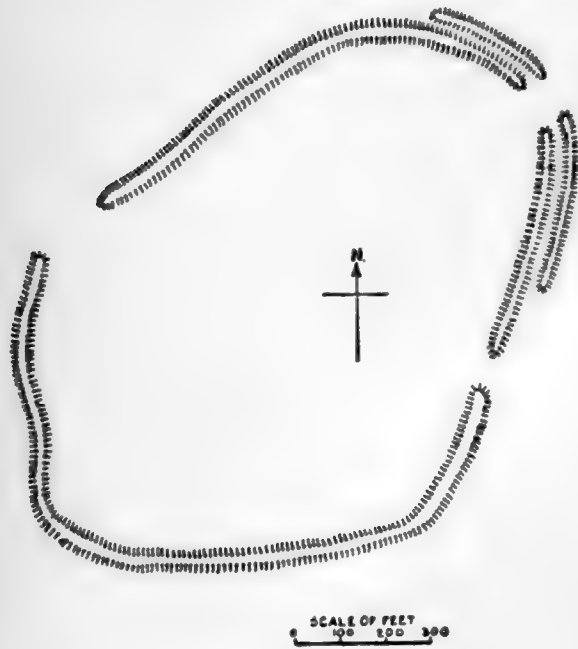
west and south-east sides are probably larger now than they originally were owing to damage or subsequent modification of the earthen banks.

When Lipscomb wrote⁶ the camp was disfigured by some large oak-trees growing on the ramparts, a blemish which still remains.

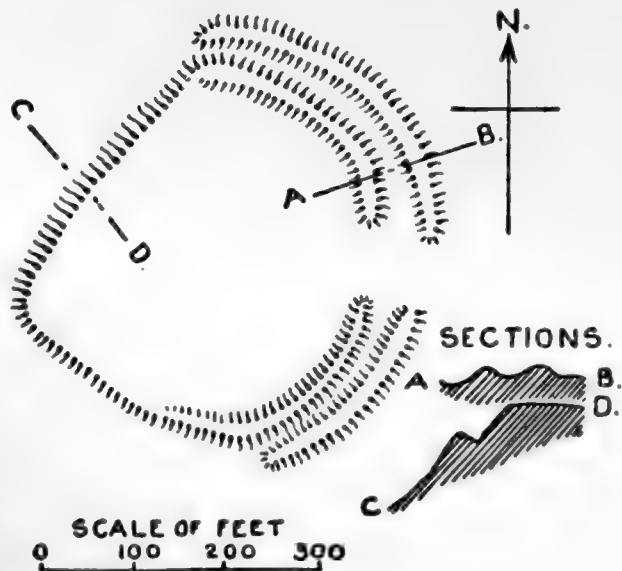
MONKS RISBOROUGH : PULPIT WOOD.—This hill-top camp may be described as consisting of an irregular and interrupted circle of rampart strengthened by a fosse, which is more complete than the bank, a circumstance which may be explained, at least in part, by the subsequent degradation, by rain-wash and other forces, of the ramparts. The double line of ramparts on the north-east, east, and south-east sides was necessary, in order to cut off the camp from a small area of flat ground to the north-east.

The manner in which the natural features have been utilized, and the extent to which these features have affected the shape of the camp, are points which strike the observer at once, and clearly

testify to the skill of the people who made the earthwork. On the north-western side of the camp the natural slope of the earth is so great as to render a built-up rampart hardly necessary. A fosse, therefore, has been constructed with a small expenditure of effort by throwing the moved soil down the hill, in the manner indicated in the section C-D in the accompanying plan. This is a species of labour-saving fortification, of which there are numerous other pre-historic instances. In this county there is an even finer example of its use on the south-west side of the very interesting series of earthworks surrounding the upper part of the hill on which stands the church of West Wycombe. On the north, north-east, east, and



BULSTRODE PARK, HEDGERLEY



PULPIT WOOD, MONKS RISBOROUGH

⁶ *Hist. and Antiq. of Bucks.* (1847), iv, 507.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

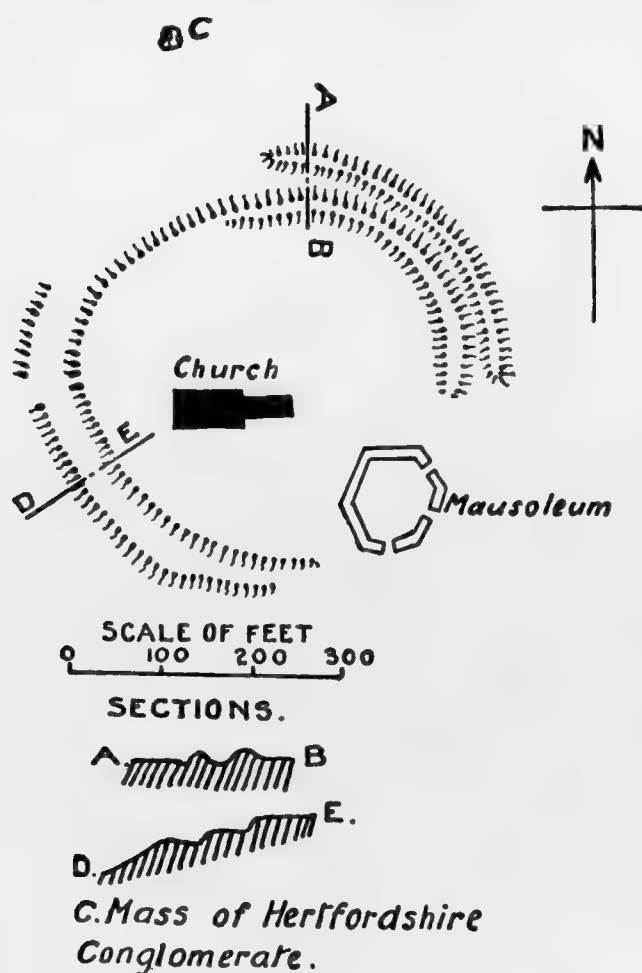
south-east sides of Pulpit Wood there is a double set of ramparts, and exactly on the east side is a large entrance.

In the inclosure of the camp and round it many flint flakes and chip-pings, indicative of a Neolithic factory, have been noticed ; and, although it is perhaps not wise to pronounce positively upon the matter, there is some reason to believe that this is entitled to rank as one of the Neolithic strong-holds of Buckinghamshire.

HIGH WYCOMBE : KEEP HILL.—This is another hill-top camp which may be mentioned under Class B.

WEST WYCOMBE.—This is a nearly circular earthwork, inclosing the church and churchyard of West Wycombe. From the north to the east the rampart is double. On the south-east the works have been destroyed in connexion with the building of a large eighteenth-century mausoleum for the use of the Dashwood family. From the south to the west the natural slope of the ground is so great as to render fosses unnecessary, and the defences, therefore, consist of two terraces. The inner ring of defence is pretty clearly indicated by the fence inclosing the churchyard.

A narrow neck of land of about the same level as the camp runs to the northward, where it joins the hills beyond, but on the other sides the hill



EARTHWORKS ROUND WEST WYCOMBE CHURCH

has steep natural slopes on which grow numerous yew trees.

The terraced defences just referred to are interesting, and may be compared with a similar but single piece of work at Pulpit Wood.

WENDOVER.—On Boddington Hill there is an unmistakable camp, and at Backham Hill the alleged camp is probably a barrow which has subsequently been used as a beacon station.

WHELPLEY HILL.—There is a fine oval camp here nearly obliterated.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

RECTANGULAR OR OTHER SIMPLE INCLOSURES

(CLASS C)

Examples of rectangular earthworks remain at

MUSWELL HILL, near Brill, where the site abounds in flints ;

GREAT MISSENDEN.—One at Reddenwych Wood, and another on Castle Hill, called Rookwood Camp ;

SHENLEY CHURCH END ; and

WHADDON.

FORTS CONSISTING ONLY OF A MOUNT WITH ENCIRCLING DITCH OR FOSSE

(CLASS D)

At Cublington, six miles to the north-east of Aylesbury, there is a work known as 'the Beacon,' marked as a tumulus on the Ordnance Survey map, which may be placed under Class D, as it appears to have been a castle mount.

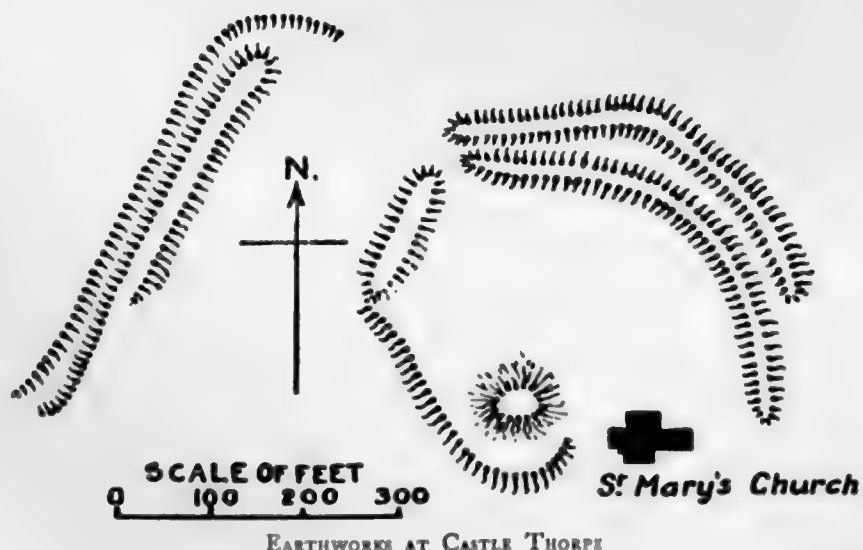
MOUNTS WITH ONE OR MORE ATTACHED COURTS

(CLASS E)

Buckinghamshire furnishes only a few examples of moated mounts with courts, or baileys, attached. In addition to those which remain, it is possible that the earthwork defences of Buckingham Castle were of the moated mount and bailey type. The small engraved bird's-eye view in Speed's early seventeenth-century map shows an eminence marked 'Castell Hill,' which certainly suggests this ; but as the site has been entirely altered and levelled it is impossible to say positively.

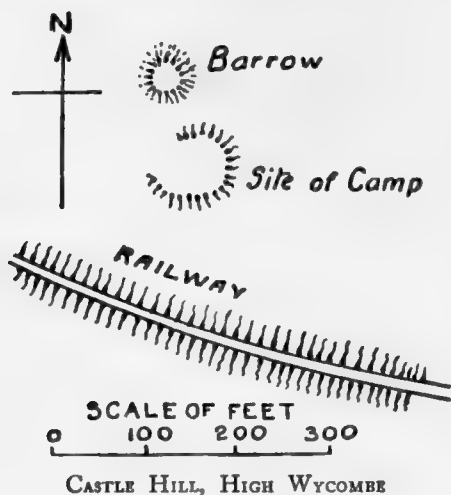
CASTLE THORPE.—The evidence for this belonging to Class E is not very strong, but the mount is clearly defined, and in the case of one of the baileys or in-

closures, part of the defences consists of double ramparts. The parish church, as in the case of two other Buckinghamshire sites, is built within the precincts of the more ancient earthworks, doubtless for protection.



A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

HIGH WYCOMBE.—Castle Hill, standing in private grounds at High Wycombe, may possibly be part of an earthwork of the Class E type.



LITTLE KIMBLE: CYMBELINE'S MOUNT.
—This work, as has been remarked, occupies an important and prominent look-out point on a spur of the Chiltern Hills. It may be conveniently placed under Class E. Its situation and small size give it a peculiar interest.

Compared with the finest types of Class E, such as Arundel, Lewes, Ongar, and Windsor, this work appears to present a species of defence which is much more nearly allied to pre-historic times, than to the Norman period, an era to which the regular mount and bailey earthworks are now commonly referred by antiquaries. It must have been always a very good point

from which much of the surrounding country could be overlooked. Indeed, the earthwork seems in many ways far more suitable for such a purpose than for a purely defensive camp possessing strategic advantages.

Cymbeline's Mount consists of a circular pyramidal mount with truncated top. This top is surrounded at the base by a well-developed fosse, the earth from which has been utilized in making the annular rampart which incloses the whole. This fact is clearly demonstrated by the re-arranged chalk revealed in rabbit-burrows.

Tradition assigns this work to Cymbeline, or Cunobelinus, the king of south-east Britain who was reigning a few years before the Christian era, and about forty years after it; but the evidence of Neolithic implements found within one of the square inclosures points to earlier occupation of the site. Small fragments of pottery of pre-Roman character have been noticed in the camp by the present writer.

The inclosures or baileys may perhaps have contained stockaded villages or places for the shelter and protection of sheep, or indeed for both purposes. No traces of masonry or foundations are seen on the surface of the ground. The work overhangs Icknield Way.

On the still higher ground to the south of Cymbeline's Mount there are remains which may possibly be those of ancient hut-floors.



ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

HOMESTEAD MOATS

(Class F)

Earthworks of this kind, consisting of simple inclosures formed into artificial islands by water-moats, are found mostly in the lowlands of the county in such districts as the richly pastured plain known as the Vale of Aylesbury.

The purpose of the typical homestead moat was to afford protection from marauders or wolves, and possibly to avoid risk of loss of, or damage to, cattle and farm produce from a spreading fire. Yet, although they were not constructed to withstand powerful enemies or regular military operations, they were not infrequently of considerable size. They present much variety of form, as will be seen from the typical examples here figured.

The probability is that the homestead moats of Buckinghamshire have been constructed at different periods; but if, as seems extremely probable, they represent the period when the inhabitants of the county settled down to the regular and systematic pursuit of husbandry, most of the really ancient examples are probably Saxon.

In the accompanying plate are represented plans of nine typical or noteworthy forms of homestead moats in Buckinghamshire.

Fig. 1.—A very simple square inclosure with entrance at north-east corner: Horton.

Fig. 2.—A very similar example in which the water, represented in solid black, has probably shrunk in bulk, leaving precipitous sides within and without the moat: Bow Brickhill.

Fig. 3.—A completely surrounded square island, the moat being crossed by a bridge: Horton Hall, Slapton.

Fig. 4.—Two square islands surrounded by a moat: Apsley, Little Kimble.

Fig. 5.—A curiously shaped semicircular island surrounded by a moat, with an entrance at the south-western side: Church Farm, Pitstone.

Fig. 6.—A nearly regular five-sided island entirely surrounded by a moat: Little Pednor Farm, Chesham.

Fig. 7.—A curiously irregular moat, roughly square outside, with narrow entrance on north side: East End, North Crawley.

Fig. 8.—Dry moat at Cippenham, Burnham, inclosing the site of the palace of Richard, earl of Cornwall and king of the Romans, therefore probably a work of the thirteenth century, or earlier.

Fig. 9.—An irregularly shaped moat and inclosure, with a strengthening rampart on the north-east and east: Dinton.

The following is a list, which has no pretension to completeness, of homestead moats in Buckinghamshire:—

ASHLEY GREEN.—Moat inclosing ruins of chapel.

ASTON ABBOTS.—Remains of a moat.

ASTON CLINTON.—Rectangular moat: also a dry moat at Vatche's Farm.

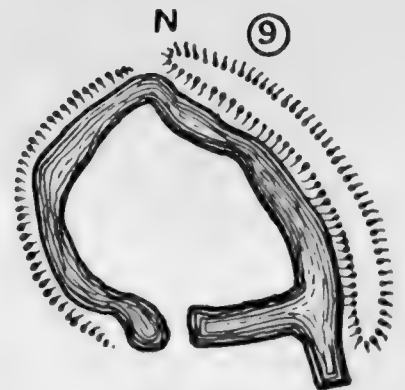
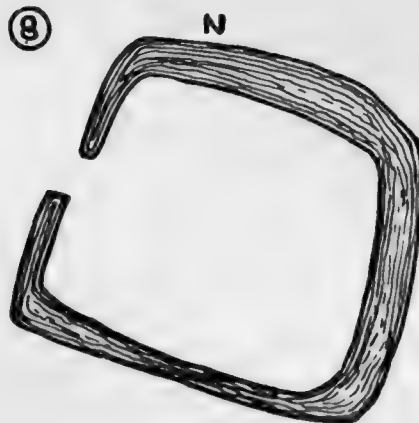
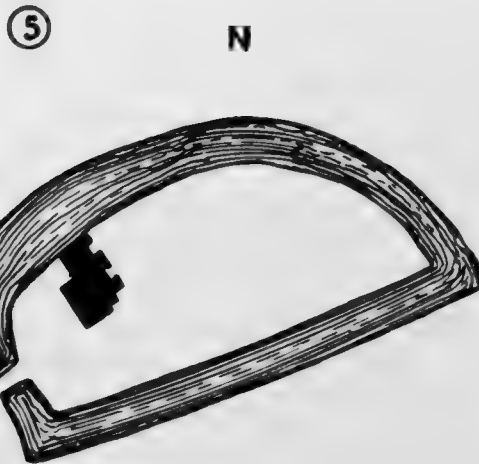
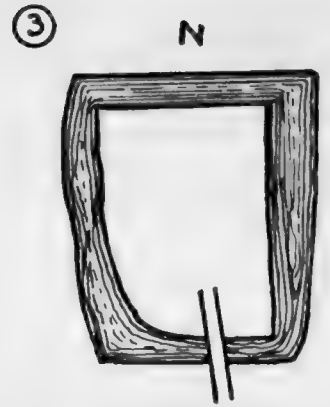
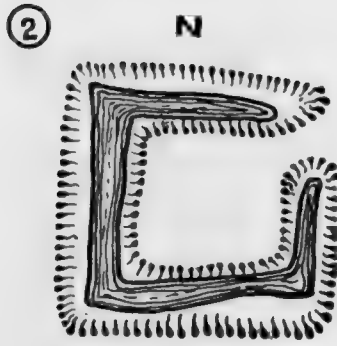
ASTON SANDFORD.—A moat one mile north-east of church.

ASTWOOD.—Portions of a moat at The Bury: also a small quadrangular moat.

AYLESBURY.—Moat $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the town.

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- BIERTON.—Moat $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the village.
- BOARSTALL.—Two quadrangular moats.
- BOW BRICKHILL.—Simple quadrangular moat (see fig. 2).
- BRADWELL ABBEY.—Irregularly shaped moat at Moat House; and remains of a circular moat.
- BROUGHTON BY BIERTON.—Moat at Manor Farm.
- BUCKLAND.—Moat of irregular quadrangular form, near Moat Farm.
- BURNHAM.—Moat of large size and somewhat mutilated, at Burnham Abbey: also moat round site of royal palace at Cippenham (see fig. 8).
- BURNHAM BEECHES.—Harlequin's Moat.
- CHEDDINGTON.—Moat near Cheddington Manor House.
- CHESHAM.—Moat at Little Pednor Farm (see fig. 6).
- CHETWODE.—Moat near church and Priory House.
- CHICHELEY.—Moat 1 mile east of church.
- CLAYDON, EAST.—Portions of a quadrangular moat.
- CRAWLEY, NORTH.—Curious moat inclosing five small ponds at Up End; also moat at the manor-house at East End.
- DENHAM.—Moat at Denham Lodge.
- DINTON.—Irregular moat, with protecting rampart (see fig. 9).
- DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP.—Irregular moat, consisting possibly of three nearly related inclosures.
- EDLESBOROUGH.—Moat at Church Farm, and another at Manor Farm. Moat at Butler's Farm.
- ELLESBOROUGH.—Moats at Nash Lee, Terrick House, Grove Farm, and Chalkshire Farm.
- GRENDON UNDERWOOD.—Moat of irregular form near the church.
- HAMPDEN, GREAT.—Moat at Moat Farm, Kiln Common.
- HANSLOPE.—Moat (part of) at Ivy Farm.
- HARDMEAD.—Oblong moat at Astwood Farm: also a moat almost surrounding the site of Hardmead Manor House.
- HARTWELL.—Moat 2 miles south-east of church.
- HAVERSHAM.—Nearly complete quadrangular moat near church.
- HOGSHAW.—Moat near Hogshaw Farm: also remains of rectangular moat at Fulbrook Farm.
- HORSENDEN.—Irregular fragments of moat. There is also a fairly complete but irregular moat at Roundabout Wood.
- HORTON.—Moat at Horton Hall. Another to the south-west of Horton Mills (see fig. 1). Remains of Moat at Berkin Manor.
- HORWOOD, LITTLE.—Moat at Moat Farm.
- HULCOTT.—Quadrangular moat, with entrance at north-west corner.
- IVINGHOE.—Moat of quadrangular form, with extension to the north-east.
- KIMBLE, GREAT.—Moat at Marsh. Moat of irregular form at Grange Farm.
- KIMBLE, LITTLE.—Moat at Apsley: with double inclosure (see fig. 4).
- LANGLEY MARISH.—Moat, of lozenge form, at Parlaunt Park Farm; two other moats at 'Trenches'; and another at Parsonage Farm.
- LAVENDON.—Lavendon Grange and site of Lavendon Abbey, also at Uphoe Manor House.



TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF HOMESTEAD MOATS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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LUDGERSHALL.—Small quadrangular moat ; also moat, of irregularly quadrangular form, at Tetchwich Farm.

MARSTON, NORTH.—Two moats, 2 and 3 miles west of the village.

MARSWORTH.—Moat at Marsworth Great Farm.

MISSENDEN, GREAT.—Moat at Bury Farm.

MURSLEY.—Moat to the south of the village.

OLNEY.—Moat in the township of Warrington.

PITSTONE.—Moat inclosing a nearly semicircular space at Church Farm (see fig. 5).

PRINCES RISBOROUGH.—Fragment of moat at the old vicarage ; another adjacent moat, partly dry, but originally quadrangular, called 'The Mount.'

QUAINTON.—Moat, possibly once quadrangular, of large size, at Doldershall House.

QUARRENDON.—Two moats of quadrangular form.

RAVENSTONE.—Remains of a moat, originally of some importance.

SHENLEY CHURCH END.—Moat adjoining the rectangular camp.

SHERINGTON.—Nearly quadrangular moat inclosing manor-house.

SIMPSON.—Moat 1 mile south-east of church.

SOULBURY.—Dry moat to the south of Liscombe Park.

STEWKLEY.—Moat near Stewkley Church.

STOKE GOLDINGTON.—Dry moat at Church Farm ; also a nearly rectangular moat, with entrance on west side.

STOKE MANDEVILLE.—Moat at Moat Farm.

STOKE POGES.—Moat at Ditton Park.

TATTENHOE.—Moat near church.

WENDOVER.—Two moats 2 miles west of the town.

WESTON TURVILLE.—Small circular moat to the west of Weston Manor House ; a dry moat ; small fragment of moat ; and another moat at Manor Farm.

WEXHAM.—Moats of irregular forms at Wexham Court.

WING.—Traces of moat at Ascott Hall.

WOTTON UNDERWOOD.—Moat (fragments of) at Moat Farm.

It is noteworthy that the homestead moats of Buckinghamshire, which are generally of square, normal shape, in many cases inclose a space which is associated with farmsteads bearing the suggestive appellations of manor farm, moat farm, &c. In some homestead moats in the county one may find considerable irregularity of shape, a circumstance which is probably due to enlargement or modification arising from the amalgamation of several adjacent inclosures.

The distribution of homestead moats in Buckinghamshire, as elsewhere, is largely governed by the presence or absence of water. They are to be found in some abundance in the valleys and low-lying ground in the middle and northern parts of the county, and even on the sides of the Chilterns and other hills up to about 400 ft. above ordnance datum. This is at the present time much above the level where water usually occurs, but probably it was not so when the homestead-moats were constructed.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

STRONG DEFENSIVE INCLOSURES

(CLASS G)

An earthwork which apparently belongs to this class is the circular moat-like work which incloses Hawridge Court.

ANCIENT VILLAGE SITES

(CLASS H)

There is an important inclosure, once stockaded, which may be placed in this class, at Hoggston, a parish in the north of the county, situated $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-east of Winslow. The following particulars have been very kindly furnished by the Rev. C. H. Tomlinson, rector of Hoggston.

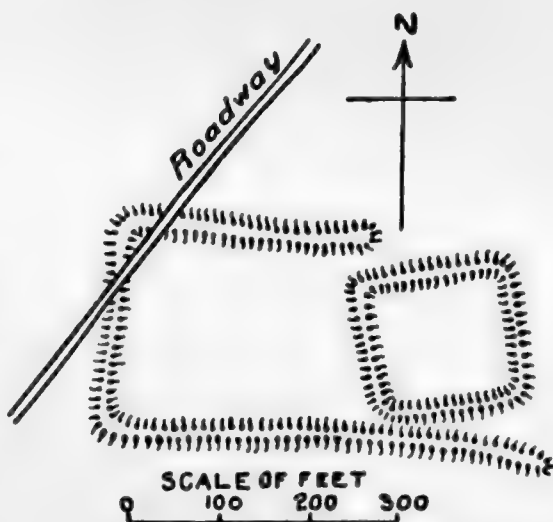
The inclosure, which is oblong in shape with rounded corners, is of large size, measuring nearly a quarter of a mile from east to west, and about one-eighth part of a mile from north to south. The inclosing ditch is more pronounced on the east and west sides than on the north and south, but it is quite clearly traceable all round. Towards the north-east corner of and within the inclosure there is a pond, and there is another pond on the south side, and still another close to the eastern ditch on the outside. The church and rectory house are inside the inclosure.

The probability is that this was an original settlement in the Forest of Bernwood, entrenched and stockaded as a defence against wild beasts and unfriendly neighbours.

MISCELLANEOUS EARTHWORKS

(CLASS X)

GREAT MISSENDEN: EARTHWORKS IN BRAY'S WOOD.—The rectangular banks of which these works consist comprise a complete square inclosure with an imperfect oblong inclosure partly surrounding it, but lying mainly to the west. In the present condition of the works it is not possible to say whether the three remaining sides of the oblong were ever completed by a fourth side in such a way as entirely to surround the square work, but there are one or two points which seem to indicate that such was not the case. The probability is that the square portion of the entrenchments was constructed for the protection of a dwelling-house or small collection of houses, whilst the oblong addition



CAMP IN BRAY'S WOOD, GREAT MISSENDEN

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served as a defence for the outbuildings and cattle. The discovery⁶ of fragments of Roman pottery and remains of buildings actually inside this square inclosure rather confirms this view, and, although suggesting occupation of the spot during the Roman period, by no means precludes the possibility of an earlier or a later origin. To the east there are some minor works which may have been field inclosures. One of them is broken, giving access to a pond, doubtless for the benefit of cattle.

Whatever may have been the condition of the square inclosure in pre-historic and in Roman times, it is known that in much later days a moated house was built upon the site, and early in the nineteenth century large quantities of building material, flints, &c., were carted away. The whole place has been much obscured and damaged by a dense growth of forest trees.

Other remains of miscellaneous earthworks which may be mentioned are (1) the defensive works of Bolbeck Castle at Whitchurch ; (2) works at Brill near the church ; (3) works at Ivinghoe and Pitstone Hills ; and (4) works near Great Kimble Church.

There is a roughly square entrenchment, called Grove Bank, 2½ miles north-east of Chesham. At its north-west are some traces of walling, as if intended for a castle, but now levelled.

At Oving there is a circular camp, and at Medmenham there are two works, viz. Danesditch and States Farm Camp.

GRIMES DYKE.—There are several variations in the popular name of this important earthwork ; Grymes, Grymer's, or Grim's Dyke or Ditch being amongst the most common. Of the great antiquity of the work there can be no doubt. It is mentioned in a charter of the time of Henry III, and the important place it occupies in local folk-lore is sufficient indication, one may imagine, of its very early historic, or even pre-historic, antiquity. The purpose of the great ditch or dyke is a matter of some uncertainty, but it seems clear that it should be included in this account of the ancient earthworks of Buckinghamshire, through which county it runs.

Grimes Dyke is, as its name suggests, a ditch of considerable importance. It consists of a fosse and rampart which, in certain more perfect parts, measure about 40 ft. in width and 30 ft. in depth. Its course, which one writer⁷ considers to be its main feature, runs through the southern part of Buckinghamshire along the Chiltern Hills. The ditch keeps within the platform of the high ground of the hills. It is by no means easy to follow its exact course, but the writer⁸ just referred to, who evidently had an intimate knowledge of the district, points out that it has been traced from Bradenham, whence it runs in bold outline through the woods to Lacey Green, forming the boundary of the parish of Princes Risborough. Thence, turning at an angle, it maintains its conspicuous course by Redland End, through Hampden Park, where, again turning sharply round, it runs near Hampden House, and onwards towards Great Missenden. Crossing the valley the course of the ditch runs near King's Ash, in Wendover parish ; then, passing through woods near St. Leonards, it continues in a now mutilated state over Wigginton Common, and is met with in full preservation

⁶ Rev. W. J. Burgess, *Rec. of Bucks.* i, 171.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 25. ⁸ *Op. cit.*

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

above Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire. Crossing the valley northward at that point it stretches over Berkhamstead Common towards Ashridge.

The purpose of Grimes Dyke is a question which has exercised the minds and imaginative powers of many people in different periods. Some have wildly suggested that 'Grim' is a translation of Severus, whilst the character of the name itself clearly attributes the work to a supernatural origin. Another theory is that this great ditch running along the Chiltern Hills served as a line of embankments to connect the strongholds of West Wycombe, Cholesbury, and other camps by which it passes. The obvious objection to this explanation is that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to defend such an extremely extended bulwark without the aid of an armed force which was entirely out of the question at the time. Again, it cannot have been constructed for a roadway, because it passes over hills too steep for vehicles. It is quite certain that it could not have been constructed for purposes of fortification, because the works are less developed on low ground than they are on steep hills.

It seems almost certain that this ancient line of fosse and rampart was intended to serve as a boundary-mark, separating the districts occupied by different tribes or principalities. It is clear, too, that such an extensive line of earthworks must have been the work of peaceable times, and of a large combination of willing hands. Such operations as these would have been impossible in war-like times, and in the presence of active and belligerent enemies.⁹

Without presuming to have finally settled what has long been a vexed question amongst antiquaries, we may suggest this as a useful working theory. It is possible, of course, that future discoveries may have the effect of proving quite clearly that the earthworks were made for another purpose, but in the meanwhile the boundary-mark theory seems to be open to few if any objections.

In conclusion the writer desires to express his thanks for valuable assistance, particularly in reference to little-known earthworks, courteously given by Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft, M.A., and Mr. C. Angell Bradford, F.S.A., and to the late Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A., for kindly reading the proofs of this article.

⁹ *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 272-4.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

‘**I**T is true of this County, that it liveth more by its lands than by its hands. Such the fruitfulness, venting the native commodities thereof at great rates (thank the vicinity of London, the best chapman), that no handicrafts of note, save what are common to other counties, are used therein excepting any will instance in bone lace, much thereof being made about Owldney in this county.’ This description of Buckinghamshire in Fuller’s *Worthies of England*¹ sums up the conditions of social and economic life in the county for many centuries. Until the eighteenth century, when lace-making was extensively carried on, the population was occupied mainly in agriculture and those trades supplementary to it. Corn-dealers, brewers, butchers, masons and men employed in other branches of the building trades, weavers and fullers, tailors, shoemakers, and hatters are the tradesmen that most frequently appear in the county.

The county is divided into two very distinct divisions by its natural features. In the Chiltern districts the greater proportion of the land is arable and well wooded. To the north of the Chiltern Hills lies the Vale of Aylesbury, a famous pasture country, stretching from the foot of the Chilterns and the borders of Oxfordshire to the western boundary of Hertfordshire, and on the north as far as Wingrave, Wing, and Whitchurch, though the country lying beyond is sometimes included in the vale. Leland² describes the Vale as being ‘cleane barren of wood and is champaine,’ and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its pasture was mainly used for sheep-farming, but later, and at the present day, dairy-farming has been found far more profitable owing to the great demand in the London market.

The towns of Buckinghamshire at no time occupied a very important place in the economic history of the county. In the Domesday Survey Buckingham was the only borough mentioned separately, though a few burgesses were found on the manor of Newport. Aylesbury and Wendover only appear as manors in the hands of the king, and Wycombe as a town is not mentioned at all. In the Hundred Rolls³ two towns are mentioned, Newport Pagnel and Wycombe, but they were held as parts of a manor, and paid whatever service was due to the lord of the manor. Certain privileges and exemptions were claimed at Newport Pagnel: no hidage was paid, and some unspecified payment was not made from the borough because the burgesses had no land except ‘free burgage.’ At High Wycombe the whole

¹ p. 193 (ed. Nuttall).

² *Itin.* iv.

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i. The reference to Wycombe is for a grant of King John.

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manor had been held by King John, but he had granted it away in two parts, the 'surburbum' to Robert de Vipont and the whole borough to Alan Basset, who paid a rent of £20 a year.

None of the boroughs in the county were incorporated by royal charter until the sixteenth century, but at Chepping Wycombe, as the borough is still called, a fine was levied between the lord and the burgesses in 1226 or 1227,⁴ and was confirmed by successive kings. The burgesses complained that Alan Basset had done them certain damages and injuries contrary to the liberties which they held of the ancestors of the king, and Alan granted to them the whole borough and town of Wycombe, with the rents, markets, and fairs, and with all other things appertaining to a free borough. Alan reserved his demesnes and lands in the 'foreigns' and certain privileges, but the burgesses were to pay the rent and the service of one knight due to the king. In 1237-8 the king confirmed this fine, with a slight alteration in the rent—the fee-farm of the burgesses was £30 and 1 mark of silver. Alan Basset had also the right to take tallage in the borough whenever the king tallaged his demesnes. The fine was also confirmed by Edward I and Henry IV, and took the place to a certain extent of a royal charter. At High Wycombe a ledger has been preserved in which the important orders made by the officers of the borough were entered from time to time.

The first entry was made early in the fourteenth century, and mentions the merchant gild and the officers of the borough :

Every son and heir of every burgess shall have the liberty of the Gild of Merchants after the death of his father by hereditary descent according to the custom of the town, and gives 10½*d.*, viz. 1*d.* to the mayor, ½*d.* to the clerk, ½*d.* to the sub-bailiff, 8*d.* to the gildans, ½*d.* to the Master of the Hospital of St. John.

This is the only mention of the merchant gild until the charter of Philip and Mary, and at this time its membership was evidently co-extensive with the number of burgesses. The chief officers were the mayor and bailiffs, the sub-bailiff, the clerk, and the gildans. The gildans were responsible for the management of the market and the preservation of the trading rights of the gild. In 1316 an order was issued concerning the weavers who wished to work in the borough. Previously they had paid 12*d.* a year to the gildans for every loom working, but this was remitted, apparently to encourage weavers to settle in the town. The order was made in 'plena magna Gilda,' but, in 1313, an order to the butchers was made 'In magna et plena curia villate de Wycumb de unanimo consensu communitatis.' At the end of the fifteenth century a similar order restraining the freedom of the corn-dealers in the market was 'ordeyned by the avys of the sayd mayre and hes brederne with th' assent and grant of all the Broges and Commonoulties of the town of Wicombe for a fast and staboll Act.' The tribute of the corn-dealers was to be paid to the bailiff and not to the gildans, and probably the merchant gild had been completely identified with the borough. The mayor's 'brederne' were presumably the bailiffs. In 1398 there were strict orders that no one of any condition should wander about the town after ten o'clock at night & if anyone was found out of doors without a reasonable cause he might be seized, punished, and detained until set at liberty by the mayor and commonalty.

⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. 10 Hen. III.

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The privileges of the borough court were also closely guarded ; the payment of a fine or imprisonment was the punishment for a burgess impleading anyone without the borough unless permission had been obtained from the mayor.

At Aylesbury there are no records at all before the sixteenth century, but no sort of incorporation was effected by the inhabitants. In 1500⁶ the lord of the manor held the courts as for an ordinary manor, the court-leet and view of frankpledge and the 'Curte,' no mention being made of burgesses or of a borough court of any kind.

Buckingham was a borough by prescription, though it never sent members to Parliament until the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth⁶ century two precepts were sent to the borough by Edward III to send two representatives to a council. The precepts were addressed to the mayor and two bailiffs, the borough officials. In a court roll⁷ in 1454-5 the names of the courts held in the town are found. The 'Curia Burgentum' was held once in the year, the 'port mot' once a month, but the entries are not enlightening ; in the former two men made default, in the latter there were frequent presentments for making and selling bread under weight, but there are no entries as to the trade or government of the town, nor is there any mention of the merchant gild amongst the records of the borough.⁸

Wendover, Amersham,⁹ and Great Marlow¹⁰ sent members to Parliament in the reigns of Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III, and in consequence obtained incorporation in the seventeenth century ; but they were small market towns of little importance. Colnbrook¹¹ was another market town that was incorporated from 1544 to 1653. At different times markets were held in thirty-seven places in the county, besides many fairs ; of these the markets of Aylesbury, Wycombe, and Buckingham were of great importance. The tolls, piccage, and stallage dues of a market were part of the perquisites of the lord of the manor until a town was incorporated, so that only at Chepping Wycombe did the borough control and receive the profits from the market.

In the Domesday Survey the county was divided into eighteen hundreds or districts for the purposes of local government, but some time before 1285¹² they were consolidated and formed into six groups, each containing three of the old divisions, the 'Three Hundreds' of Buckingham, Newport, Cottesloe, Ashendon, Aylesbury, and the Chiltern Hundreds of Desborough, Burnham, and Stoke.

It is noteworthy that in this county the king retained all the hundreds in his own hand. Hence the local courts were held by the sheriff, the chief royal official in the county, and through him the king received the ferm of the shire and other dues.

In spite, however, of the administrative and criminal jurisdiction being thus controlled by the officers of the crown, the Hundred Rolls show that at the end of the reign of Henry III, corruption, oppression, and abuse of power were rampant.

⁶ *Arch.* i. 93.

⁷ P.R.O. Court Rolls, ptfo. 155-6.

⁸ From information kindly given by Mr. T. R. Hearn, town clerk of the borough of Buckingham.

⁹ Lipscomb, *Hist. and Antiq. of Bucks.* iii, 161.

¹² *Fend. Aids* (Rec. Com.), i, 89.

⁶ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Buckingham*, 41.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 597.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iv, 430-1.

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Bailiffs and sub-bailiffs of the hundreds, escheators and coroners, with their subordinates all exercised their different offices and all, from the highest to the lowest, regarded them as sources of personal profit. Various inquisitions were held during the thirteenth century to bring to light all such irregularities.

In the hundreds of Bonestowe, Molesho, and Seggelawe, the sheriff had gradually raised the ferm since 1265 from 100s. to £8, and the hundreds of Newport had suffered a similar increase. On another occasion the sheriff received money due to the king, gave no receipt for it, and never accounted for it in the royal exchequer. Again, he exacted a fine for beaupleader at Chicheley which was not due from the township. Whether the sheriff personally or the king was the gainer in this case does not appear. The coroners extorted money from the various townships when they came to hold inquests, and Elias de Eugaine, a bailiff, imprisoned a man, Hugh son of Hugh by name, without cause and held him in durance until payment of 105s. was made.

Bribery was also rife amongst all officials. The same Elias de Eugaine, when sheriff, accepted money to excuse men from serving on inquest; the coroners and bailiffs took bribes from different places to conceal crimes committed within their boundaries, and to connive at the escape of prisoners from gaol.

The escheators who came to take possession of the lands falling in to the king, do not seem to have been the personal gainers by the irregularities practised, but the heirs of the last tenants suffered in many ways from the wrongful seizure of land.

In the fourteenth century a special assize¹³ was held by the itinerant justices of all 'Oppressions and Extortions.' The sheriffs and bailiffs were still guilty of similar offences, but a prominent place was given to irregularities in the collection of wool granted to the king. The collectors were accused of refusing to give receipts for wool they had taken, or else of weighing it falsely.

To gain any picture of the social condition of the inhabitants of Buckinghamshire in the Middle Ages, recourse must be had not to the towns but almost exclusively to manorial records, for the manor was the unit around which the whole local life of the country revolved.

The manors were for the most part in the hands of lay lords, for until the twelfth century there were no religious houses in the county itself, though a few manors were held by monasteries outside its boundaries.¹⁴ Later the foundations were numerous, but they were all small and included no house of the first importance. In consequence, there are no great collections of documents concerning the lands and tenants of the monasteries, which elsewhere contribute so largely to the materials for the social history of the twelfth and the two succeeding centuries. An early extent of the manors of Missenden Abbey for the fourteenth century exists, and similar documents for one or two manors which were temporarily in the hands of the king, but it is from the court rolls and ministers accounts of lay manors for the most part that all information must be gathered.¹⁵

¹³ Assize R. No. 74.

¹⁴ The abbot of St. Albans claimed to hold Winslow and Horwood by a charter of King Offa; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 27.

¹⁵ Few of the court rolls or accounts date back to the thirteenth century, but from the method of compiling the latter, it is possible to obtain information of an earlier date than the actual date of the document.

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The records in the northern part of the county are extremely scanty, but in the Chiltern districts and the Vale of Aylesbury a fairly complete picture of local organization can be drawn.

The private jurisdictions which existed in all parts of England may be divided into two classes, the franchises of regalities, and the feudal rights inherent to the possession of a manor and the mere fact of having tenants. According to the royal theory regalia could only be exercised by a subject in virtue of a direct grant from the crown, and it was this theory that Edward I adopted in the vigorous 'Quo Warranto' inquiry. Very few lords in these cases could show a definite grant of regalia, but relied on the vague words of the old charters granting 'sac and sok, toll and theam and infangthief.' In entry after entry in the Quo Warranto Rolls,¹⁶ the royal lawyers declared that this formula only gave the right to an ordinary manorial court and not to the view of frankpledge. Some lords too could not even show a charter at all, but could only plead their prescriptive right to hold the view of frankpledge and other royal privileges, the most common of which were the assize of bread and ale, infangthief, waifs and strays, and the right to hold markets and fairs. The great abbeys and barons held many such franchises, and the different manors belonging to the great tenants in chief in some cases formed an 'honour.' The earl of Gloucester held the honour of Giffard,¹⁷ of which Crendon was the chief manor, and lands in the county were parcel of the honours of Dudley, Peverel, Tocesburg, Chester, Berkhamstead, and Wallingford, the last being in the hands of the earl of Cornwall, brother of the king. Honour courts are not definitely mentioned in the hundred rolls except for the honour of Peverel.

The most important franchises were held by the abbot of St. Albans and by the lords of the honours of Wallingford and Peverel. The abbot at Winslow and Horwood had 'all liberties, pleas of replevin, and the return of writs,' and the earl of Cornwall had the same franchises in the manors of the honour of Wallingford, but in the honour of Giffard the return of writs was not granted, and thus the sheriff and his officers were not excluded from the earl of Gloucester's lands.

At Fawley William de Valence held all the pleas belonging to the sheriff, and the abbot of Westminster held the manor of Denham with 'all liberties and regalia' by charter.

The great majority of lords did not possess the important franchises, but a view of frankpledge was held so universally that at one time it must have been regarded as a manorial right rather than as a royal jurisdiction. At the same time, however, small payments were made by some lords for this right to the sheriff or bailiff of the hundred.

The feudal lords held the view of frankpledge for their men, withdrawing their suit from the sheriff's view, and making their manorial court a court for the presentment of offences against the peace. The jury of twelve freeholders was continually dispensed with; probably on many manors it could not be obtained, but in spite of this the lord still held his view. Thus at Kingsey, Cippenham, and Eton, for instance, in the fourteenth century only the tithing-men made presentments. On the other hand, in the Fawley courts, the twelve free jurors were regularly called

¹⁶ *Plac. de Quo Warranto* for Bucks.

¹⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i.

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together and made a separate presentment. Generally they merely said that everything was well, but occasionally some concealed offence was presented by them. The business of the court was a review of the tithings and the presentment of offences against the peace. For certain offences the lord himself levied fines. He thus was responsible for the condition of the roads, and dealt with encroachments and poaching. If he also held other franchises, such as the assizes of bread and ale, and waifs and strays, the numerous offenders were presented at the view of frankpledge, and finally the tithingmen gave a fine to the lord *de certo* from their tithings.

The view of frankpledge was afterwards called the court-leet of the manor. The name was used once at Fawley, in 1377,¹⁸ but afterwards the older designation of the court reappeared. In 1500 there was a court-leet at Aylesbury, but at Wingrave the name had not been introduced sixty years later.

Besides the jurisdiction originating in a grant from the crown the lord of a manor had the right, inherent to the possession of a manor, to hold a court for his tenants, both free and customary.

In the fourteenth century there was no trace of any divisions of courts for the two classes of tenants. At that time the free tenants had, when possible, withdrawn their suit, and the service was specially noted in their charters if it was to be exacted. It was, however, extremely difficult to enforce the attendance of the more important tenants, and a long list of absent free tenants continually began the business of the court, although the lord could distrain their goods for default. For the customary tenants on the other hand the manorial court was the only court of justice. The suits between tenants were so numerous as to suggest that litigation was one of the few excitements in an otherwise monotonous life. The chief actions were for debt and trespass, and were decided by the verdict of recognitors. Pledges for appearance and fines for non-appearance in these suits were levied by the lord, so that the perquisites of the court were a valuable asset.

At Kingsey,¹⁹ for instance, Thomas Chapman summoned William de Aston to recover a debt of 7s. William denied that he owed the money, and put himself 'at law.' He was, however, unable to find the necessary pledges, and so was held to be convicted of the debt, which Thomas was to recover, with damages to the same amount.

In another case Henry le Webbe accused John le Cornmonger and his wife Isabella of having harboured the son of the Cornmonger after he had killed a pig belonging to the plaintiff, worth 8d. The plea failed, however, since John and Isabella were not held to be responsible, and Henry was fined for making a false accusation.

In other cases the plaintiffs came to terms before the end of the suit, and paid a fine to the lord for leave to make a formal agreement.

Cases of disputed inheritance of customary land were brought to the lord's court and settled by the evidence of the suitors. All grants of lands, both free and customary, were recorded in the Court Rolls, in the latter case the actual transfer of the land being made in court, while fines and dues were also paid to the steward in the same place.

Lastly, fines were exacted in punishment of all encroachments on the

¹⁸ B.M. Add. R. 27029, rot. 2, i.

¹⁹ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 15.

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lord's rights. The presentments of the hayward for trespass in the meadows, for instance, were accepted apparently without any trial, and the offenders fined. An entry in a roll at Kingsey²⁰ suggests, however, that the tenants had some control over the amount of the fines.

Omnes tenentes tam liberi (quam) nativi consensierunt quod si aliquis eorum convincatur super dampno facto cum animalibus suis in prato de Suthmed, nisi quibus de suo proprio, quod dabunt domine 6d. nomine pene.

At Fawley²¹ a distinction was made in the presentment of different offences. In questions concerning land if any point was put to the suitors for evidence the presentment was made by the whole homage, but on other occasions the presentment was made only by the bondsmen in matters that affected none but the unfree suitors of the court.

The manor of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be regarded as an independent community, very nearly self-supporting, having little communication with other places outside its immediate neighbourhood. Its population was almost entirely agricultural, but in spite of the similarity of occupation there was a remarkable difference of status between the members of the community; in each manor some of the inhabitants were freemen, others were serfs or bondsmen, described in the Latin of the time as *nativi domini* or *villani*.

These latter were probably in the majority on most of the Buckinghamshire manors, but exceptions were to be found. At Beaumont,²² a very small manor in Little Missenden, the list of tenants in 1333 comprised eleven freemen and six bondsmen, but earlier the number of bondsmen may have been larger, since in the fourteenth century the class was already diminishing. This difference of status had its counterpart in the system of land tenure.

Within the manor the land was divided into two parts, one of which, the demesne, was generally cultivated by the lord or his steward for the maintenance of himself and his household, while the other was granted to different tenants. Some of these tenants held freely and some in villeinage, and the distinction in tenure as a rule corresponded to the distinction in status, but exceptions were to be found, though not as a rule until the personal disabilities of a villein were disappearing. At Fawley the parson, a freeman, held a tenement in villeinage, for the services tended to become inherent upon the tenements apart from their tenants. The free tenants of a manor were bound to their lord in two ways: there was the personal tie created by the performance on entry into their land of homage and fealty, by which they became the 'men' of their lord, and also the relation created by the grant of the land in return for money or service.

The different kinds of free-tenure were entirely unconnected with the size and importance of the tenement, and their characteristics were the same for a great baron and for the humblest freeholder within a manor. From the Conquest the right in all land emanated from a grant from the crown, but the tenants in chief might grant their land to sub-tenants, so that there might be many lords between the king and the man in actual seisin of a piece of land.

²⁰ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 15, m. 8.

²¹ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 2.

²² B.M. Add. R. 27027.

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In Buckinghamshire the most common form of tenure in chief was tenure by military service, the tenant holding his land in return for providing so many knights to serve in the royal army. In 1166²³ a full return was made of the number of knights due from the land of the military tenants in chief, each of whom had enfeoffed the majority of his knights. Thus Earl Walter Giffard held no land in demesne (for which he would have to supply knights to the king's army) within the county, all his quota of service having been distributed among ninety-six knights, and these knights did service for their land which they held of him. The size of these grants was very various, for Hugh Bolebec owed the earl the service of twenty knights, and Geoffrey the son of William twenty-six knights, but others had only to provide half the service due from one knight. In other cases, however, part of the land alone had been granted away; William Malduit thus provided four and a half knights from his demesne, depending most probably on the service of members of his household, and when that was not available employing hired soldiers, for the word *miles* at this time meant little more than a mounted soldier.

A tenure in many ways akin to military service was that of serjeanty; it was called grand serjeanty when the tenant held of the king, and petty serjeanty when he held of a mesne lord. The tenant in serjeanty performed some specially personal service for his lord, and in grand serjeanty he could alienate no part of his land without leave. Several such tenancies were found in Buckinghamshire. At 'Aston and Ilmire'²⁴ John son of Bernard held of the king by the serjeanty of keeping his hawks; Thomas son of Bernard²⁵ held 100 *solidatae* of land by the serjeanty *marescancie accepitrum domini regis*. The most interesting example, however, was at Aston Clinton. The manor was held by William de Montagu²⁶ in grand serjeanty, but under the previous lord much of the land had been alienated to tenants who paid him a money rent. This had been done without the king's licence, and when Robert²⁷ Passelewe was sheriff part of this rent was recovered to the king and was paid through the lord of the manor. The demesne land of the manor had, however, undergone another change, being held by military tenure by the service of one knight; but so late as the reign of Edward VI²⁸ the tenants were still paying their rent under the name of serjeanty.

On the foundation of monastic houses the donors as a rule granted their lands in 'frankalmoin,' i.e. a tenure for which the grantee did spiritual service only. The most common service performed was that of praying for the souls of the grantor and his ancestors. By an inquisition the monastery of Biddlesden²⁹ was said to hold all its lands in frankalmoin, but not all the houses were so fortunate. When land was held by military service or serjeanty, the abbot himself was responsible for its performance and the lands were distinguished as the abbot's temporalities. The abbot of Missenden³⁰ thus held land at Aston Clinton by serjeanty; at Kimble he held 20 hides of land by military service.

Lastly, freehold land was held by common socage, that is, a money rent was paid by the tenant. The older monastic feoffments were often made

²³ Cartae Baronum, Black Bk. of Exch.

²⁵ Ibid. 27. ²⁶ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

²⁷ P R.O. Mins. Accts. Edw. VI.

²⁸ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 20, 31.

²⁴ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

²⁷ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 256, 257.

²⁹ Harl. MS. 84, E. 31.

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in common socage. The prior of St. Frideswide's,³¹ at Oxford, held Upper Winchendon of the king by ancient feoffment for the sum of £20 a year. The abbot of St. Albans held land in Oving,³² paying 5 marks a year, but the jurors, when the inquisition was taken, stated that no one remembered the origin of the grant. Lay lords of manors holding for a money rent are also to be found. Alan Basset held half of Wycombe, including the borough, for 20s. a year, and Towersey was also held by socage in chief of the king. Socage tenure was, however, most usually found amongst the smaller freeholders in a manor, and often a few agricultural services were also performed for the lord; the tenant did fealty and suit at the manorial court.

The status of a villein brought with it many disabilities, but the conditions described in the law-books³³ of the time seem to have been much mitigated in practice. At Ilmer, in a survey taken of the manor in 1337-8,³⁴ there is a list of the most important burdens laid on a villein. He might be elected to the office of reeve; on his death his lord received the best four-legged beast or the produce of the best half-acre of his land chosen by the lord in place of the beast. His son could not be clerked nor his daughter married without his lord's consent. He might not sell his horse or ox, nor leave the fee of his lord without permission; for, in the language of Bracton the chief legal commentator of the thirteenth century, he was *ascriptus glebae*. That these restrictions were fully enforced the Court Rolls of different manors afford abundant evidence. At Kingsey³⁵ a man was presented at the court and fined for having sold his beast without leave. In theory all the possessions used by a villein were said to belong to his lord, but in practice he was recognized as an owner of property, since instances occur of a villein buying his freedom of his lord. At Kingsey there is the following entry at a court held in 1317-18, 'Et predicta Elena dat domine 10s. pro se et sequela³⁶ sua a servitute liberanda'

The legal disabilities of a villein were also very great, since the royal courts only recognized his existence through his lord; and, except in the case of danger to his life or limb, he had no remedy against any act of his lord. The Assize Rolls³⁷ of the itinerant justices continually contain cases of land suits being dismissed because one of the litigants was of servile condition, owing to his descent from villein ancestors.

Up to this point the disabilities enumerated all resulted from the personal status of the villein, but they were even more stringent with regard to his land. Various classes amongst the tenants in villeinage were to be found, but the terms of their tenure were all of the same type; unlike the free tenants they were distinguished from one another by the amount of land attached to the different tenements. Generally there were two main classes—the customary tenants and the cottagers. The latter appear under various names in Latin, the most common being *cotterelli* and *cottarii*, but all refer to the lowest class of tenants.

There seem to be no records in Buckinghamshire which show how these two classes developed from those found in the Domesday manors. In the

³¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 27.

³² Cf. Bracton. Extracts in Digby's *History of the Law of Real Property*.

³³ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 79.

³⁴ *Ibid.* No. 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 23.

³⁶ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 16.

³⁷ Assize R. Bucks. 54.

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eleventh century there were generally sokemen, who often might leave or sell their land at pleasure, 'villeins,' 'bordars,' 'cottars,' and 'serfs.' In the earliest thirteenth-century records³⁸ only villeins and cottagers are to be found, the other classes having entirely disappeared. A fairly numerous class of small freeholders had arisen, developed apparently from the sokemen and some of the Domesday villeins.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the villein tenements were held at the will of the lord, and in the latter period also according to the custom of the manor. Each tenement was granted in full court to the new tenant by the lord or steward, some outward token passing from hand to hand.³⁹ The rent and services were agreed upon, but the tenant had no other security against ejection or the demand for increased services than the custom of the manor. None of the royal writs and assizes, which protected the freeholder, could be used by a villein to recover possession of his land. In practice, however, the rents, fines, and services in each manor were fixed—all tenants of the same size of holdings performed the same services, and no change took place in them year after year—for it was of no advantage to the lord, who depended on his tenants' labour, to make the terms of their tenure impossible.

One of the most usual forms of grant for customary land is to be found continually in the Fawley Court Rolls. A messuage and tenement were granted to a man, his wife, and his son, according to the custom of the manor, a heriot being taken on the death of each of them.

At other times customary tenements were practically hereditary; at Ilmer⁴⁰ the eldest son possessed the tenement in which his father died on payment of a fine, and subject to the widow's interest. The tenement, of course, still had to be surrendered into the lord's hand, but custom decreed that the son should have it back on payment of a fine for entry.

The tenant in villeinage could not demise or sell his land without leave. In a roll⁴¹ of 1331 at Westcott, Richard Audren was fined for having demised his land at firm without his lord's consent. A few years later Thomas Benhul⁴² had exchanged 1 acre of land for another, and it was ordered that the land should be seized into the lord's hand.

The new tenant in some manors did fealty to the lord,⁴³ though in theory this was only due from free tenants.

Generally the widow of a villein was entitled to the whole of his tenement for life on payment of the heriot; this was called her 'free-bench,'⁴⁴ but the phrase does not appear frequently. At Ilmer⁴⁰ she held the whole tenement only so long as she remained a widow; on her re-marriage she was entitled to have a house and 4 acres of land of the second-best quality in the tenement in place of her 'dower.' 'Dower,' properly speaking, was only used in connexion with freehold, but the similarity of the conditions led to the misuse of the term in reference to a villein tenement. The similarity, indeed, was so great that at Beaumont⁴⁵ the widow of a villein had a customary right to one-third only of her husband's land, the regular rule for a tenement held by knight's service. In a few manors another kind of tenancy existed—that of

³⁸ Inq. Hen. III, *passim*.

³⁹ B.M. Add. R. 27030.

⁴⁰ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 79.

⁴¹ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 28.

⁴² Ibid. no. 28, m. 7.

⁴³ B.M. Add. R. 27026.

⁴⁴ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid. No. 2.

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the sokemen of the ancient demesne. Those manors which were in the hand of the king in Domesday Book were known as the ancient demesne of the crown, and always preserved certain characteristics which never obtained in later acquisitions of crown property. In Buckinghamshire there were only six such manors, Aylesbury, Brill, Wendover, Swanbourne, Princes Risborough, and Upton ; but amongst the tenants there, as in other counties, a special class of privileged villeins arose. Their fines were fixed and also their services, and, still more important, a special writ, the Little Writ of Right Close, ran in the court of the Exchequer, by which they could sue in the royal courts for their tenements. In the thirteenth century at Bierton,⁴⁶ a manor appendant to Aylesbury, certain tenants were summoned to answer an assize of novel disseisin before the itinerant justices, but they pleaded with success that they could only be sued by their special writ, being tenants of the ancient demesne. These rights were continued even after the manor was granted away from the crown, since Aylesbury and Bierton were then held by the descendants of Geoffrey FitzPeter.⁴⁷

The references to the later history of the sokemen of the ancient demesne are rare, but such tenancies can be traced. At Brill, in 1254,⁴⁸ there were 33 virgates of land held in chief of the king, each of which paid an annual rent of 5s., and performed five days' specified customary work. This in all probability was the sokemen's land, for the tenements and services of ordinary villeins would not have been mentioned, and the exact similarity in the rent and services due from each virgate would scarcely occur in freehold.

At Aylesbury,⁴⁹ in 1517, a Court Roll has been preserved in which the suitors declare 'that all londes and tenements holdyn of the said manor within the manor and lordshypp afor . . . as well charter as copyhold to be ympleted be writt of ryght clos after the custom. . . .'

At Princes Risborough the fines paid in 1323-4⁵⁰ certainly suggest that their amount was fixed ; twice over 3s. was paid on entry to a tenement and 6s. for *maritagium*, but no more details are given for other years. As late as the seventeenth⁵¹ century, however, the copyholders, who were then the only kind of customary tenants remaining, claimed that the manor had always been reputed to be ancient demesne. The fine on death or alienation was declared to be fixed at the rate of two years' quit-rent or old accustomed rent, which had been 2s. a year.

Another kind of tenancy was to be found on the manors of Langley Marish⁵² and Cippenham,⁵³ in the hundred of Stoke. A class of tenants called 'gavelmen' are mentioned in the ministers' accounts at both places, but there is no clue to their exact status. Probably the men held their land by a tenure on the border-line between freehold and villeinage, but the only definite statement classes them amongst the customary tenants, though their services were very slight.

The terms of tenure, whether free or villein, within the manor were closely connected with the system of agriculture generally known as the three-field system. The arable land was divided into three large open fields,

⁴⁶ Assize R. 1188. ⁴⁷ Chart. R. 5 John, pt. 127, mm. 6, 7 ; Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, 50a.

⁴⁸ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 34.

⁴⁹ Arch. i. 98.

⁵⁰ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 762, No. 23.

⁵¹ Exch. Dep. Mich. 26 Chas. II, No. 46 ; Mich. 29 Chas. II, No. 18.

⁵² P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 761, No. 17.

⁵³ Ibid. bdle. 760, No. 4.

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in which each tenant had so many strips according to the size of his tenement, and the demesne land of the lord lay mixed with that of his tenants. The rule of cultivation, each field lying fallow in rotation every third year, was also followed by him. At Ilmer⁴⁴ in 1337-8 the demesne lands were divided in the following manner :—

The *prima seisona* contained 35 acres, 1 rod, 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ perches of land, and was sown with corn.

The *secunda seisona* contained 62 acres, 1 rod, 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches, and was sown with beans and peas.

The *tertia seisona* contained 57 acres, 3 rods, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches, which lay fallow.

They were evidently scattered amongst the tenants' land, and it is obvious that this division of the fields necessitated a system of cultivation carried out by all who held strips in the field. The interdependence of the lord and his tenants in the cultivation of the manor is clearly shown in Domesday Book, by the careful enumeration of the villeins' ploughs, as well as of those belonging to the demesne. The three-field system in itself had no connexion with the manor ; but in Buckinghamshire, as in the greater part of the country, the tenants of the manor also formed a self-sufficing agricultural community.

Each tenement in a manor, as a rule, contained a messuage, arable land, and meadow, with common right in the pastures and woods. The size of a tenement, when given, generally refers to the arable land only, so that if a man was described as holding $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of land, this would only refer to his share in the open fields of the manor.

In the greater part of Buckinghamshire the land was divided into hides and virgates. The tenants were generally classed according to the parts of a virgate that they held, and *virgatus* and *semi-virgatus* are the names found on several manors, while at Ilmer *quationarius* also appears. The *cottarii* were smaller tenants, who held little or no arable land in the common fields, but only a curtilage or garden.

The cultivation of the demesne land was originally carried out by the customary tenants, for the performance of agricultural labour was the condition attached to their tenure. The villeins and cottars worked for their lord a definite number of days in the week, as well as special boon-days at harvest and other important seasons. The amount and kind of work varied in every manor, and in theory was regulated entirely at the will of the lord, but in practice it varied but little during a long period of years, and was fixed by the custom of each manor.

At the opening of the fourteenth century a great revolution in manorial economy was taking place. Instead of performing the actual services, the villeins commuted them for a money payment, and the lord cultivated his demesne by wage-paid labourers. The week-work was commuted much earlier than the boon-work, for naturally the right to a supply of extra labour at specially important times was a privilege of great value to the lord, while the week-work was inconvenient to both lord and tenant.

In the ministers' accounts, however, the services are still given, as well as their equivalent money value, so that the older state of affairs before commutation took place is shown. The customary tenants worked so many days a week, at any work to which they might be set.

⁴⁴ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 79.

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In Ditton⁵⁶ there were six customary tenants who worked, from the last day of May to 1 August, every Monday, Thursday, and Friday; in autumn they worked every day except Saturday, but in both seasons feast-days and vigils were holidays. At Cippenham⁵⁶ the smaller tenants worked for the lord every other day in the winter half-year, but not in Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun weeks; in summer they worked every day in the week for the space of five weeks and a day. The whole list of services is very characteristic of the duties inherent in servile tenure. There were many customary tenants each holding a quarter, or half, or a whole virgate of land, but the work was accredited to the land itself, and not to the tenant for the time being, proving that the custom of the manor had undergone no alteration for a considerable time.

From each virgate one acre was ploughed and harrowed, both at the winter and Lenten sowing time. Each virgate threshed and winnowed two bushels of wheat and four bushels of oats, which were carried to the field and sown. In winter the smaller tenants worked three days a week, and in summer every day.

In hay harvest one man was sent from each of the 16½ virgates held by twenty-five tenants to mow and make the hay of the whole manor, which, it was reckoned, would take seven days. When the hay was carried each virgate sent two men, probably for four days. Another 3 virgates, held by four tenants, also sent two men each to carry hay for the four days.

Thirty-four tenants, holding 20½ virgates, sent one man from each virgate for seventeen days to hoe.

In autumn the twenty-five tenants, who held 16½ virgates, sent two men from each virgate, receiving no food from the lord, every other day from the gules of August till the harvest was finished.

In autumn boon-work was also required of the tenants. The twenty-five tenants sent three men from each virgate every other day, except Saturday, receiving one meal a day.

Twelve gavelmen sent twenty-one men to reap for one day in autumn, with one meal a day.

Thirty tenants, holding 19½ virgates, reaped, bound, and cocked in the fields an acre of wheat and an acre of oats for each virgate.

From harvest to Michaelmas they also worked every other day. Presumably the tenants did not work for the whole day for the lord as a rule, for it is expressly specified that in summer and autumn after harvest they were to work for the whole day, but there is no clue to the number of hours that they worked at other times.

The meal given at the boon-day is also specified, every two men receiving bread, beer, meat or fish, to the value of 1*d.* each, and ½*d.* worth of cheese.

In 1322 and 1323⁵⁷ the value of each service per day is given, even of the boon-work, but by no means all the tenants had commuted their services. On the boon-days food was still provided, and the entry of money paid for each separate work was very small; but on the other hand the number of tenants who paid an assized rent in place of all services due throughout the year does not appear in the account.

⁵⁶ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, No. 18. The account is dated 12 Edw. II.

⁵⁷ Ibid. No. 4-

⁵⁷ Ibid.

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Generally, however, in the fourteenth century, even in the list of services such daily work as was done at Ditton and Cippenham is very rare. The tenants did not go to perform any work that might be required of them by the lord's bailiff, but their work had become a certainty, whether ploughing, hoeing, reaping, &c., so that one of Bracton's proofs of unfree service, its uncertain nature, had nearly disappeared.

The different kinds of boon-work found on the Buckinghamshire manors are interesting. At Cuddington⁵⁸ there was a customary service of *benerth*, which obliged the tenants to sow wheat and barley for their lord; they received food from him, since in the reign of Henry V an economy in the expenses of this food was effected by employing the farm-servants on the boon-work.

At Langley Marish⁵⁹ *benerth* also was performed, and the custom of ploughing the meadow. A boon-day at Islehampstead Chenies⁶⁰ was called a 'Love-bone,' but nothing is said as to its purpose. At harvest time at Langley Marish two boon-days were called 'Water Bedrypes,' at which no beer was given as at an ordinary bedrype at Missenden. In other manors belonging to Missenden Abbey⁶¹ the harvest boon-day was called the *Magna precaria Abbathi*.

The manorial tenants also made various customary payments for privileges allowed by the lord. Pannage⁶² for the right of sending their pigs into the lord's woods was paid frequently, and the same payment was called 'Garshanese' both at Langley Marish⁶³ and at Ditton.⁶⁴ Derfold and bensed are also mentioned at Langley;⁶⁵ the latter appears at Wendover,⁶⁶ when one pint of wheat from every virgate of land held by certain tenants was paid at Martinmas.

At Brill a yearly payment was made of 4s. 6d., called variously 'Cleg-gavel'⁶⁷ or 'Clangavel.'⁶⁸

At Monks Risborough⁶⁹ certain tenants brewed two gallons of beer, which they gave to the lord of the manor under the name of 'Tolcestre.' In the fifteenth century the payment was commuted, each tenant giving 3d. instead of the beer. In many cases in Henry V's reign, however, some of the tenants were presented at the manorial court by the bailiff for not having paid the tolcestre.

Vaccage⁷⁰ or 'lactagium' was continually paid, but perhaps it can hardly be described as a customary payment, being in no way connected with tenure. The lord's cows seem to have been leased to various tenants at so much per head per year, the lessee having the calf and milk; the same system was followed with sheep, and in one instance with geese and fowls.

Agistment⁷¹ was also paid for leave to pasture cattle in the lord's park. This was sometimes paid by a whole township to obtain such rights in a forest or chase. Thus the inhabitants of Salden⁷² paid agistment for pasture in Whaddon Chase.

⁵⁸ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, Nos. 15, 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid. No. 4.

⁶⁰ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 764, Nos. 7, 4; *ibid.* bdle. 760, No. 4; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 34.

⁶¹ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 761, No. 17.

⁶² Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 17; bdle. 764, No. 11800.

⁶³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 759, No. 30.

⁶⁴ Ibid. bdle. 759, No. 31.

⁶⁵ Ibid. bdle. 763, No. 26.

⁶⁶ Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 17.

⁶⁷ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶⁸ Ibid. bdle. 760, No. 18, 'Garsanese.'

⁶⁹ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 85.

⁷⁰ Ibid. bdle. 759, No. 31.

⁷¹ Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 11; bdle. 763, No. 26.

⁷² Ibid. No. 29.

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On the other hand certain payments were made by the lord by custom to his tenants. He paid 'Medram' at Cippenham⁷³ at harvest time, and 'dyner silver' when the park was mown, but this must have been instead of the food at a boon-day. At Ilmer,⁷⁴ 'Medeship' and 'Cartlof' had been paid, after all carrying had been finished at harvest, to seventeen customary tenants, who received amongst them 6*d.* worth of cheese, and 19*d.* in money; the custom, however, had been given up some years before 1343.⁷⁵ At Whaddon⁷⁶ medship was given entirely in money, 2*s.* 6*d.* being divided amongst all the customary tenants.

At the time when the manorial records of Buckinghamshire begin, at the end of the thirteenth century, the commutation of all customary services had already taken place to a considerable extent. The change probably arose from motives of convenience, as the old system was unwieldy, and the tenants must have found considerable difficulty in working for the lord and cultivating their own land at the same time, especially on the smaller holdings. The lord, too, must have been served by very half-hearted and unwilling workers, so that the change would be advantageous to both lord and tenants. The effects were, however, far-reaching, and were indeed one of the main causes of the break-up of the manorial system. The tenants had to be replaced by farm servants working for a money wage, and not necessarily holding land. These might be of servile birth, but the restrictions on their liberty were greatly lessened when disconnected with the land.

To give any exact dates to the process of commutation is difficult, since they varied on each manor and have to be sought for in records drawn up with a different object. The earliest minister's account comes from Brill in the hundred of Ashendon. In 1250-1⁷⁷ the expenses include the payment of all work connected with the harvest, but both winter and autumn boon-work was done by the tenants. The men with definite occupations were not paid with money, but by the remittance of their rents, so that they were tenants, not wage-paid labourers. On this manor there were 33 virgates,⁷⁸ probably those held by the sokemen of the ancient demesne, from which only five days' service was due to the lord in the year; hence some other arrangement instead of the ordinary system of work must have been made very early. At the beginning of the reign of Edward I, however,⁷⁹ all the men but one were paid a yearly wage, extra men being specially hired in harvest-time, and in 1313⁸⁰ the entry of *operibus custumariis venditis* appears amongst the receipts. In other manors in the same district, on one side of the accounts there are payments for work done by labourers, and on the other entries of 'assised rents' and 'works sold,' and each kind of work in the lists of services has its fixed equivalent in money. At Westcott⁸¹ all the work at harvest was paid for in money in 1336 and 1337, and a tenant held a small holding of a cottage and curtilage in villeinage for a rent of 12*d.* a year and two days' work in autumn. At Ilmer⁸² the services were valued and many tenants were paying commutation money to the lord. In the Aylesbury district the same change had also been taking place. The sum of money paid instead of services was often

⁷³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, No. 3.

⁷⁴ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 761, No. 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid. bdle. 759, No. 28.

⁷⁶ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 759, Nos. 29-30.

⁷⁷ Ibid. bdle. 763, No. 19.

⁷⁸ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 79.

⁷⁹ Ibid. bdle. 763, No. 30.

⁸⁰ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 34.

⁸¹ Ibid. bdle. 759, No. 31.

⁸² Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 2.

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small compared with the value of the whole work, but some men would have been paying a new and increased rent covering everything due from their tenements. At Beaumond⁸⁸ nine tenants held their tenements for a money rent for all services, but it is doubtful whether they were holding in villeinage or not. One cottage and curtilage seems to have been a customary tenement, but the tenant was not included in the list of the lord's bondsmen. In an extent⁸⁴ of the manors of Missenden Abbey none of the tenants performed more than fifteen days' service in the year, and generally only four days' mowing, six days' hay-making, four days' reaping, and attendance at the great boon-day were required. As a rule they were paying several shillings as rent and were presumably customary tenants, when heriot was paid, but no distinctions in tenure are actually made.

At Wendover⁸⁵ men were hired to help with the hay, and all reaping was paid for by the acre in 1338.

In Stoke Hundred, at Cippenham in 1318 and 1319⁸⁶ apparently all the regular work was commuted, but some thrashing was done by the tenants, and at Langley,⁸⁷ Ditton, and Datchet⁸⁸ commutation was practically complete except for boon-work. In Datchet certain work had been 'of old' commuted for a fixed sum of money paid at Michaelmas. Whaddon, in Cottesloe Hundred, is the only manor of which the minister's accounts are preserved in which commutation does not seem to have taken place before the middle of the fourteenth century, for there were no farm servants nor had the tenants paid money instead of performing their services until 1356 and 1357.⁸⁹

Besides arable land the tenants of the manors held meadow and rights of common in the pastures and waste lands. The meadow contained both the separate inclosure of the lord and the common meadow used by both free and customary tenants, but trespassing in the lord's meadow with cattle was an offence presented at the manorial courts with extraordinary regularity. The system seems to have been to inclose the meadow until a certain date, when all the hay would have been carried, and then to throw it open for the cattle of all the tenants. At Kingsey, in 1322,⁹⁰ the whole body of customary tenants had broken this rule, and were presented in the court 'pro herba apperlata contra consuetudine in prato de la More.' The meadow land was in some places distributed among the different tenants by lot, but though probably the custom was an old one, the existing instances are found in later records. At Aylesbury,⁹¹ in a rental of the reign of Henry VIII, two copyholders held pieces of meadow land that had come to them by lot. Rights of common in the pasture lands were also attached to different tenements, but the tenants in villeinage could only claim them by custom, which was very generally recognized. In Bernwood Forest and Whaddon Chase the inhabitants of the neighbouring manors had rights of common for their cattle, and others again could obtain leave by a small payment. This was the common custom in manors where the lord had inclosed his woods or parks, *agistamentum* for cattle being a very frequent entry in the accounts.

⁸⁸ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 2.

⁸⁵ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 793, No. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 17.

⁸⁹ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 15.

⁸⁴ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁸⁶ Ibid. bdle. 760, No. 3.

⁸⁸ Ibid. bdle. 760, No. 18.

⁹¹ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 1.

⁸⁹ Ibid. bdle. 764, No. 1.

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In many of the pasture lands the tenants had rights of entry for a certain number of cattle according to the size of their tenements, or for a certain period of the year only. At Ilmer⁹³ there was a pasture which was separate from 1 May to St. John the Baptist's day, and common for the rest of the year. At Beachampton⁹⁴ there were three kinds of pasture in the manor—first, the separate pasture of the lord ; secondly, pasture that was inclosed from the Annunciation to St. John the Baptist's Day or the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula ; and, lastly, pasture that was separate for two years and was then thrown open to the commoners for the third year. At Newport Pagnel, in the Bury Field the burgesses enjoyed rights of common for a certain number of cattle, in later records, but the right must have been of ancient origin.

In the woods belonging to some manors the tenants had also rights of gathering firewood or wood for repairing their tenements. Such a system of agriculture, carried on in common, and the work on the demesne lands, performed by the tenants, entailed a considerable amount of organization. As a rule, the lord put a bailiff or steward in charge of the manor, not only to hold the court, but to farm the demesne land and watch over the lord's interests. The labour services were supervised by one of the tenants, who was yearly elected for the purpose. He was called the reeve, and in the fourteenth century was chosen from among the bondsmen of the lord, among whom his duties lay for the most part. The obligation of serving in this office was specially mentioned at Ilmer⁹⁵ amongst the customs of the tenants in villeinage, and the reeve⁹⁶ was elected in full court by the customary tenants only. The office was naturally an unpopular one, for its duties were laborious, and constantly a fine was paid to the lord for exemption from the service. One of the numerous instances in the court rolls occurs at Westcott, when Thomas Benhul in order to be quit of the office paid a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* to his lord, a considerable sum of money at the time, especially when the privileges attached to the office, the remission of rent and services during the year, are taken into consideration. Unpopular though it was, the other tenants certainly seemed to have supported the reeve in seeing that no one escaped doing the work due from their land. At Kingsey the reeve and the whole homage at the court⁹⁷ presented that a certain man had gone to work for strangers throughout the autumn, and would not serve the lord when he was required to do so by the reeve.

In spite of the commutation of services the election of the reeve continued to form part of the business of the manor courts, but his work must have gradually diminished.

How far the tenants settled the arrangements for the common cultivation of the fields for themselves, or how far they were compelled to follow the convenience of the lord's bailiff, is difficult to determine. The only place where the tenants could meet was the manor court, and there the presence of the freeholders who held land in the common fields was some protection for the customary tenants against possible aggression by the lord. In different manors by-laws were made, but no evidence appears in the rolls as to their origin. At Kingsey there are various references to the 'statute of the

⁹³ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 79.

⁹⁴ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 28.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 800.

⁹⁶ Ibid. No. 17.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 79.

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harvest'; in 1322⁹⁷ the following entry was enrolled: 'statutum autumpnalim concessum est quod in omnibus articulis suis ob . . . sub . . . domine tam liberos quam nativos.' At another court⁹⁸ two men were presented for breaking the statute, for the preservation of which two *custodi autumpni* had been elected. In the other rolls, however, the orders are confined to questions connected with the demesne, and hence take the form of a precept of the steward or bailiff.

Another officer who superintended the work of the manor in the lord's interest was the 'messor' or hayward; his chief duties were to safeguard the lord's hay from the depredations of the tenants' cattle and to present their owners at the following court. In the Fawley Court Rolls in the latter part of the fourteenth century nearly every roll contains a long list of the presentments of the hayward. He was, however, merely one of the lord's servants, as a rule receiving wages; although in the earlier accounts he was often a tenant whose rent was remitted in payment for his service as hayward, he was in no instance elected by the suitors of the court.

While the system of customary service to the lord was in this state of transition, the country was devastated by the most terrible of the visitations of the plague, known in England as the Black Death. So great was the destruction of life that the years 1348 and 1349 stand out as a landmark in the economic history of the county.

The plague reached England in 1348, but in Buckinghamshire it was at its worst from May to September in the next year. The rate of mortality can be realized from the number of ecclesiastical appointments made at the time. In 1349 the number of deaths among the clergy reached a total of seventy-seven.⁹⁹

The same devastation fell upon the manorial tenants. At Salden,¹⁰⁰ for instance, the mill was empty, and all the tenants, both free and villein, were dead except John Robyn, who held one virgate in bondage.

There are unfortunately exceedingly few records of the next few years, and still scarcer are those that form a series both before and after 1349. The Whaddon minister's accounts are the fullest for these years, but the manor was to some extent exceptional, owing to the late commutation of services and appearance of labourers. In 1348¹⁰¹ there is a detailed roll, but no wages were paid at all for agricultural labour, and all hoeing and mowing and some at least of the autumn work was performed by the tenants. The only work definitely commuted was that of collecting nuts, certain tenants having paid $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every time the service was due; in the following year,¹⁰² when the plague was at its height in the county, the roll is nearly a blank. The next account extant is for 1351¹⁰³; there were still no stipends paid to farm servants, but the money values of all services are given. Five years¹⁰⁴ later there were eight servants paid by the year, and their wages form an item in the accounts until 1364.¹⁰⁵ At Burton,¹⁰⁶ where the same period is covered, the accounts give no details at all, but simply record the whole profits paid to the steward at Whaddon. At Kingsey there are three accounts, and several

⁹⁷ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 155, No. 15.

⁹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Bishop Gynwell's Inst. 1347-61.

¹⁰¹ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 763, No. 27.

¹⁰² Ibid. No. 29.

¹⁰³ Ibid. bdle. 764, No. 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid. No. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III, pt. 1, No. 21.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. No. 23.

¹⁰² Ibid. No. 30.

¹⁰³ Probably Berton, nr. Aylesbury.

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for Cheddington, at different dates throughout the century, which show to some extent how far the manors were affected by the Black Death, but as a rule the practice of writing the accounts with full details stops rather abruptly towards the close of the century.

Everywhere the result of the Black Death must have been a scarcity of labour. From other sources, outside the records of the county, we know that the labourers demanded higher wages, as they realized that they were in a position to impose terms on their lords. They were answered by the Statute of Labourers, fixing the maximum rate of wages that might be given or received. The records in Buckinghamshire, giving ratio of wages, as a whole do not show that a great rise was effected immediately after the Black Death, but specially in the case of agricultural labourers it is difficult to get enough instances to show what took place all over the county. In the hundreds of Buckingham, Newport, Desborough, and Burnham there are no records of such wages at all. Probably the conditions in Desborough Hundred differed but little from those in the neighbouring districts, but the two northern hundreds may have presented rather a different state of affairs.

It has already been shown that commutation of services had taken place to a considerable degree before the Black Death, and that wage-paid labourers were doing a large share of the work on the demesne lands in the thirteenth century. At Brill¹⁰⁷ in 1250-1 there were two ploughmen, one driver, and one shepherd, but of these only the two drivers received money wages. A few years later,¹⁰⁸ however, one of the ploughmen and the shepherd were paid in money instead of their rents being remitted; and in autumn various extra men were hired, such as a reaper and carter. In most manors a carter was hired throughout the year, who, with a cowherd, swineherd, and dairyman, completed the ordinary list of farm-servants. The general rule was to pay the servants partly in money and partly in corn, and presents were often added at Christmas and Easter. At some places men were employed only for half the year,¹⁰⁹ and frequently they received a very small sum of money in winter.¹¹⁰

The carters and ploughmen were the most highly paid labourers, the drivers receiving a little less. The shepherd was the most important of the herds, and it is interesting to note that he was far more frequently employed than either the cowherd or the swineherd.

A careful examination of their wages points to a very slight change in the second part of the fourteenth century, very far from the assertion that wages were at least doubled. In Edward I's reign at Beaumont¹¹¹ some of the wages were higher than those to be found until an account for Cuddington in Henry V's reign, but the driver at the earlier date received less than the usual wages, which varied from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*¹¹² in the reign of Edward III. The ploughmen usually received 6*s.*, the dairyman 3*s.* to 4*s.*, and the swineherd 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* except at Cuddington, where the rate of wages was higher. These variations did not occur to so great an extent in different years as on different manors.

¹⁰⁷ P.R.O. Mins. Accta. bdle. 759, No. 28.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. No. 29.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. No. 21, the swineherd at 'Bourton'; *ibid.* bdle. 761, No. 9, the shepherd at Kingsey.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. bdle. 759, No. 21. At 'Bourton' the wages in winter were only half what was paid in summer.

¹¹¹ Ibid. No. 15.

¹¹² Farm servants who were paid by the year also received board and lodging.

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A list of the Cuddington wages affords an instance where the wages seem to have been unaffected by the Black Death, but the list at Cheddington gives evidence of an entirely opposite effect.

CUDDINGTON : WAGES BY THE YEAR

	1336-7 ¹¹³	1380-1 ¹¹⁴	1416-17 ¹¹⁵
Servant	13s. 4d.	—	6s. 8d.
Carter	6s. 8d.	—	(master) 10s.
Ploughman	6s.	6s.	(master) 8s. 2nd 8s.
			2 others 6s. each
Shepherd	6s.	6s.	10s.
Swineherd	6s.	3s. 6d.	6s.
Dairyman	—	6s.	8s.
Hayward	—	—	6s. 8d.
Cowherd	—	3s. 6d.	—

CHEDDINGTON : WAGES BY THE YEAR

—	1298 ¹¹⁶		1311 ¹¹⁷	1341 ¹¹⁸		1363 ¹¹⁹		1375 ¹²⁰	
	Autumn s. d.	Winter s. d.	For 1 year s. d.	Summer s. d.	Winter s. d.	Mich. s. d.	Lady Day s. d.	Mich. s. d.	Lady Day s. d.
Ploughman	5 0	3 0	{ 5 0 }	7 0	{ 1 6 }	6 0	3 0	8 0	6 8
„ (2nd)	3 6	—	{ — }	—	{ 1 6 }	—	—	—	—
Driver	3 0	1 4	4 4	3 0	1 4	4 0	2 0	5 6	5 0
Carter	3 6	1 6	5 0	4 0	1 6	—	—	—	—
Shepherd	3 0	1 6	4 0	3 0	1 4	5 0	2 0	5 0	2 0
Dairyman	3 6	1 0	4 0	3 0	1 4	5 0 ¹²¹	—	5 0	2 0
Swineherd	1 0	0 6	2 6	1 6	0 6	3 0 for 1 year	—	2 6	1 6

Thus at Cheddington there is a considerable rise between the years 1341 and 1363, but fourteen years later the wages were more than doubled, and at Weedon, ¹²² in the same hundred, there is a rise in the wages between 1377 and 1382.

At Whaddon, in the same hundred, the accounts present rather a peculiar case, since no wages had been entered in the accounts till after the Black Death. In 1356, ¹²³ however, the wages were 4s. 8d. for the ploughman, dairyman, carter, and swineherd, and 6s. for the drivers, but no rise took place before 1363. ¹²⁴

On other manors in Aylesbury Hundred the rate seems to have been similar to that at Cuddington, but in the hundreds of Ashendon and Stoke the rate was slightly lower. At Kingsey ¹²⁵ there were no carters, but seven servants going with the carts and ploughs in winter. The wages for all seven were 13s. for the half-year in 1360, so that each man received on an average a little more than 1s. 10d. The ploughman had the privilege of ploughing his land with his lord's ploughs, and so received no wages. At

¹¹³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, No. 13.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. No. 14.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. No. 10.

¹¹⁶ Mins. Accts. belonging to Merton College, Oxford, rot. 5531.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. rot. 5541.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. rot. 5570b.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. rot. 5589.

¹²⁰ Ibid. rot. 5561.

¹²¹ In the previous year the dairyman received 5s. at Michaelmas and 2s. at Lady Day. Hence the omission in 1363 of the latter payment is probably a mistake.

¹²² Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, ii.

¹²³ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 763, No. 30.

¹²⁴ Ibid. bdle. 764, No. 5.

¹²⁵ Ibid. bdle. 761, No. 8.

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Ilmer wages were not paid to all the labourers till 1343. In the previous year¹²⁸ the reaper, swineherd, and a maid-servant were paid in money, but the carter, ploughman, and two drivers received corn in the field, each receiving the produce of a certain number of acres of wheat and beans. This payment was altered, and the carter, ploughman, driver, and shepherd were paid 2*d.* a day and the dairyman 1½*d.* a day, but this is the only case where the regular servants were paid by the day.

Other workmen were employed on the different manors, and were generally paid by the day. The blacksmith, however, had either a tenement, free of rent or services, or was paid by the piece. Occasionally a contract was made for the whole work needed for the demesne; at Wendover¹²⁷ 36*s.* and four bushels of wheat were given in payment of all work connected with four ploughs, the cart-horse and mill-horse. Reaping and mowing was generally paid by the acre, but carpenters, thatchers, and sawyers were paid by the day. The carpenters received 3*d.* or 4*d.* throughout the fourteenth century, but the higher rate was more frequent, and the rise of 1*d.* took place, as a rule, some years before the Black Death. At Cheddington¹²⁸ the carpenter was paid 2*d.* a day in 1342 and 1344, but before that the usual rate was 4*d.*, and in no other place was he paid less than 3*d.* In 1372 the rate rose to 6*d.*, but afterwards dropped again to 4*d.*; and at Cuddington¹²⁹ no change had taken place as late as 1417. The other workmen were so frequently paid for themselves and a labourer that it is impossible to find out their exact wages. The thatcher was paid 2*d.* or 3*d.* during the century, but the higher rate in this case was more common towards the end of Edward III's reign. Other labourers—digging, forking hay, hedging—had usually 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day. Both rates appear throughout the fourteenth century, but in the cases of these labourers a rise had taken place before this period, for no men at all receive the wage of 1*d.* a day for any work—the rate paid in a few instances about 1280. Women rarely received more than 1*d.* a day, and frequently only ½*d.* or ¾*d.* At Whaddon¹³⁰ several women received 2*d.* a day, but there is no other evidence to show whether a general rise took place in women's wages after the Black Death or whether this was an isolated instance.

For the fifteenth century there are practically no records of the wages of agricultural labourers, but during the building of Eton College the wage-books of the clerk of the works give the wages paid for stone-masons, carpenters, and their labourers. In the estimates for the college buildings¹³¹ in 1447–8 the free masons were paid 3*s.* a week; other skilled workmen had 6*d.* a day, and ordinary labourers 4*d.* These rates show that there had been a considerable rise during the fifteenth century, and may have been lower than in other parts of the country, for the men were engaged for a long piece of work, and also had their tools found by the king. Several times men were fined for losing their tools, an extensive system of fines being adopted for the punishment of all small offences, such as telling tales, playing, and most frequently for late-coming. At times common labourers received as much as 5*d.* a day.

¹²⁸ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 761, No. 2.

¹²⁹ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, ii.

¹³⁰ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, No. 16.

¹³¹ R. Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge and Eton* (ed. 1886).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* bdle. 763, No. 11.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* bdle. 764, No. 3.

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Besides commutation of services various other movements brought about a change in the manorial economy. The lay lords no longer lived on their manors, but they had to a great extent become absentee landlords, either belonging to the court nobility or else serving abroad in the French wars. In either case money was needed rather than agricultural produce, and often it was far more profitable to grant away part of the demesne to various tenants than for the bailiff to farm the whole land. Hence not only had the need for personal service disappeared, but the servile status of the villein was unnecessary since the lord no longer needed to keep a closer control over him than over a free tenant. At the end of the fourteenth century there was but little difference between a villein and a free man. He cultivated his own land without interference, and the Court Rolls by custom secured him possession of his land. He had also gained recognition in the statutes and laws of the realm; the Statute of Winchester especially, which enforced the duty of all men being trained to carry arms. To some extent it was a revival of the *fyrð*, and made no distinction between the free and unfree in regard to their responsibility for the defence of the nation. On the other hand, no definite national act of manumission took place, and all the restrictions on customary tenants were enforced, if they were profitable to the lord. After the Black Death they were probably enforced even more stringently than before, and in the manorial courts no opportunity was ever missed of exacting heriots, merchets, fines for entry and for leaving the lord's fee, and various other payments—all causing greater discontent as the position of the villeins in other ways improved.

The heaviness of these fines was probably the foundation of the cry for freedom raised in the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. If the poll-tax, which was the first tax to fall directly on the serfs, led to the actual rising of the men of Kent, in other parts of the country the demand for freedom was the main rallying cry of the rebels. The men of Buckinghamshire do not seem to have joined the revolt, although the rebels were numerous in the neighbouring county of Hertford. The Court Rolls early in the reign of Richard II show no evidence of any disturbance, nor do they record the flight of more men than usual from the manor. Little effort seems to have been made to reclaim the fugitives beyond distraining their relatives to produce them at the next court, a course of action which seems to have had singularly little effect. At Whaddon, the smith, a tenant whose rent and services due from half a virgate of land were remitted, left the manor in 1381, and did not do the necessary blacksmith's work. That he joined the revolt is a pure surmise, but if the Buckinghamshire villeins took any part in it, it must have been in such isolated instances as that of John Beaufitz,¹³⁸ the smith of Whaddon.

The emancipation of the serfs obtained at Smithfield from the young king was repudiated by Parliament, and the hope of freeing themselves at one stroke from the remaining disabilities of serfdom and customary tenure had disappeared. The rebels in many places had burnt the Court Rolls of their manors, considering that these were the only witnesses of their ancestry, but it was to the rolls that finally they owed the security of their tenure. The repudiation was carried out by the two houses of Parliament, composed

¹³⁸ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 763, No. 8.

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mainly of important landholders, the one class to whom serfdom was still of some importance, but their action was in direct contradiction to the general tendency of the time. The action of the law courts, always jealous of private jurisdiction, especially made for freedom, and so without any great Act of Parliament the customary tenants gradually obtained protection for their tenure in the national courts of justice. A new formula was introduced when a tenement was granted to a fresh tenant; he held by 'copy of court roll' or simply 'by copy,' as well as by the custom of the manor. At Fawley¹³³ the phrase first appears, in a roll of the year 1409, but it is rare in the beginning of the fifteenth century; at Langley Marish in 1483 it had become the ordinary designation for customary tenements, a presentment¹³⁴ running as follows: 'Et quod Johannes Waltys qui de domino tenuit diversas terras tam libere tam per rotulum curie' The copyholders gained protection for their land by a writ in the royal courts, but the old dues were still exacted. The sokemen of the ancient demesne were included among the copyholders, though at Aylesbury¹³⁵ the little writ of right was mentioned as part of the custom of the manor in Henry VII's reign. They clung to the certainty of their fines, however, a privilege which was not attained by ordinary copyholders unless they made special terms with the lords. The security of copyhold tenure did not extend to the grants made of demesne land at the will of the lord, but only to the old customary tenements, for in various instances in the ministers' accounts¹³⁶ of the sixteenth century the distinction is drawn carefully between tenants by copy and tenants at will.

If throughout the fourteenth century the tendency was towards greater freedom, and in consequence greater prosperity amongst the manorial tenants, there was a counter-movement which tended to their disadvantage. All the tenants had rights of common for their cattle in the commons and wastes of the manor, rights attached to the tenements that they held. The free tenants had a proprietary right in their common, just as much as in the other parts of their tenements; but the customary tenants, whatever may have been the origin of their common rights, were in legal theory only allowed to enjoy them as an act of grace on the part of their lords. The importance of such pasture rights was unequalled in an agricultural community, and hence any inclosing of commons or waste lands caused great hardship to the tenants. The fresh incentive to inclosure was the increased profit to be made from sheep-farming, which was widely taken up by both ecclesiastical and lay lords in the fourteenth century, though the movement had begun a century earlier. Large tracts of country were amassed into one hand and turned into separate pasture land, so that the difficulties in the way of arable farming, due to the insufficient supply of labour, were overcome.

As early as 1254¹³⁷ there were complaints of the inclosing of parks in various manors in the three hundreds of Newport. At Brill¹³⁸ the tenants had been evicted by the firmor of the manor from their right of common in a wood, for which they had already been accustomed to pay 50s. a year, and had never made any default in their payment. The complaints grew so loud in the reign of Edward I that the matter was dealt with in detail in the Statute

¹³³ B. M. Add. R. 27150.

¹³⁶ Arch. l. 98.

¹³⁷ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 38.

¹³⁴ P.R.O. Ct. R. bdle. 1, No. 6.

¹³⁵ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. 37-38 Hen. VIII, bdle. 56, L.R.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 21.

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of Merton. The influence of the lords was, however, so great that only certain restrictions were placed on their powers of inclosure; each incloser was forced to leave a sufficiency of pasture for the tenants of the manor, but as he was generally also the lord of the manor, he had the right to settle what was a sufficiency for the greater number of his tenants.

In most manors of which records remain in Buckinghamshire the lord had inclosed a park, which generally contained pasture, meadow, and often a warren. The increase of hunting rights was a further grievance, which interfered with the tenants' common rights. At Newport Pagnel¹³⁹ complaints were made in the Hundred Rolls that there was a warren in the common field of the town, but that was a case of rare and excessive oppression. At Fawley, Langley Marish, Cippenham, Princes Risborough, Hanlee in Beachampton, and Olney there were inclosed parks, but on all these manors the bailiff still cultivated part at least of the demesne as arable land, for the sale of corn continually forms part of the receipts in the bailiff's accounts, and it is improbable that much land at this time was turned into pasture, but only that commons were inclosed.

In the parks themselves the tenants generally had pasturage on payment of a yearly sum of money, but if previous to the inclosure they had had free common rights, this would naturally entail a considerable loss to the tenants.

Licence to inclose, after the statute, had to be obtained from the king. In 1337¹⁴⁰ Sir John de Molins had leave to impark his woods in Ilmer with 100 acres of pasture in Beaconsfield, Burnham, and Cippenham. Eight years later he had leave to inclose more woods with the 300 acres of pasture adjoining them.

The movement was followed not only by the lords of the manor but by the freeholders, and more especially by the firmors, to whom the lords leased the demesne lands. Still in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries sheep-farming was carried on to a large extent by the bailiffs of the manors, for the sale of wool and fleeces was frequently entered in their accounts.

From a survey¹⁴¹ of various manors, assigned to the reign of Henry III, the number of sheep is given on three royal manors, Brill, Aylesbury, and Lectun; but there is no account of the sale of the wool. In Stoke Hundred, at Cippenham, Langley Marish, and Ditton, the bailiff sold considerable quantities of wool; at Islehampstead Chenies the lord had a fulling mill, the rent of which had been increased in 1324-5, but in the hundreds of Ashendon practically no wool appears in the accounts, except at Brill in the thirteenth century. In the hundred of Aylesbury not much wool was sold, but at Wendover there was a fulling mill in 1339-40, and about three hundred sheep belonging to the lord.

The greatest quantities of wool were sold on three manors in Cottesloe Hundred—at Whaddon, Cheddington, and Weedon.

The sheep-farming was probably accompanied by an increase in the manufacture of cloth within the county. Elsewhere efforts were made to improve the kinds of cloth made in England, and in Wycombe,¹⁴² at least, amongst the Buckinghamshire towns, the burgesses were anxious to induce weavers to settle in the town, by granting them immunity from certain fines

¹³⁹ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 40.

¹⁴¹ *P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R.* 74.

¹⁴⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iv, 546.

¹⁴² *Ledger of borough*, 1316.

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exacted from foreign tradesmen. Fullers and dyers were also to be found in the town, but the cloth made was probably very coarse, since Buckinghamshire wool compared unfavourably with that grown in the neighbouring counties.

The tenants and farmers, so far as it was possible, also carried on the more profitable system of farming.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century the practice was increasing of letting out the demesne lands at firm, both arable and pasture land. At Whaddon, where the sale of wool had previously formed a considerable item in the bailiff's accounts, the meadows and pastures were all at firm in 1381-2,¹⁴⁵ and in other places parts of the pastures had been let still earlier to both free and customary tenants. At Fawley¹⁴⁶ trespasses in the lord's pasture were very common, and quite small tenants were presented for sixty and forty sheep at a time, and they evidently made serious encroachments on the separate pasture, all tenants in one instance being ordered to remove their cattle from the lord's pasture.

With regard to the manors that were in the king's hands in the fifteenth century, the common practice was to let the whole manor at firm, sometimes to one man, sometimes to a number of tenants. The firmors did not hold the manorial court, or even receive its dues; hence they had but little interest in the customary tenants, and their chief object would be to make as much profit as possible from the land itself by sheep-farming.

The tenants on some manors could also get leave to inclose certain pieces of land on payment of a small fine to the lord, but it does not seem to have been very commonly done. More frequently the inclosure was made without leave; and, though complaints were frequently made in the court, little was done, unless the encroachment affected the demesne pastures, for the presentment was made in court after court of the same offence.

The prices given in the accounts show that the value of wool increased substantially in the fourteenth century. In many cases the price is given by the fleece and not by the weight, so that it is impossible to compare them on different manors and at different times.

The price of sheep also affords some information on the profits that were made by sheep-farming. In three instances of the survey of the stock on the royal manors in the reign of Henry III¹⁴⁶ all sheep are valued at 4*d.*, but in the fourteenth century the price had risen very considerably. The lowest prices were 11*d.* at Cippenham,¹⁴⁷ and 1*s.* 1*d.* at Wendover for ewes,¹⁴⁷ while at Whaddon the price rose to 2*s.* 8*d.* for sheep,¹⁴⁸ but generally they brought in about 2*s.* a head.

The records of the fifteenth century are very meagre as to details, since the accounts merely record the payments of rents, &c., and contain nothing as to agriculture or stock. Inclosing must, however, have gone on apace, but the complaints did not become loud enough to influence the government to interfere until the close of the century. The rentals and ministers' accounts, however, show that many tenants had been evicted from their land, and that many tenements were gathered into one hand. They do

¹⁴⁵ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 764, No. 8.

¹⁴⁶ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. 74.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. bdle. 763, No. 9.

¹⁴⁸ B.M. Add. R. 27161.

¹⁴⁹ P.R.O. Mins. Accts. bdle. 760, No. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. bdle. 764, No. 7.

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not show that the arable land was turned into pasture, but the consolidation of tenements into a few hands enabled the free tenants to inclose with but little opposition. Three rentals at Haversham afford an illustration of what was probably taking place all over the county. In 1305-6 there were fifty-two tenants of all kinds; in 1458-9 several men were holding two tenements each, and, in consequence, the number of tenants had fallen to thirty-five. Lastly, in 1497-8, there were only fourteen tenants in the rental; of these three held one messuage and half a virgate of land each, and one had only a cottage, so that the remaining ten tenants must each have acquired a considerable amount of land. At Fawley the number of tenants also decreased during the same period, and at Cippenham in 1407-8 two virgates of land had been definitely inclosed in the park, and therefore the rents were no longer received by the bailiff.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, the inclosers turned arable land into pasture, pulled down houses, and turned away the tenants and labourers for whom there was no longer any work. In 1490 an Act was passed entitled an 'Act for keeping up of houses of husbondry,' but it failed owing to the machinery for carrying it into effect being placed entirely in the hands of those most interested in the retention of inclosures. Another Act 'against the pulling down of towns' was passed in 1515, which provided a more adequate method of dealing with inclosures; and was followed by the appointment of a commission to inquire into the number and effect of those already in existence. The returns for several counties are in existence, amongst them being those for Buckinghamshire. The commissioners held inquiries as to all inclosures made between the years 1485 and 1517, and the terms of their commission especially were confined to inclosures for sheep farming. The returns are made in very various forms, so that it is difficult to ascertain whether in all the instances inclosure was followed by the conversion of the arable land into pasture. Nearly 9,000 acres are included in the Buckinghamshire returns, and in 81.5 per cent. of these it was definitely stated that this conversion had taken place. With regard to the remainder it seems probable that the omission was due to accident in the drawing up of the evidence, particularly if the scale of inclosures in different hundreds is considered. In the hundred of Ashendon 2,979 acres had been inclosed, and in Newport and Cottesloe Hundreds over 1,800 and 1,100 acres respectively, in all three districts the land being suitable for sheep farming. There are practically no returns for the hundred of Desborough (48 acres in all), but in Burnham 490 acres had been inclosed. There was, however, but little land fit for pasture in these two hundreds, but good land for arable farming, so that the incentive to inclosure for pasture would not be great. A few years later Leland, passing through Burnham Hundred from Amer-sham to Uxbridge, noted the 'goodly enclosed groundes' that lay on each side of his road, but of the inclosures returned in 1517 his way only passed through Chalfont St. Peter. On entering Stoke Hundred, Denham again was the only place along the road at which there were inclosures in 1517, to the extent of 84 acres. Thus it is probable that the returns were made only when inclosure was followed by the conversion of arable land into pasture, though the land mentioned by Leland might of course have been inclosed before 1485, or in the interval between 1517 and his journey.

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The inclosures in Aylesbury Hundred are curiously small in extent, since it lay in the centre of the Vale, and in the adjoining hundreds of Ashendon and Cottesloe inclosures for pasture had taken place extensively. The movement was at its height between the years 1491 and 1500, slackening in the succeeding years covered by the reports. This was possibly due to the fact that Buckinghamshire wool was of an inferior quality, and the price was considerably lower than in Oxfordshire or Berkshire. Thus Buckinghamshire farmers may have proved that sheep farming was not so profitable as they had expected.

In the majority of the returns the amount of damage is estimated by the number of houses destroyed and of ploughs thrown out of use. The tenants were evicted with no compensation for the loss of their houses and lands, and were reduced to extreme poverty. Much less labour was needed on the pasture farms, and there was nowhere for the evicted tenants nor for the labourers to go for employment, for inclosure was as frequent in the neighbouring counties. Still, it must be remembered that the total inclosures recorded formed less than two per cent. of the arable land under cultivation in the counties making the returns, and that in the southern part of Buckinghamshire but few evictions probably took place. Further north, however, there must have been a great deal of distress; the most serious instances of wholesale evictions were at 'Birdston,' 'Doddershill,' 'Littlecot,' 'Flete Marston,' and 'Hogshaw with the hamlet of Fulbrook,' all in the hundreds of Cottesloe or Ashendon. At Birdstane a freeholder inclosed 400 acres of land and converted them to pasture; four houses were pulled down and sixty people turned out of their houses and lands, which had been cultivated with eight ploughs, and 'the said town, hamlet and manor of Byrdeston was now totally and wholly used and had for the pasture of sheep.' At Doddershall 24 messuages and 24 virgates of land, each containing 40 acres, had supported 120 persons with sixteen ploughs, but they had been turned into pasture and the inhabitants had gone away in extreme poverty. At Littlecote 84 persons had lost their occupations and land and had left the place, 'for the whole hamlet of Littlecot was devastated and destroyed.'

The lord of the manor, two freeholders, and a firmor had jointly inclosed 140 acres of arable land at Fleet Marston, evicting fifty persons, and only one messuage on the demesne, with five cottages for as many shepherds, had been left standing. A full account is given of the evictions at Hogshaw and its hamlet of Fulbrook, which contained together 11 messuages and 390 acres of arable land. From time immemorial these acres had been sown with grain, and six ploughs had been employed on them, but the tenements were held at firm by Ralph Lane and Roger Gifford from the prior of the Hospitallers in England and of the abbot of Eynsham. The prior held the manor of Hogshaw, where there were eight tenements; Ralph Lane was in actual occupation of the chief messuage of the manor and another smaller tenement. The abbot held three tenements in Fulbrook, where Roger Gifford was also a freeholder, 'seised in demesne of his fee.' The two firmors inclosed the whole of Hogshaw and Fulbrook with a ditch, and 'kept and do now keep in severalty the arable lands and converted them to pasture and the pasturage of animals.' Not only was the arable land thus inclosed and converted, but the 569 acres of meadow and pasture were apparently also surrounded by the

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ditch. In these five instances whole villages were swept away, so that the tenants, their families and labourers, must have entirely lost their means of livelihood, and but little help could have come from the neighbouring villages, which had suffered only in a less degree. Everywhere the evicted tenants must have joined the bands of vagrants wandering over the country, that were becoming an increasing difficulty and a problem to the government.

With regard to the status of the inclosers, one fact is very striking in all parts of the county. The ecclesiastical inclosers, whether lords of manors, freeholders, or firmors, were responsible for an exceptionally small proportion of the whole. The abbot of Notley inclosed 60 acres at Ashendon; the prior of Ravenstone, 48 acres at Ravenstone; the prior of Bradwell, 300 acres in Bradwell and Wolverton; the abbot of Missenden, 80 acres at Great Missenden; the prior of Snelshall, 20 acres at Mursley; the abbot of Biddlesden, 40 acres at Thornborough; the abbess of Elstow, 20 acres at Moulsoe; the abbot of Osney, 27 acres at Upton and 90 acres at Steeple Claydon; and the prebendary of Buckingham, 30 acres at Gawcott. The total amount of land inclosed by ecclesiastics was only 715 acres, but it can to a great extent be explained by the poverty and insignificance of most of the monasteries in the county. Elsewhere it was the abbots of great monasteries who led the inclosing movements, but when the ecclesiastical land was scattered in small pieces of freehold in different manors, inclosure on a large scale was impossible. The lords of manors were responsible for the inclosures on their lands held by firmors or copyholders, and therefore, if these are added, the total inclosed by ecclesiastics is considerably raised, since the big inclosure at Hogshaw was carried out on ecclesiastical land. Only one instance of inclosure by a copyholder occurs throughout the county, and, curiously, it is the only case in which the evidence was false. John Godewyn held 1 messuage and 161 acres of land by copy of court roll of the prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, and 10 acres of freehold, both at Over Winchendon, and was returned as having inclosed them for pasture. When his case was brought on for trial it appeared that he had not inclosed the land at all, but had only engrossed the two tenements. By far the greatest proportion of land was inclosed by laymen of different kinds; frequently it was done by the lords of the manors themselves, who at this time seem still in many cases to have farmed the demesne lands themselves; twenty firmors, some of whom held the site of the manor, or the chief messuage of the manor, form another large class of inclosers, but ordinary freeholders formed the great majority.

At Castle Thorpe the remarkable instance occurs of a large inclosure being made on a manor in the hands of the king, and by order of a royal official, in spite of the statutes passed by Parliament. The bailiff had inclosed 100 acres by order of the bishop of Carlisle, supervisor of the lands of King Henry VII, and had evicted eighty-eight inhabitants. The effect of his inclosure was to render the common cultivation of other tenements in the manor impossible, and the tenants had therefore to give up their lands.

The value of the land when inclosed was generally given in the return, the average being 11.62*d.* per acre; the value on the large inclosures of 100 acres or more was considerably higher than that on the smaller inclosures, the two averages being 13.12*d.* and 9.85*d.* respectively.

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The inclosers had been allowed by the Acts of 1516 and 1517 to pull down their inclosures within six months and to repair the houses on their lands, and in the actions taken on the evidence of this commission much of the land had been thrown open. The effect of the commission does not seem to have been permanent. Much discontent was aroused in the country, and the feeble effort at repression made in 1549 by the issue of a 'proclamation for the laieng open of enclosures' was of no avail.

The discontent finally burst forth in Ket's rebellion, and though most serious in Norfolk, risings took place in other parts of the country. The rebels hoped that the government would support them, believing that the proclamation pledged it more or less to assist any movement against inclosures. Holinshead describes the causes of the rebellion in the south of England and the means that were taken to suppress it with a good deal of detail in the following words:—

For where as there were few that obeiad the commandment, the unadvised people presuming upon their proclamation, thinking that they should be borne out by them that had set it forth rashlie without order tooke upon themselves to redresse the matter, chose to them capteins and leaders, brake open enclosures, cast down ditches, killed up the deare, which they found in parkes, spoiled and made havock, after the manner of an open rebellion . . . First they began to plaie these parts in Sommersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolnshire.

The rebellion in the west was put down with severity by Sir William Herbert, many of the rebels being slain and, quoting further from the Chronicle:

About the same time that this rebellion . . . began in the west, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, but they were speedilie appeased by the Lord Greie of Wilton, who comming downe that waie to joine with the lord privie seale, chased the rebels to their houses, of whome two hundred were taken and a dozen of the ringleaders to him delivered, where of certaine afterwards were executed.

Ket's rebellion, followed shortly after the dissolution of the monasteries and the renewed outcry against inclosures, has been attributed to the disappearance of the old ecclesiastical lords of the manor. The new occupants of these lands in Buckinghamshire most probably were more ready to inclose than the religious houses had been, and whatever charity had been dispensed to the evicted tenants was probably not continued by the new tenants in chief or the firmors of the crown. They represented a new class of men in the county, the lands often being held by merchants or lawyers; amongst the latter class, Sir John Baldwyn, the Lord Chief Justice, who was the lord of the manor of Aylesbury, was a prominent example. Not only did the monastic lands come to the crown in the sixteenth century, but each of the numerous rebellions and plots brought the forfeited lands of traitors, and whether the fee-simple was granted away or whether they were held by indenture or letters patent, the new owner helped to swell the class of country gentlemen who gathered all local power into their own hands. Their influence in the county was but little connected with the manor, which was no longer the centre of local government. The views of frankpledge held in the king's manors show the small importance of manorial justice. The constables or tithing men merely paid their fine due from their township and occasionally made a presentment about the highways, but all effective administration had passed to the justices of the peace. Not

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only had the importance of the manor in the hands of the new lords or the king's bailiff entirely disappeared, but even in the numerous places where a manor had been in the same family for successive generations it had ceased in the same way to be the unit of local life. Its place had been taken by the parish. Within the parish the churchwardens, and later the overseers of the poor, were the responsible officials, while constables and petty constables of the townships made their presentments at the quarter and petty sessions rather than at the court-leet of the manor. The justices of the peace trace their origin to a proclamation of 1195, appointing knights to receive the oaths from all men over fifteen years of age for the maintenance of the peace. Gradually as the sheriff's power was undermined and the hundred and shire courts in consequence lost their importance, the justices of the peace sitting in quarter sessions formed the chief court for criminal justice below the jurisdiction of the judges of the assize and became the chief administrative and executive body in the shire. There was practically no department in local affairs which did not come under their supervision in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The control of the police system, the relief of the poor, and punishment of vagrants, licensing, the repair of the highways, formed perhaps the chief duties of the justices. In 1562,¹⁴⁹ in a letter to Sir William Cecil, William Tyldsley, a justice of the peace in one of the Chiltern Hundreds, describes very fully the local condition of Buckinghamshire. The Privy Council had issued letters to the magistrates of various counties, ordering them to inquire into the administration of certain statutes. Tyldsley writes in a most desponding spirit :—

There came also with them an earnest letter from the Cownsell which I do perceive, hath caused in some shyres, a littell to be done, and in some shyres nothing at all. Yea and as farre as I can perceyve they that had begone to do pretelye well, begyn now to wax so cold that as me thynks, they be rather sor for that they have so well begonne than mynded to continue.

In a postscript he adds :—

And yet me thynk I have forgotten one thing which I ought to tell you, which ys that in all the hyther part of Berkshyr, they have done nothing at all, and hyt doith not onelye hynder thys littill beginning that is here in Buckinghamshyre being so nere joyning together, but also others that do border upon them.

For the inaction of many of the justices he finds excuses however; they had been away or at court, while with regard to Middlesex he adds :—

I do think they had no letters or else if they had, then surelye I think, that coming unto Sir Roger Chomeley, they be utterlye forgotten in the bag of his cote and so nothing done ther, for sureley he and Mr. Chydley can better skyll of the affayres of the cite then of the country.

The writer had obviously the good government of his county very much at heart, and the same may be said of all the justices for the next two centuries. A great deal of time and trouble was expended by them on local affairs, and the most celebrated men of the county sat on the commission of the peace. In the further details of his letter Tyldsley gave a description of the state of the county, and it was such as might be expected after the long civil wars and weak government of the fifteenth century, followed by the agrarian discontent and religious difficulties under the Tudors. The

¹⁴⁹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 19, No. 43.

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rich men were lawless and oppressive, the poor were suffering great distress, and in many cases were disorderly and discontented. 'The ale-houses were very numerous, being 'the stake and staye of all false theves and vagabondes.' Wine licences were also the source of trouble, and no remedy was possible, since the wine sellers were 'my lord's servants or my master's servants, yea or have such kynd of licenses and lycens out of lycens to them and their deputies and assignesse.'

The power of the local magnates and their lawlessness had not been successfully repressed, for since the keeping of retainers was only an offence committed by great men, therefore it was 'of so much danger to be medelled with at all, that hyt may at no hand be touched.' Again in the question of tillage or inclosures 'hyt is playne sacraleage to medill whith those matters, for they be all gintilmen of the richer sortt of men, that be offenders there in.' The inclosure of land by the smaller freeholders had apparently been successfully dealt with in 1517, since in the Domesday of Inclosures they had been answerable for a considerable portion of the total amount inclosed, but the commission had been powerless to deal with the greater offenders.

Vagabonds were numerous, and the repressive statutes might well have been better obeyed; the prevalence of robberies was attributed to the carelessness in keeping watch and ward and to possible connivance. 'Theves,' Tyldsley writes, 'will be theves for they lak no frends and for watches be kept indifferently well.' There are no further letters with such a full description of the state of the county, but in answer to the orders of the council, the justices returned certificates dealing with special matters, such as the rate of wages, the price of corn, poor relief, apprenticing, and the granting of licences, giving all the information obtainable with regard to their administration, until the records of quarter sessions begin, in the second half of the seventeenth century.

From the fifteenth century the justices of the peace were empowered to fix the scale of wages in their counties, giving a maximum wage, beyond which no employer might go except under pain of a severe penalty. It is generally supposed that these scales of wages were inoperative, and until Elizabeth's reign, when the statute of 4 Henry V was re-enacted, the magistrates probably neglected to use their authority in the matter. Recognized scales of wages are given in several Acts of Parliament, and the rates can be compared with various entries of wages to be found in other sources at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The maximum wage was continually exceeded, and indeed the entries are rare when so low a rate as that fixed by statute was paid.

It is difficult to obtain information concerning agricultural labour, but the wages of carpenters, tilers, masons, &c., and their labourers are numerous. By the Act of 6 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, master masons were allowed 7*d.* a day; free masons, carpenters, plumbers, and men employed in similar trades had 6*d.*; ordinary labourers 4*d.*; but if food was received from the employer 2*d.* less was given in money during the summer and 1*d.* less in winter. At Wing¹⁶⁰ in 1537 and in the following years the wages correspond with these rates—a mason had 7*d.* and an ordinary labourer with his food 2*d.* Again, at Burnham¹⁶¹ a painter and his man together received 1*s.* 2*d.* and a carpenter

¹⁶⁰ Wing, Churchwardens' Accts.

¹⁶¹ Burnham, *ibid.*; W. J. Burgess, *Records of Bucks.* v, 117-19.

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8*d.*, both just over the statutory rate ; labourers had 5*d.* and 4*d.*, and in one case only 3*d.* On the other hand instances appear of a tiler receiving 1*s.* a day and a carpenter 11*d.*, showing that in some cases the rate was exceeded by a considerable amount. In the latter part of the century this became the regular custom, and the wages actually paid to workmen were often double the amount fixed in 1562 by the justices of the peace. The scale had risen in all trades by 2*d.* or 1*d.*, and the allowance for food had also been increased to 3*d.* At Eton¹⁶⁹ the tendency was to pay the more skilled men wages above the scale, and at Wing^{169a} in 1573 a tiler got 1*s.* 8*d.* a day or more than double the rate fixed eleven years before.¹⁶⁹ Similar instances continually appear; hence the fixed scale of wages in 1562 may be assumed to represent not the maximum but the minimum rate paid in the county to artisans and the usual rate of wages paid to common labourers. It was drawn up in great detail, showing many gradations, especially in agricultural labour, as well as variations according to the time of year.

The rate of day's wages *during time of harvest* :—

Mower	8 <i>d.</i>	Mowers by the acre :—Oats	4 <i>d.</i>
Man-reaper	7 <i>d.</i>	” ” gross	8 <i>d.</i>
Woman-reaper	6 <i>d.</i>	” ” barley	5 <i>d.</i>
Common labourer	7 <i>d.</i>	” ” wheat	} 16 <i>d.</i>
Women rakers and cockers, &c.	5 <i>d.</i>	” ” rye	

From harvest to All Hallowstide :—Labourers 3*d.*

From All Hallowstide to Easter :—Labourers 5*d.*

From Easter to harvest :—Labourers 6*d.*

ARTIFICERS

	<i>From Easter to Michaelmas</i>	<i>From Michaelmas to Easter</i>
Master carpenters and sawyers	9 <i>d.</i>	7 <i>d.</i>
Other men	7 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Bricklayers, tilers, thatchers	8 <i>d.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Other men	6 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>

Rates of wages for servants at husbandry, &c. :—

1. No bailiff of husbandry shall take above 40*s.* by the year and for his livery 6*s.* 8*d.*
2. No chief or head servant of husbandry shall take above 33*s.* 6*d.* by the year and for his livery 6*s.* 8*d.*
3. No common man servant at husbandry above 26*s.* 8*d.* by the year and for his livery 5*s.*
4. No man servant under sixteen, to take any wages but only sufficient clothes, meat, drink, and other necessities.
5. No unmarried woman servant above 20*s.* by the year and for her livery 5*s.*
6. If under eighteen, unmarried, no wages but only meat, drink, clothes, and other necessities as shall be agreed or thought good by her master or mistress.

The condition of the labourer and artisan with the wages he received at this time must have been considerably worse than in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, owing to the rise in prices having been far greater than the rise in the rate of wages. A carpenter during the latter part of the fourteenth century received 4*d.* a day and in the fifteenth century from 6*d.* upwards, but the average price of wheat at the two periods was 5*s.* 6½*d.*¹⁶⁴ a

¹⁶⁹ Eton Accts. Bks.

^{169a} Wing, Churchwardens' Accts.

¹⁶⁸ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 19, No. 43.

¹⁶⁴ Average taken from entries in Mins. Accts. for reigns of Edward III and Richard II.

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quarter, 5s. 5·2d.¹⁵⁵ a quarter respectively. In the sixteenth century the prices are unfortunately given by the justices for 1586-7,¹⁵⁶ in a time of scarcity, when wheat averaged 5s. 1·1d. a bushel, or more than eight times its value in the fifteenth century, but at Whaddon in 1584 wheat was 19s. 4d.¹⁵⁷ a quarter in an ordinary year. Hence wheat had risen to nearly four times the value, but wages, at the highest, to twice the rate in the preceding century. Barley, which was used for bread in times of dearth, showed the same rise, and the average prices ran from 4s. 5·7d.^{157a} and 3s. 4·53d.¹⁵⁸ a quarter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but in the sixteenth century it was worth over 10s.¹⁵⁸ a quarter, and in 1586-7¹⁵⁸ reached an average value of 22s. 8d. a quarter.

It is interesting to note that this rise did not take place early in the sixteenth century, for at Wing¹⁵⁹ between 1531 and 1539 barley varied from 3s. 11d. to 5s. a quarter.

The price of wheat was so high that barley largely replaced it in common use, and early in the seventeenth century the justices reported that barley was dear, since it was 'the common feed of the poore.'¹⁵⁹

The restrictions on the freedom of all workmen under the Tudors are important in their bearing on their prosperity, since they must have placed them at a great disadvantage in endeavouring to obtain better wages. A workman could not travel about the country without a passport, which he was only certain of receiving when he had already obtained work elsewhere.¹⁶⁰ The object of these restrictions was to ensure a steady supply of agricultural labour and prevent men emigrating in great numbers to places where some trade was especially flourishing. The fluctuations in the larger trades made this to some extent a reasonable precaution. In 1562¹⁶¹ there had been appointed by the justices in every town in the three Chiltern Hundreds a governor of labourers, and probably the same course had been followed elsewhere. His duties were to present masters who gave too high a rate of wages, and to control the comings and goings of all labourers. Without his consent a man might not leave his town to work elsewhere, nor could anyone apprentice his son to a trade unless he owned a freehold of 20s. value a year, but the governor was to insist on the boy becoming a servant in husbandry. When there was a scarcity of labour in harvest time the governor was to apportion the men to different masters without partiality, and to compel all journeymen and apprentices, if it was necessary, to work in harvest time at the ordinary rate of wages. Again, no labourers might move from one house to another or leave the hundred without giving a good reason to the nearest justice and obtaining his leave.

Restrictions were also placed on the clothes of the agricultural labourers and servants. The cloth worn by them was to be of 'mean and low parts,'

¹⁵⁵ Average only obtained from two manors, but the price of corn does not seem to have varied greatly in different parts of the county.

¹⁵⁶ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 199, No. 43.

¹⁵⁷ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, vol. ii.

^{157a} Average taken from entries in Mins. Accts. for reigns of Edward III and Richard II.

¹⁵⁸ Wing, Churchwardens' Accts. ; Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, vol. 140, No. 19. The rise in prices was due partly to the influx of silver into Europe after the discovery of the Mexican silver mines, and partly to the debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII and Edward VI.

¹⁶⁰ This restriction was first made in a statute of 1388.

¹⁶¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 9, No. 43.

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and it was not to 'be jagged or cut,' nor was a ruffled shirt to be worn. The same orders also applied to journeymen and apprentices, and tailors who supplied any of the prohibited finery were mulcted 60s. for each offence.

For the first half of the seventeenth century there is no scale of wages given by the justices, but from other sources of information it appears that a slight rise took place. At Wing¹⁶³ there was a parish mole-catcher who was paid by the year; he had formerly received 26s. 8d. from the churchwardens, the maximum wage for a common servant in husbandry in 1562. It was arranged, however, that the parish was in future to pay him only half that sum, for work in Wing field and Wing mead, but that owners of inclosed land were to pay him themselves for work that he did for them. In another case, an artisan who worked in the church and must have been either a carpenter or mason received 1s. 2d. a day. At Eton¹⁶³ artisans' labourers received 10d. or 1s. a day. At Horton,¹⁶⁴ where paper-mills had been established, the workmen and labourers were said to be paid double the rate of wages of ordinary day-labourers. When the mills were stopped during a time of plague in 1636, the manufacturer petitioned for relief, and amongst other items there appeared 45s. a week for his man and four apprentices; if they all were paid at the same rate, they would each have received 1s. 6d. a day, considerably above the rate of artisans' labour elsewhere, but in all probability the apprentices would have had less than a man who appears to have been the head man at the paper-mill. Unfortunately there is no mention of the number of the other labourers for whom £5 a week was required. There were, however, twelve paper-mills in Buckinghamshire in which a considerable number of men must have been employed at a high rate of wages. At this time, however, the market price of corn was extremely high, and at several epochs scarcity prices prevailed throughout the county, in spite of the interference of the justices; at Eton¹⁶⁵ in 1600, at the close of a period of dearth, wheat was 42s. 8d. a quarter, but during the next years it had dropped to 31s. 4d. and 26s. 8d., the lowest price for several years. It was over 40s. a quarter in 1607, and in 1622 the justices¹⁶⁶ of the peace in the three hundreds of Aylesbury reported that it had been as high as 60s. a quarter. Still it was the custom, in some parts of the county at least, to sell to the poor at a lower rate, at the corn-masters' own houses, so that the market price given by the justices does not show the real price paid by the labourers themselves. An adequate supply of corn in this long period of scarcity cannot have been within their means, since charitably inclined people bought rye, which was not grown in Buckinghamshire, and sold it at less than cost price to the poor. Less than ten years later the justices were again forced to regulate the sale of corn in the markets, since in Desborough Hundred¹⁶⁷ wheat had reached the price of 72s. a quarter, while barley was dearest in Cottesloe and Buckingham¹⁶⁷ Hundreds at 48s. a quarter.

Until 1687¹⁶⁸ none of the scales of wages drawn up at quarter sessions has been preserved, but in that year the scale shows that the necessity of a rise had been recognized by the magistrates, though with but little approach

¹⁶³ Wing, Churchwardens' Accts.

¹⁶⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 344, No. 40.

¹⁶⁵ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, vol. 140, No. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Quart. Sess. Rec. 1687.

¹⁶³ Eton Acct. Bks.

¹⁶⁵ Eton Acct. Bks.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. vol. 142, No. 44.

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to the actual wages which masters were content to pay for labour. The laws against masters who gave more than the legal wage were, however, not enforced; there are no presentments of such offences, and the bench¹⁶⁹ of magistrates even ordered a master to pay his servant wages that were due to her at the rate of 32*s.* for the half year, although this exceeded by 7*s.* the maximum amount for the most highly paid woman-servants.

The scale shows, however, that agricultural wages were lower in the Vale than in the Chilterns in the case of servants hired by the year. The chief bailiff in husbandry had £6 in the Chilterns, but only £5 in the Vale; for ordinary farm servants this difference does not appear, all having £4, but the boys both under and over sixteen received less in the Vale. The payment of boys from twelve years old was a new development in the seventeenth century, since in 1562 no servant under sixteen years of age was allowed to take any wages in money, but only his clothes and board. Another feature in this scale of wages is the varying amount allowed instead of meat and drink; for a mower or reaper, the allowance was 8*d.* a day, but for men hay-makers only 5*d.*; ordinary labourers out of harvest-time received 4*d.*; some women again had 4*d.* and others not more than 3*d.* The same variations occur amongst the artisans, the food allowance varying from 3*d.* for the yelmers to 8*d.* for the more skilled artisans in summer, but the latter in winter only received 4*d.* in lieu of food.

It is perhaps interesting to enumerate the trades which appeared in the scale in order to show the commonest occupations in the county.

Free masons were the most highly paid artisans, then followed rough masons, carpenters, plough-wrights, bricklayers, tilers and plasterers, gardeners, and finally thatchers, servants of thatchers, yelmers, tailors, sawyers, and spinners. The wages were fixed evidently with a view to regulating the payments for agricultural labour and those trades which were practised in country districts. The men in the paper mills, weavers and others employed in the clothing trade, for instance, did not come under the magistrates' restrictions. As a matter of fact the regular rate for ordinary labour seems already to have been 1*s.*¹⁷⁰ a day with but little variation, though the legal amount was 8*d.* at most; but in the more skilled work the difference as usual was even greater. Instead of 1*s.* 2*d.* a bricklayer was entered as receiving 2*s.*, a carpenter 1*s.* 6*d.*, and a plumber, whose trade did not appear in the scale of wages, had 2*s.* 6*d.* a day.¹⁷¹

Undoubtedly the question of the greatest historical importance dealt with by the justices of the peace was the administration of poor relief, since the central government, as it gradually assumed responsibility in the matter, acted almost entirely through the local magistrates of the county and borough. In mediaeval times the relief of poverty was left entirely to private charity. The monasteries gave largely and indiscriminately to all who came to their doors; the nobles kept open tables, while, for the old, almshouses and hospitals were numerous all over the country. Large towns sometimes had organized the charitable benefactions of their citizens by the action of the municipality, but the government took no real responsibility for the relief of the poor until the sixteenth century.

¹⁶⁹ Quart. Sess. Rec.

¹⁷⁰ 1*s.* a day was paid at Aylesbury, Eton, and Wing.

¹⁷¹ Wing, Churchwardens' Accts.

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The first interference with the condition of the labourers was entirely in the interests of the employers, to keep down wages and secure a larger supply of labour, but nevertheless it was very closely connected with the later poor laws. The Statute of Labourers restrained the liberty of the giver, who was forbidden to give alms to able-bodied beggars, in order that they might be forced to work for their living. In 1388 an Act of Parliament admitted the right of those who could not work to relief, but restrained the movements of all beggars and labourers. Servants who wished to leave their hundred, either for change of work or for a pilgrimage, could only do so when they had obtained a letter duly signed by the head man of the hundred. Anyone, whether beggar or labourer, found wandering without such a letter was to be put in the stocks and kept there until a surety was found for his return. Even impotent beggars might not wander about the country, but must obtain support in their own neighbourhood. At the same time various Acts were passed for controlling religious endowments, which were continually diverted from their original objects.¹⁷³

In Henry VII's reign there were further enactments against beggars and vagabonds, with less severe punishments, but probably the offenders were not very numerous. The views of frankpledge give little evidence that the vagrancy question caused much difficulty, but at Newport Pagnel,¹⁷⁴ the case of a vagrant who was punished according to the statute was interesting from the rarity of such a presentment at a court-leet in the next reign.

In the sixteenth century a great change came over the attitude of the government. The question was no longer one of forcing men to work for lower wages, but of providing work for the unemployed and food for them at a reasonable price. This change was due to the great increase of vagrancy resulting from various causes, but in Buckinghamshire undoubtedly from the inclosure of arable land and its conversion to pasture and the consequent loss by the evicted tenants of both houses and work.

How far the monasteries before the Dissolution had effectually relieved the distress it seems impossible to estimate, but they were for the most part very small and poor.¹⁷⁵ Few but Notley Abbey and perhaps Missenden could have given sufficient alms to relieve on any large scale, so that probably the unemployed labourers had from the first swelled the large body of vagrants. The rise in prices, due to the debasement of the coinage in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and to the influx of silver to the country, affected food before wages, and therefore the condition of men who were in employment was comparatively much worse than had been the case.

The crisis in the cloth trade must have affected Buckinghamshire less than the neighbouring counties, though in some places a considerable number of men were engaged in the trade, particularly at Wycombe. In the municipal records of the town in the reign of Henry VIII there is an order for weavers and fullers very much more stringent than the only earlier order¹⁷⁶ extant, by which weavers were to be quit of all dues to the Guild of Merchants excepting stallage in the market. The later order¹⁷⁶ laid

¹⁷³ e.g. Hospitals at Wycombe and Newport Pagnel.

¹⁷³ P.R.O. Ct. R. ptfo. 153, No. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. value of different monasteries at the time of the Dissolution; Dugdale, *Mon.*

¹⁷⁵ Municipal Records of Chepping Wycombe.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. temp. Hen. VIII.

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various restrictions on tradesmen in the town. No person weaving or fulling was to occupy more than one such trade; he must have been either apprenticed in the borough, or else brought up in his youth with craftsmen of the same occupation; no 'occupyers of the crafts of wevyng, fullyng, or clothyng' were to 'put forth any of their work to dy or full otherwise than to craftsmen of the same boro' occupying that trade.' This was the earliest of many orders to craftsmen of all kinds, limiting their freedom in their trades, and though undated was probably due to the crisis in the wool trade brought about by Wolsey's foreign policy in 1527-8,¹⁷⁷ since its object was to protect the established weavers and fullers in the borough from the competition of new comers driven to the town by the loss of work elsewhere.

The distress arising from the various causes enumerated led to the passing of a series of statutes terminating in the Poor Laws of 1597 and 1601, and simultaneously the Privy Council, by means of orders to the magistrates of various counties and towns, attempted to alter and amend the economic condition of the country.

Between 1514 and 1569 there are many of the Council's proclamations to be found amongst the state papers of the time. The commission on inclosures has already been dealt with in its relation to Buckinghamshire, but otherwise there are no returns of the justices of the peace in answer to the letters of the Council, until the letter written by William Tyldsley, in 1562,¹⁷⁸ apparently in answer to the instructions of 1561.¹⁷⁹

The statutes dealt mainly with vagrancy, and the compulsory apprenticeship of poor children, but important steps were taken for the collection of funds in each parish. Not until 1572, however, was any advance made towards a compulsory poor rate.

In 1547 an Act was passed ordering cottages to be erected for the impotent poor, and in 1551-2 alms were to be collected in every parish by collectors nominated by the householders of each parish. There was no compulsion, however, on the givers of the alms, but their generosity was to be encouraged by the exhortations of the parsons and the bishop.

The poor box is mentioned in 1562 in Tyldsley's report, and those who made default in coming to church were to be presented by the churchwardens, the collectors of the poor-men's box, or two of the best men in every parish, once a month to the grand jury. The fines arising from these presentments were to go to the poor box, but evidently regular collectors were not to be found in every parish at this time: at Wing¹⁸⁰ in the churchwardens' accounts they do not appear until 1577. The only entries before that year record payments to the poor of varying amounts on All Souls' Day.

In 1572 the justices and mayors were empowered to assess the poor rate and appoint overseers and collectors. Those who resisted the exhortations of the bishop to contribute to the rate might be taken before two magistrates and imprisoned, but there was still no distraint on non-payment.

The necessity for a compulsory poor rate arose in the first place owing to the vagrancy laws,¹⁸¹ which had ordered, that after a vagrant had been

¹⁷⁷ The town of Buckingham suffered when the staple for wool was altered to Calais and sought relief by an Act of Parliament 1535; Browne Willis, *Hist. of Borough and Hundred of Buckingham*.

¹⁷⁸ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 19, No. 13.

¹⁸⁰ Churchwardens' Accts.

¹⁷⁹ Sloane MS. 152, fol. 16.

¹⁸¹ 22 Hen. VIII.

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whipped in the market town nearest to the place, where he was arrested, he was to be sent back to his place of birth, or to the place where he had last dwelt three years, and there work for his own living. The Act of 1536¹⁸³ stated that no directions had previously been made for the provision of work for the returned vagrant, and therefore ordered funds to be established with this object. In 1562 the report showed that the vagrancy laws might have been better observed, and that the number of ale-houses encouraged thieves and vagants to a dangerous extent. Ten years later the justices for the three hundreds of Aylesbury made a return¹⁸⁴ showing that they had dealt with eleven vagrants and conveyed them towards the place where they had last dwelt. A certificate of 1577¹⁸⁵ may also bear on the question of vagrants, for the justices had drawn up a complete list of all inns and ale-houses in the county amounting to a total of 422.

Various Acts had provided for the return of vagrants to the place of their birth, but it was not till 1575¹⁸⁶ that any particular orders were given for setting them to work on their arrival. The new Act ordered a stock of wool, flax, hemp, iron, or other materials to be provided in every city, corporate town, or market town, when so ordered by the justices, so that the unemployed poor might earn their own living and the young be taught to work. Houses of correction were to be built in every county, but of these the justices make no return in the sixteenth century.

Apart from statutory enactment, the Privy Council made direct efforts to relieve special distress. The years 1572, 1586, and from 1594 to 1597 were periods of great scarcity of corn, and, owing to the small area from which markets could be supplied, the failure of the harvest meant absolute starvation to a great part of the population. The council interfered, probably to prevent the disorders always following on a great scarcity of corn, and in 1586¹⁸⁶ the returns illustrate very fully the method of dealing with the question.

The justices of the peace apportioned themselves into small groups in the different hundreds, and each group was responsible for carrying out the council's instructions in one particular division. In the three hundreds of Cottesloe,¹⁸⁷ the magistrates reported that they had chosen forty-three persons, who were divided into three juries, to make the necessary inquiries. The juries found that there was very little corn to spare in the county, 'for as many as have a surplus, as many need corn,' but those who had such a surplus were ordered to bring it to market by weekly portions. The justices themselves had called before them all badgers, bakers, brewers, ale-house keepers, and malt makers, and had dealt with them according to the instructions, in order to prevent the badgers and corn-dealers from buying corn to re-sell at an increased price, and the brewers, &c., from using the barley, which would otherwise be made into bread.

They had also set up in market towns and other places overseers, 'honest, and discreet persons,' to see to the carrying out of these orders as well as to the relief of the poor, and, lastly, they gave the current price of corn. A joint certificate was drawn up for the hundreds of Buckingham and Newport,¹⁸⁸ where the same procedure had been followed, but it was

¹⁸³ 27 Hen. VIII.

¹⁸⁵ 18 Eliz. cap. 3.

¹⁸⁴ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 86, No. 27.

¹⁸⁶ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 199, No. 43.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. vol. 115, No. 27.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. (i). ¹⁸⁸ Ibid. (v).

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added that the markets were not so well supplied as formerly, owing to the counties of Northampton and Oxford having 'mad restraynte that none maie bring anie corne oute of theire Countie in to ours, which before were greater reliefe to us, than anie parte of our owne Shyre.' The southern parts of these hundreds at least, contained a greater proportion of pasture land than arable, so that they would have largely depended on corn from other counties. The prices quoted were slightly higher than in Cottesloe Hundred.

In 1577 the justices¹⁰⁹ were ordered to interfere in the wool trade, and they returned a certificate to the effect that they had bound the 'Broggers and buyers of wooll' in £100 a piece, that neither they nor their heirs would buy any kind of wool that had been grown within the county beyond what they or their apprentices were able to use each in his own house. They were further forbidden to buy any wool in order to sell it again wholesale, but the justices found that even those who had had licence to buy granted them, had obeyed the proclamation of the council.

The legislation for poor relief of the sixteenth century was brought to its conclusion by the Acts of 1597 and 1601, the latter in all essential points a re-enactment of the previous statute, with certain amendments.

These Acts formed the basis of poor-law administration until the close of the eighteenth century, and not only were they important in this respect, but they seem to have been far more efficiently carried out than earlier enactments.

The main clauses provided that the relief of the poor should be in the hands of the churchwardens and four overseers of the poor appointed yearly by the justices of the peace.

Poor children were to be taught some employment or apprenticed; adults were to be employed and stock was to be provided for those who could not find work.

The impotent, the blind, and the aged were to be relieved and hospitals might be built on waste lands for their reception. With regard to the funds necessary to carry out these instructions a rate was levied on 'every inhabitant and occupyer of landes,' and on refusal to pay it might be levied by distress. The assessment was made by the parochial officers with the consent of two justices, but any appeal was to be made at quarter sessions. A county rate was also established for the relief of prisoners and for the support of almshouses, &c., administered by a treasurer of the county appointed by the justices. All beggars and rogues were forbidden to wander about the county, excepting those who begged from fellow parishioners, and licensed soldiers and sailors passing to their place of settlement.

This statute was supplemented by an Act for the punishment of rogues, vagrants, and sturdy beggars. All old statutes were repealed, and justices were to establish houses of correction to which vagrants were to be sent after having been whipped at the place of arrest.

The Acts seem to have been well carried out. In the accounts at Wing¹⁰⁰ after 1615 entries are continually made of money paid to travellers with a passport and to 'poor men,' the occasion not always being specified, though often the relief is given on account of losses by fire, shipwreck, or illness.

¹⁰⁹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 115, No. 8.

¹⁰⁰ Churchwardens' Accts.

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The council by its direct action attempted to enforce the law, mainly by means of letters to the justices of the peace. These letters were no longer confined to special times of distress, but deal continually in the reigns of the first two Stuart kings with the ordinary administration of the poor law.

In the year 1603 was a visitation of the plague, and at Wing the churchwardens paid 3s. for two books of prayer in the time of plague and for the letters of the council.

No Buckinghamshire returns exist during the scarcity of 1608, but they are full in 1622-3 and 1631, dealing not only with the provision of corn but with the whole system of poor relief. It is remarkable that the difference between private charity and public relief is unnoticed, and the justices report their own action in the market and the charity of private people as similar efforts to deal with the difficulty. There is an extremely interesting return for Desborough¹⁹¹ Hundred in 1622, including the report of the mayor of Wycombe. The same course of action to lower the price of corn was pursued as in Elizabeth's reign, and in addition corn-masters served the poor at their own houses upon credit, which they would not do in the market,—and thus the poor obtained sufficient food. In various parishes men had bought rye in London out of their own purses for the poor and sold it at less than cost price. The poor, as far as possible, had been given employment, but their poverty was ascribed to the condition of the clothing and bone-lace trades, both of which were 'much decayed and do daylie fayl.' In consequence there were no means to set the poor in work, although help was afforded so far as the stocks and collections of every parish allowed. In the town of Wycombe there were as many as a hundred people out of work, and other towns suffered from the same cause, since lack of employment was far more serious than the scarcity of corn, and the poor could only starve or steal in spite of the fact that the monthly collections in many parishes had been doubled. Assistant constables had been appointed to deal with vagrants, their numbers being too numerous for the ordinary constables, and many ale-house licences had been taken away. In 1631 there are returns for the greater part of the county. In Desborough Hundred¹⁹² in this year there was a shortage of corn, though Wycombe market was well supplied from Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Hampshire. It was the only market in the hundred, and part of Ashendon Hundred¹⁹³ must also have been dependent on it, since there was no market at all according to the certificate, the land being nearly all pasture and 'gentlemen's demaynes.' The market of Buckingham also was well supplied from Oxfordshire, and hence, with the suppression of maltsters and brewers, prices had abated.

In the borough¹⁹⁴ itself, the magistrates report that the poor did not beg in their own parish and had no cause to beg elsewhere, since they were all well relieved and given work, but the inhabitants grumbled at the heavy weekly taxation more than the poor at the restrictions on begging. Vagrants were few, because watch and ward were well kept, and the townspeople no longer gave to strange poor when they might not do so to their own people; and further, a penalty had been imposed on those who relieved vagrants, in a

¹⁹¹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, vol. 142, No. 44.

¹⁹³ Ibid. vol. 191, No. 35 (iii).

¹⁹² Ibid. Chas. I, vol. 191, No. 35 (iv).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. vol. 197, No. 46.

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by-law made at a court-leet. Vagrancy, however, was not a serious question, since few vagrants came through that part of the country. Writing in July the justices said that they had delayed apprenticing poor children, so that they might work at harvest time for their parents, but in October thirty children had been placed with masters, all living in the parish.

The reports from the hundreds of Cottesloe and Aylesbury show that the administration was carried on in the same manner; in the latter it was again the custom to serve the poor with corn at the corn-master's house, and the justices had insisted on a true weight of bread being sold in the market, punishing bakers who sold false weight and appointing surveyors of weights and measures in each town.

Whether the action of the justices, under the books of order issued by the council, was successful is difficult to ascertain. The interference of the council and the supervision of the judges of assize¹⁹⁵ certainly produced great activity amongst the justices themselves, but of the action of the overseers in the parishes it is more difficult to form an estimate. The actual relief of the impotent poor was entirely in their hands, as well as the provision of work for the able-bodied. The town stock seems to have been kept up in the various hundreds, but how the work was arranged does not appear. Probably the labourers worked largely at their own homes, for at Wing there is no mention of a workhouse. At Aylesbury, however, after the Civil War there was a workhouse, where children were taught trades and the poor worked on the town stock. No mention is made of its erection in the accounts, so that presumably it was built in the first half of the century or still earlier. The impotent were largely provided for in almshouses, many of which were built in Buckinghamshire at this time.¹⁹⁶

The interference with the markets was attended with complete success, though it was very unpopular at such a place as Wycombe, a large corn market for the surrounding counties. A protest¹⁹⁷ was sent to the council by the mayor, showing that the justices had perhaps defeated their own ends, since both corn-dealers and farmers lost so heavily by the artificial low prices that they would no longer set aside sacks for the poor as they had formerly done. The justices, therefore, had themselves bought corn to sell to the poor at less than the market prices.

This protest shows, however, that the prices were lowered by their action, and that the interference was thought beneficial even by men who were landowners themselves; for John Hampden, Sir Fleetwood Dormer, and Sir Robert Lovett were amongst the many landowners who were on the commission of the peace at the time, and their action in the markets must have been directly opposed to their own interests. No protests came from the other towns, which were not likely to be affected so much as Wycombe.

After the Civil War the overseers' accounts¹⁹⁸ for Aylesbury are preserved, and show very fully the system of poor relief. Collections in the parish made fortnightly amounted to from £3 to £4 in 1657. In the previous year thirty-five persons were receiving relief in money, the amounts varying from 1*od.* to 6*s.* a fortnight, while the relief for the hamlet of Walton was entered

¹⁹⁵ Returns of the justices of the peace were at times addressed to the judges of assize.

¹⁹⁶ e.g. the almshouse at Newport Pagnel was refounded by Anne of Denmark.

¹⁹⁷ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 177, No. 50.

¹⁹⁸ The accounts begin in 1656.

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in a lump sum of 6s. for the widows there. The recipients were all either widows or children, the latter having been boarded out, but as their age is not given no estimate of the cost of their maintenance can be formed. Their clothes were also provided; in the same year the entry under this head included '2 aprons, 2 queafes, a paire of bodies, making two smocks,' for 3s. 10d. Clothes were bought for other paupers as well, linen for the poor being a frequent entry, as well as outfits for boys who were apprenticed—£1 0s. 6d. was paid for the clothes of 'Sam Bankes boy' when he went to London as an apprentice. The overseers also attended to the repair of the almshouses, but these do not seem to have provided house room for those supported, nor were rents paid out of the poor rates until 1670, when Mr. Diggitt received 5s. 6d. 'for old Howes quit rent in Walton.' How the house room was provided before this date does not appear, but the widows may have lived as inmates or lodgers in other houses or with their children. In one case a daughter was given 2s. for looking after her mother, but this seems an exceptional case, and relations were probably required to do something towards supporting old people and children where possible. For instance, a man named Anthony Todd died in 1677, and his children were provided for by the overseers. Their father appears to have been fairly well off, since the sale of his effects includes four mares, three cows, two heifers, seventy-three sheep and lambs, a little corn and a wagon. William Todd (his relationship is not specified) was required to pay 20s. per annum toward the maintenance of the children, who appeared in the accounts as ordinary parish children.

A certain number of those who received relief may have also been earning some money by spinning, the only form of work provided by the overseers at this time.

In 1658, 1,493 lb. of hemp were bought at 8d. a lb., and the poor were paid for spinning at the rate of 4d. a lb. Some of the yarn was then sent to weavers, who received £3 4s. 4d. for their work, and finally the cloth and the rest of the yarn were sold to various people, resulting in a loss on the whole transaction for the year of £9 17s. 2d. The next year the spinning of the yarn cost the same amount, 12d. a lb., and some was sold at cost price, the result being a greater loss. The overseers finally gave up providing the work for the poor themselves, and contracts were entered into with two men, apparently hemp-dressers, who employed the poor, receiving in all £8 10s. from the overseers. The transaction still brought a small loss to the parish, but only 8s. 8d., so that the contracting system must have been found far more advantageous than the direct employment of paupers by the overseers.

The custom of paying house rent increased very considerably towards the end of the century, and repairs were also carried out at the ratepayers' expense. The overseers rented cottages for the paupers who could not live with their relations. The same system existed elsewhere, for the churchwardens and overseers at Ilmer were ordered in 1680¹⁹⁹ to place another inhabitant 'in the house where Emma Bigge dwelt,' a new door and chimney being added to the house. At Hughenden leave was obtained from the justices to build a cottage to provide accommodation for the poor, and the lord of the manor had been petitioned for a vacant place on the waste ground as a site.

¹⁹⁹ Quart. Sess. Rec.

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The scope of the relief given was gradually growing much wider, foreshadowing the practice of the eighteenth century. At Aylesbury payments were made to men who were either ill themselves, or whose families were ill. In 1671 there are several such entries, including payments to Henry Pratt, the bone-setter, who received 5*s.* for setting a shoulder or thigh. Medical relief seems to have been given freely to the families of able-bodied men, and indeed the above charges must have been beyond the means of an ordinary labourer getting at most 1*s.* a day, but such assistance was also given to men who could hardly have been in great need, such as the miller who had 3*s.* to take his child to the bone-setter.

Pest-houses in times of plague were also provided by the overseers, and were carefully isolated and watched. At Aylesbury the greater part of the expenses connected with the pest-house were the wages of day and night watchmen, while the inmates seem to have been terribly neglected. Food was provided, but the overseers were forced to pay compensation for the sheep-racks and gates burnt at the pest-house to provide firewood. They were not permanent institutions, but were set up whenever the necessity arose, the last mention of one at Aylesbury being in 1781.

The theory also was gaining ground that if a man could not find work he must be supported by the parish, in great contrast to the views advanced by the inhabitants of Stoke Hundred³⁰⁰ in 1636-7, that when the paper-mills were stopped the manufacturer must himself provide for his workmen, since he had brought them to the mills. In 1679 two orders were made at the Easter quarter sessions illustrating this change: at Whitchurch the relief to Thomas Curtis was to cease, but the inhabitants were to keep him in work; at Ivinghoe there was a similar order to stop an allowance of 6*d.* a month to Richard Fowler, provided that the parishioners maintain his children and find him work. More severe orders were still issued. At West Wycombe a man had been the recipient of 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, but it appeared to the court that he was 'a man of very able body to work for his own livelyhood.'

An Act of Parliament was passed in 1691 in consequence of the growing laxity of the overseers in giving relief, ordering that a register of the paupers³⁰¹ in each parish should be kept, with the amounts they each received, and should be produced once a year at a vestry meeting. No one else might receive parish relief except by the authority of one justice of the peace or by an order of the Bench at quarter sessions. This clause, far from effecting the economy intended in the statute, was the main cause of many of the evils which grew up in the eighteenth century, since the practice arose of any magistrate ordering relief to an applicant without consultation with the parish officers. The result was, naturally, a great deal of friction between the two poor-law authorities, besides an increase in the rates.

The change in the attitude of the justices is shown clearly in the absence of orders at quarter sessions restraining relief given by the overseers, which had hitherto been frequent. Still, in the parishes themselves, attempts were made to keep down the rates, which had risen steadily at the end of the seventeenth century. At Aylesbury the total disbursements in the first account were under £156, but in 1702 they had risen to £326 7*s.* 10*d.* In

³⁰⁰ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 344, No. 40.

³⁰¹ A list of pensioners for relief was kept at Aylesbury as early as 1679; Quart. Sess. Rec. 1679.

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that year an attempt to economize was made by abandoning the system of paying rents for paupers' cottages, and the vestry decided that the almshouses, which were in the course of rebuilding, should have lodging chambers built over them, with chimneys in them, 'for receiving such poor into them to dwell in as may discharge the said parish from payments of any rents after the Michaelmas quarter following.'

In 1722 a further attempt was made to ensure greater economy by a statute enacting that parishes might provide workhouses for the reception of paupers, and that no one who refused to live in the house should receive parochial relief. The building of workhouses followed quickly on this Act. At Wing the repair of the workhouse becomes a frequent charge in the accounts, and for some time the workhouse test seems to have been adopted there as elsewhere. At Aylesbury it is possible that the almshouses had taken the place of such a workhouse at this time, for the latter institution is not mentioned till 1758, when it was resolved at a vestry meeting 'that under no pretence whatever should the overseers pay or cause to be paid any sum or sums of money for the relief of persons who refuse to come into the workhouse, and that after Michaelmas no rents will be paid or allowed.' How long the workhouse with living-rooms had been in existence does not appear, but the resolution shows that the old order of 1702 forbidding the payment of rents had become obsolete.

The maintenance of the poor in the workhouse was carried out by contracts, but the contractor lost to such an extent that it was decided to pay him £95 over and above his contract by way of compensation. The proceeding seems to have been exceedingly unbusiness-like and savours a good deal of undue influence exercised by the contractor in the vestry. The next year the overseers, apparently to get out of the difficulty, undertook the management of the workhouse themselves.

Provision was made in various ways for the children in the workhouse; at one time twelve catechism books were bought; at another payments for schooling, only for boys, are entered at the rate of 2*d.* a week for each boy.

The inmates of the workhouse were still provided with work, but sewing and lace-making had taken the place of spinning. A considerable number of silk lace-makers seem to have been regular employees at the workhouse, since entries are made of payments of 1*d.* each to lace-makers when they cut off; at another time they received 3*s.* to keep 'Caterin.' The master or governor of the Aylesbury workhouse does not appear under that name, but Isaac Wheeler, who in 1788 and the succeeding years received a salary 'to look after the workhouse,' probably occupied some such position. The question of the settlement of vagrants also involved a great deal of expense. Appeals to quarter sessions were continual, and the object of each parish was to prevent the settlement of anyone likely to become chargeable on the poor rate. Since the Restoration the Settlement Acts were made terribly severe, and the same tendency is shown in the orders of quarter sessions. In 1680 any persons taking a tenement of small value in any parish in the county, with the intent to become inhabitants, could be removed to their last place of settlement, by the court, if they had been warned to depart by the churchwardens and overseers. In fact if there was the least future possibility of a newcomer becoming chargeable to the parish,

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he could be ordered to return to his last place of settlement. A few years later the inhabitants of Princes Risborough appealed against a blacksmith of Missenden attempting to settle within their parish. At Aylesbury £4 was paid for apprenticing a boy named Joseph Rash for seven years, but half the sum was held over as security that he would not be chargeable to the parish for the next year.

Vagrants and beggars were a source of continual trouble, but these were dealt with by the constables and not the overseers. In 1679 the poor of Aylesbury²⁰² were forbidden to beg; if they were found begging the constables were ordered to take them to the house of correction, and they were to be struck off the list of recipients of parish relief.

At Wendover an ale-house keeper lost his licence for allowing rogues and vagabonds to lie in his barns and outhouses. Scotch pedlars and petty chapmen, who wandered about the country in large numbers, were a grievance, and orders were issued that they were to be publicly whipped by the constables or tithing-men.

In 1688 at the Easter sessions constables were ordered to put the laws against vagrants into effect, since their numbers had increased and they formed a danger to the country-side, threatening women left alone in houses in lonely parts when their husbands and servants were away at work. Besides losses by theft, people were also in great fear of acts of incendiarism on the part of vagrants.

Two years later orders were given to the petty constables as to the necessity of keeping strict watch on strangers, and dealing with vagrants according to the statutes. These orders showed that the house of correction was becoming far more like a prison than had been the case formerly. Ordinary vagrants without passes were of course to be whipped and sent to their places of settlement. If this was not known, they were to be dispatched to the county gaol for work until they could be placed in service, but 'incorrigible rogues and dangerous and not to be reformed' were to be taken before a justice of the peace and admitted to the house of correction. There were houses of correction at Aylesbury, Wycombe, and Newport Pagnel, and a fourth was provided at Buckingham in 1719, but was abolished in less than twenty years. The governors²⁰³ received £30 a year paid from the county rate, and were supervised by the justices, for in the Michaelmas sessions in 1684, a 'grand inquest view' was ordered to inquire whether the governor at Wycombe performed his duty. This consisted of seeing that the able-bodied labourers who refused to place themselves in service worked in an orderly manner so long as they were confined in the house of correction.

The removal of vagrants involved a great deal of expenditure, which fell partly on each parish and partly on the county. The travellers who received small payments at Wing throughout the seventeenth century must often have been vagrants who were passing through the county to their place of settlement. Early in the eighteenth century the justices complain of the extraordinary charge for passing and conveying vagabonds and cripples. To the constable of Little Brickhill alone £140 had been paid in 1708, and the

²⁰² Quart. Sess. Rec.

²⁰³ The post of governor might be held by a woman. Quart. Sess. Rec. Epiph. 1761.

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applications for the office of petty constable at Bow Brickhill had been so numerous as to arouse the suspicions of the bench that the constables had made a considerable profit over this part of their duty. It was therefore ordered that the yearly charge should be reduced to a certainty, and £80 a year was agreed upon as a suitable remuneration, to be paid to two men recommended by the minister, overseers, and others of the parish. The system of contracting for the carriage of vagrants was evidently found to be satisfactory, and was adopted at various places in the county.

A scale of allowances to constables and governors of the houses of correction was also drawn up to regulate the treatment of vagrants on the road. For food 9*d.* a day, or 3*d.* for each meal, was allowed; the charges for the hire of carts and sufficient horses was settled, and the constable or guide conducting the vagrants received 1*s.* a day, including his maintenance, with 3*d.* per mile for his horse. If a vagrant died on the road 10*s.* was allowed for his burial, and the charge of the justices' clerk for making out a vagrant's passport was limited to 1*s.*

Up to the close of the reign of George II the labourers seem to have been prosperous, and the poor relief given on more or less strict lines, able-bodied labourers not often receiving relief unless work was done. The prosperity of the labourer was but the reflection of the prosperity of the farmer in the early part of the eighteenth century, after the conclusion of peace in 1713. The introduction of improved methods, encouraged by the Board of Agriculture, brought great profits to the farmers and increased the rents of the landlords, in spite of the low prices during the peace. The inclosure of common fields was urgently recommended by the Board, since improvements were impossible under the old system of common cultivation. Inclosure was urged on the different parishes, for the purpose of arable farming, and not for the conversion of land to pasture. In Buckinghamshire it had been recognized that much of the land was not suitable for sheep-farming, being too heavy and wet, so that the inclosures at this time were not accompanied by evictions. An Act of Parliament was in many cases obtained for the inclosure of each parish, and the tenants of strips in the common fields were awarded separate fields and meadows, to be cultivated in severalty and inclosed with hedges. The first Act was obtained to inclose the common fields at Ashendon in 1739, and two more were passed in 1743 and 1745 for Wotton Underwood and Shipton in Winslow respectively. Between 1760 and 1770 there were eight inclosures, and between 1770 and 1780 sixteen. In the following decade the numbers dropped to five, but there were a series of bad harvests to account for the decrease. The number rose between 1770 and 1780 to twelve, and between 1800 and 1810 to fifteen, and inclosures were made continuously during the next fifty years; other instances occur later, but the rate of inclosures by Act lessened, and many fields must have been inclosed under an agreement between the tenants.

Two reports to the Board of Agriculture,³⁰⁴ dated 1794 and 1813, fully describe the methods of farming and the terms of tenancy which prevailed in the eighteenth century. In the earlier report, the area of the county was reckoned at 518,400 statute acres, and of these 91,000 odd lay in

³⁰⁴ W. James and J. Malcolm, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* (1794), and Rev. St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* (1813).

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common fields, and 6,000 odd were waste lands, so that further inclosures were recommended.

Uninclosed lands formed but one of the obstacles to improvements, however, the terms of tenancy being a further difficulty. Some farmers only held their lands by an agreement from year to year, and had therefore no security for their occupation, and were not ready to sink their capital in their land. Others had leases, but these were often for a short term of years, with bad covenants with regard to the system of cropping. This was specially the case with the common fields, in which the old mediaeval rotation of two crops and a fallow was still the custom; but near Hardwick the leases allowed three crops and a fallow, though no clover. In inclosed parishes a better system as a rule prevailed and turnips were introduced, especially in the Chiltern districts, where the farming was good. Leases often contained penalties for certain offences, such as breaking up pasture and cutting down timber. In consequence a great deal of damage was done at the end of a lease, the profit to the tenant being much above the penalty to be enforced. The land in the open fields was held in strips by the yardland, which varied in size from 28 to 40 acres in different parts of the county, and the tenants had various pasture rights in the meadows and commons. Inclosure often did away with these rights, and was especially a loss to the poorer inhabitants, who could no longer keep a cow on the common. The baulks, or divisions between the strips, which had been used generally for pasture, were now ploughed up and the meadows were no longer thrown open after hay harvest, hence in most places the number of cattle and sheep decreased after inclosure. The Board of Agriculture also considered that all commons and wastes should be cultivated as arable land, but the only commons inclosed by Act of Parliament about this time were Hyde Heath at Chesham and the Pasture and Doggett's Furze at Olney.

In the common fields ploughing in straight furrows had rarely been introduced, but the old method of starting in the centre and ploughing in a serpentine form was still followed, to the great detriment of the crops. The improvements effected by inclosures are clearly shown in the difference of the rents of the two kinds of land. In the parishes of Aston Clinton, Weston Turville, and Buckland, where the soil was good, the rents of inclosures were double the rents in the open fields, and elsewhere they were very considerably higher.

By 1813 dairy-farming in the vale, and to some extent in the district to the north, had followed on the inclosure of land, and very high rents were obtained for the pastures. The average rent, tithes included, was 41s., but as much as £3 an acre was given in some places. In the south the rents of the arable land were more moderate, averaging £1 os. 6d. an acre, though at Fawley it was let at from 10s. to 18s., and at Horton at 45s. an acre. Sheep-farming was generally on the decrease, though in some instances the breed of sheep had been considerably improved.

In the Vale the inclosures were on a small scale, generally from 10 to 20 acres, in spite of their being mainly on dairy farms; still some fields contained 30 acres and upwards. In the south the inclosures on the arable farms were on a larger scale.

At this time Buckinghamshire had ceased to be purely an agricultural

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district, since a large part of the population were engaged in lace-making and straw-plaiting, according to the census of 1801. The lace trade had been increasing throughout the eighteenth century, and silk lace, as well as the older thread lace, was made in larger quantities. In 1794 the chief manufactures were lace and paper, but the number of persons employed in them was not sufficient to affect the supply of agricultural labour, though the best wages were higher than those of the ordinary labourer. In the later report to the Board of Agriculture, however, lace-making and straw-plaiting occupied a great number of women, and the farmers could get little work done for them by women. Lace was chiefly made in the northern part of the county, especially in the district round Newport Pagnel and Olney. At Hanslope,²⁰⁵ in 1802, 800 persons were employed in the trade, the population being returned in the census of the previous year as 1,289. Children were sent to lace schools at the age of five or six, and both boys and girls were able to support themselves at twelve years old. Men also made lace when agricultural employment was scarce, and they could earn as good wages as if they were doing their ordinary work.

Throughout the eighteenth century the ordinary labourer seems to have had 1s. a day, but in the legal wages practically no change took place; the only exception was in the case of servants hired by the year. In the scale of wages of 1765²⁰⁶ all classes of servants were allowed 10s. above the previous rate.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
Chief bailiffs had	6	10	0	in the Chilterns and	6	0	0	in the Vale.
Ordinary servants	4	10	0	”	4	0	0	”
Boys from 16 to 20	3	0	0	”	2	10	0	”
Boys from 12 to 16	2	0	0	”	1	13	4	”

This did not represent the real rise, for in 1794²⁰⁷ the head man was receiving on an average 8 guineas in the interior of the county and 10 guineas in the south, while a boy had 3 guineas and 4 guineas respectively in the two districts.

This rise was not neutralized by a greater rise in prices. In 1670 wheat was sold at Aylesbury for 6s.²⁰⁸ a bushel, and barley for 3s. and 2s. 7d. a bushel, but in 1702 barley was at 1s. 7d., and the average value of wheat between 1721 to 1784 decreased from 4s. 8d. to 4s. 1d.²⁰⁹ At the close of the century a series of bad harvests brought to an end the period of prosperity and caused much distress among the labourers, although the farmers and landlords made great profits on the high prices obtainable for all kinds of corn.

Besides the bad harvests, the French war and the consequent heavy taxation pressed most heavily on the labourers, in spite of the efforts of the government to afford relief during the dearth. The two houses of Parliament signed an agreement to reduce the consumption of corn by one-third in their houses, and similar action was taken by certain privy councillors, who sent a copy of their resolution to the lords-lieutenant calling upon the magistrates and others in the counties to follow their example. In the summer of 1795 the Buckinghamshire justices²¹⁰ undertook only to use

²⁰⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iv, 164.

²⁰⁷ James and Malcolm, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* (1794).

²⁰⁹ St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* (1813).

²⁰⁸ Quart. Sess. Rec. East. 1765.

²⁰⁹ Overseers' Accts. Aylesbury.

²¹⁰ Quart. Sess. Rec. Mids. 1795.

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‘Standard wheaten bread’ as defined in the Act of 13 Geo. III, in which the flour used was to include the whole produce of the grain, excepting the bran and hull. They ordered the constables of the different parishes to present both the bakers who made or sold any finer bread and those who had bought it; further, the justices undertook to reduce the use of flour in other food but bread in their households, and the quantity of oats and barley consumed by their horses, begging all other families in the county to do the same.

At the Michaelmas sessions³¹¹ of the same year, after another deficient harvest, the magistrates described the prices as exorbitant, and issued orders respecting forestallers of corn. Any person, who bought corn, which was coming to any market or fair to be sold in the same fair; who made any bargain for buying corn before it came to market; who did or said anything to enhance the price, or persuaded anyone to withhold corn from the markets; who kept back their own corn—was to be proceeded against with ‘the utmost rigour of the law.’ Corn growing in the fields might not be bought or obtained in any manner with the intention of selling (excepting it was obtained by demise, or grant, or lease of land, or tithes). All such offenders were to be presented by the petty constables. The prisoners in gaol had potatoes substituted for part of their allowance of bread; churchwardens and overseers and governors of hospitals and workhouses were recommended to provide for the poor bread made of a mixture of wheat and barley, flour or potatoes, and to distribute such bread, instead of giving the whole of their allowances in money.

Similar orders were made throughout the county, but in 1800³¹² the justices admitted that they had failed in their efforts, in so far as they had attempted to restrain the use of finer bread than the Standard Wheaten Loaf, since the adjoining counties had made no such restrictions, and therefore finer bread was freely imported into the county.

The rate of wages during this shortage is so closely connected with the working of the poor laws, that it is impossible to discuss the action of the justices to relieve the distress of the population without first considering the operation of the Poor Law at this time.

In the later part of the eighteenth century a change took place in the principles which ruled the administration of poor relief, a change based on a philanthropic desire to improve the condition of the poor during a period of great scarcity and distress. In 1782 Gilbert’s Act, though mainly dealing with the formation of voluntary unions of parishes with one workhouse in the union under the charge of paid guardians, also ordered that only the impotent should be admitted to the workhouse and the able-bodied were to have work provided for them near their homes. In 1796 a further step was taken; the test of 1722 was abolished and out-door relief was legalized. Legislation in this case followed the practice of the overseers, since at Aylesbury the first entry of out-relief being given to an able-bodied man appears in 1784, when 1s. was given to William Stevens ‘being out of work,’ and in the winter such entries became very frequent. The weekly allowance to the poor ‘out of the house’ was a regular entry; and roundsmen, or labourers who were sent to work with various employers, but received reduced wages from the overseers, were now entered for the first time. The

³¹¹ Quart. Sess. Rec. Mich. 1795.

³¹² Ibid. 1800.

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roundsmen increased in number with great rapidity, and the evil of the system was recognized by the justices in 1795, but their remedy was even worse than the system itself. 'The court,' at the Epiphany sessions—

took into consideration the having appeared to the Magistrates now assembled that the mode adopted in many parishes of the County of employing all poor labourers indiscriminately as Roundsmen at an under price hath been attended with great inconvenience and abuse and requires a speedy and effectual remedy. And it appearing to this court that the following are at this time absolutely necessary for the support of the industrious labourer and his family and that where it happens the labourer and his wife and such of his children as may be able, duly and honestly perform several labours on which they may be employed and yet do not earn the weekly sum after mentioned, the same ought to be made up to them by the parish officers :

For a single man according to his labour.

For a man and wife not less than 6s.

” ” ” ” ” with one or two small children 7s.

For every additional child under the age of 10 years 1s.

The effect of this order was naturally the lowering of wages and a great increase in the poor rates, for the farmers agreed in many places to give less than the minimum fixed by the justices and the residue fell on the rates.

In 1785 the whole expenditure for the year at Aylesbury was £1,060 10s. 0½d., but in 1805 it had risen to be £3,022 6s. 9d. In 1789 five collections had been made at 6d. in the £, but in 1801 there were eleven collections at the increased rate of 1s. The Buckinghamshire justices had perceived at the end of five years the evils to which this system of subsidizing labour led—lowering wages and pressing most unfairly on non-employers of labour, tradesmen and farmers cultivating their land themselves—and the report at the Michaelmas sessions of 1800 showed them to have been considerably in advance of their contemporaries in the theory of poor relief. In an order 'respecting servants' wages' they stated that great inconvenience had been caused by the neglect in carrying out the Act of 1601, a neglect partly due to imperfections in the statute :—

In many instances the wages of the industrious labourers in husbandry has been set by agreement of the land occupants at a rate greatly below the real value of labour, as compared with the usual price of corn or Common wages of Labourers in constant employ, within the same parish and to which is then added under the name of relief such allowance from the parish rates as the Overseers of themselves may administer or the Magistrates direct.

That those labourers usually known as roundsmen (being of ability for fair and ordinary earning from labour) are appointed on each occupant according to the supposed value of his occupancy *at reduced wages*. It appearing at this moment they are paid in most parts of the County only 6s. for the week and in some parishes as low as 4s. per week, being a sum wholly inadequate for their labour.

The order further said that the remainder of the sum necessary for the labourers' subsistence was paid from the rates, and was often a charge on those who obtained no benefit from the labour. The bad effects which this system produced on the morals, general habits, and industry of the labourer was commented on, and a change of practice was advocated which would throw the price of labour where it ought ultimately to fall. The only practical remedies suggested, however, were an increased facility for justices in dealing with the rate of wages, the enforcement of the Acts relating to the wages of labourers, and the appointment of a committee of four men to act with the magistrates of each hundred where such practices were the

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rule, and to direct the clerk of the peace to indict anyone found guilty of such a misdemeanour. They added in explanation of the second recommendation that the Acts were to be carried into effect by the magistrates so as to force the employer to pay an adequate price for his labour—a curious statement, when the original object of the labour statutes is considered.

The court also stated with great emphasis that the appropriation of money raised for the relief of the poor to able-bodied labourers was a gross misapplication, and that the accounts of overseers guilty of such misapplication ought not to be allowed. Three parishes are mentioned as having enforced the proper payment of their labourers—Whitchurch, Aston Clinton, and Weston Turville. The following year the justices realized that the scale of wages, last fixed in 1765, was far below the rates that ought to be paid for labour, and therefore a new rate was to be drawn up. The new scale was published at the next Easter sessions, and in it the wages for all kinds of labour were practically doubled, the lowest payment of a man per day being 1s. 6d. The rates for carriage were also increased, particularly in the case of long distances.

The protest seems to have had little or no effect. At Aylesbury there is still the Parish Labour Register from 1804–13, giving full details of the amounts paid weekly to different labourers, still much below the full rate of wages.

The effect on the labourers themselves was all that the report had said. As early as 1795 at Winslow they were described as having become 'very lazy and imperious.' There was also difficulty in obtaining labour, since men found it paid them better to do but little work and receive a large amount of relief.²¹⁸

In 1826 a large land-holder at Aylesbury was summoned before the magistrates for having refused to pay his poor rate. His defence was that in consequence of the relief given to able-bodied men he could get no one to work for him. He had found 300 people waiting at his farm to lease his corn, but even though he could not get in his crops for want of men, no one of the 300 would accept employment, since they could do better with the overseers.

The highest figure at Aylesbury in the expenditure was reached in 1816, but the succeeding years showed a considerable decline, probably owing to the appointment of a paid assistant overseer. This reform was due to the recommendations of a Committee of the House of Commons, whose inquiry revealed the worst features of the system. Few of their suggestions were carried out, except the appointment of assistant overseers. At Aylesbury he received a yearly salary of £52, and was able to devote the whole of his time to the control of poor relief, with the result that the expenses were reduced, till in 1826 the annual expenditure was less, by more than £2,000, than it was in 1817. In other parishes, however, no such reduction took place, an extreme case being found at Cholesbury, where the poor rates had been £10 11s. in 1801, but in 1832 had risen to £367. No further increase was then possible, since the poor rate had eaten up the value of the land, and farms were standing empty.

²¹⁸ The scarcity in women's labour was due to their employment in the lace and straw-plaiting manufactures. In the former they could make from 9d. to 1s. 4d. a day, and in the latter 30s. a week in some cases. St. John Priest, *op. cit.*

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The powers of the justices to grant relief were somewhat curtailed, but no adequate reform was effected until 1834, when the new Poor Law was passed, founded on the report of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the operation of the poor laws. In 1830 and 1831 there were riots in various agricultural districts, resulting in the appointment of this commission, and the condition of the labourers is fully shown in the answers to inquiries made in various parishes. The riots were not serious in the greater part of Buckinghamshire, but the cause was said very generally to be the administration of the poor laws. The rector of Sherington²¹⁴ described how their action created a hostile spirit between labourers and employers, and destroyed all feelings of reciprocal dependence and goodwill between the richer and poorer classes. The report from Amersham is interesting in this connexion: there had been no disposition to riot at all, owing to the wants of the poor having been supplied by charitable people. Though this may not have been economically sound, the distribution of this private relief had resulted in the higher and trading classes having much greater intercourse with the poor generally. In parts where this intercourse had not been achieved the labourers claimed exemption from all consequences of their misconduct and imprudence, knowing of no limit to their legal exactions upon the farmer. They considered the stacks of corn as their own property and wages or allowances as their right, gaining their demands by terrifying the farmers and burning stacks. Even if an increase in wages was gained by these means the allowance system continued, and no real improvement took place in the relations between farmers and labourers. Lack of employment even increased, owing to the great reluctance to invest capital in any form of agriculture.

The risings took place almost exclusively in counties where the rates were highest and the tendencies of the poor law most fatally developed, and within the county itself the disturbances were most severe where the administration was the most imprudent. Everywhere the parish had stepped in between the farmer and labourer as a middleman of the worst kind. In most places the farmers had no interest in the labourers supplied to them without consideration of the needs of their land, so that sympathy between the two classes was killed.

The methods of giving out-relief were various: it was occasionally given in kind, more often in money without labour, but the three most ordinary methods were the roundsman system, parish employment, and the labour-rate system. The roundsman system has already been described at Aylesbury, but in the early days of out-relief it cannot have been on quite the same lines. The commissioners described it as a system of paying occupiers of property to employ applicants for relief, at a rate of wages fixed by the parish, not dependent on services but on the wants of the applicants, the employer being repaid out of the poor rates all he advanced in wages beyond a certain sum. Parish employment was work provided by the overseers, generally on the roads or in stone-pits, where labourers were sent to work in large gangs with little or no superintendence.

The labour-rate system consisted of an agreement amongst rate-payers, that each of them should employ and pay out of his own money a certain number of labourers, who had a claim of settlement, according to some

²¹⁴ *Poor Law Com. Rep.*

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calculation of property. Such an agreement was made at Aylesbury²¹⁵ in 1831, when it was definitely stated that if a farmer employed any labourer in excess of those due on his farm, he should only pay half the usual wages and send him to the overseers for the remainder of the wages due.

The effect of this system was not only to depress the rate of wages, but to increase the rates to such an extent that farming became unprofitable. At Adstock agricultural profits were completely consumed by the rates; near Aylesbury forty-two farms were untenanted, and at Thornborough 600 acres were vacant in the hands of the landlord, whose other tenants had mostly given notice to quit.

All such assessments of labourers on different farmers were made at vestry meetings in the parishes, and no arrangement could be found that did not press very unfairly on some employers. If the assessment was made by the rateable value of a man's property, tradesmen, &c., had labourers sent them for whom they had no employment; or if it was made by the number of acres in a farm, a large pasture farm, where little labour was needed, had more men assessed to it than an arable farm, where double the number could be employed.

On the labourers the poor law had an even more deplorable effect. It was almost impossible for anyone not getting relief to obtain work, since farmers could not afford to employ those for whom they were not bound by law to provide.²¹⁶ At West Wycombe it was said that the notion of wages as a contract beneficial to both parties seemed to be entirely obliterated.

The system of paying part of the wages for surplus labourers or for roundsmen does not seem to have been universal in the county. It was the prevailing practice in Adstock and the neighbouring parishes, Thornton and Steeple Claydon, in the hundred of Buckingham; and a general report made for Ashendon Hundred stated that it had spread extensively in that part of the county.²¹⁷

In various parishes in Aylesbury and Newport Hundreds also it was the custom to make up the wages out of the rates, but in the Chilterns they were apparently little used for this purpose, no case occurring among the ten parishes making returns.

An allowance from the parish made according to the number of children in a labourer's family was not considered as paying part of his wages, and was a very common custom. In the case of labourers working for individual employers this allowance did not, as a rule, begin unless there were four or five small children, but at Adstock a labourer with only two could claim an allowance.

In fixing the rate of all wages, whether given by overseers or individual employers, the size of the labourer's family formed the basis of calculation. In the southern part of the county the scale fixed by the magistrates at Aylesbury was very generally adopted, namely, 6s. for a man and his wife, and 1s. more for each child, but at West Wycombe the scale began at 5s. At Cholesbury 1s. each was not given for more than two children, and,

²¹⁵ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*.

²¹⁶ Sir H. Verney mentioned the case of a labourer who, being an old soldier with a pension, could obtain no work at all from the surrounding farmers.

²¹⁷ It was not the case at Oving.

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apparently, no increase was made beyond four, a man with one child receiving 7s., with two children 8s., but with four 9s. 6d.

In other parts of the county, particularly in the Buckingham and Newport districts, the scale was fixed according to the value of the half-peck loaf, three a week being allowed at Adstock for a man and his wife, and one for each child, but elsewhere the allowance was sometimes less.

At Upton-cum-Chalvey the scale of wages was not only regulated by the size of the family, since 'capacity, constitution, and age' were taken into consideration, and at several other places no fixed scale was adhered to, but they can only be regarded as exceptions to the general rule. Leckhampstead had developed a system peculiar to itself; no allowance per child was ever given, but all children that the labourers were unable to maintain were taken and kept in the workhouse. This established a workhouse test of the worst possible character, falling on the children and not on the labourer; but the one saving feature in the system was the high wages fixed for a labourer with a wife and three children. He received 14s. 6d. a week, or 4s. 6d. above the allowance at Aylesbury. Frequently four children were maintained on the same wages, rather than let them go to the workhouse, so that possibly the system in the particular circumstances worked well.

Such a method of calculating the amount of wages led to a number of improvident marriages, and a consequent increase in the population. Still more was this the case when unmarried men received less than the married, apart from the allowance for each child.

In the Chilterns there was, as a rule, no difference made, a good labourer, married or unmarried, receiving the same treatment, and at Burnham the comment was that such a distinction would have been an encouragement to improvident marriages; wages were the reward for labour, and should properly be proportionate to the skill and exertions of the labourer and not to the extent of his family.²¹⁸ At West Wycombe, however, an unmarried man received 4s. if he was over twenty years old, and 3s. if under twenty, but a married man had 5s.²¹⁹ Elsewhere there was a considerable difference, as a rule the unmarried men earned only from 4s. to 6s. a week, except in harvest-time, but a married man made 8s. to 10s. At Sherington there was a case of a married labourer having £1 3s. 6d. ordered for his weekly wages by a magistrate, but the size of his family was not given.

There was another difference in the employment of unmarried men since they were often only employed by the parish. In the neighbourhood of Woolstone it was said that they were all roundsmen, paid by the parish at the lowest rate, and in many instances they were driven out to seek employment for themselves, so that boys of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen were induced to marry to establish a claim on the parish for support and maintenance.

A further result of the allowance system was the disappearance of piece-work. In Desborough Hundred it was said not to answer since there were too many men to be employed, and neither farmers nor overseers could afford to

²¹⁸ At Upton-cum-Chalvey there was no difference for the best labourers, but 'feeling masters' allowed married men to do more of the hardest work by the piece, and therefore they had more money.

²¹⁹ These wages were paid by both overseers and farmers.

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let an industrious labourer work his hardest at piece-work. He would do more than they could afford.²²⁰

Again, farmers did all they could to prevent a settlement being established by their labourers in the parish, and so the old custom of hiring by the year and boarding in had disappeared in many parts of the county. With regard to the industry and skill of the labourers, the reports from the majority of parishes complained of a great falling off, but the reasons given are not all identical. In the Chilterns, as a whole, there was little difference in point of skill; Farnham Royal was the one instance where it was increasing, but throughout the district drunkenness was a new and growing difficulty.²²¹

At Bledlow the labourers were said to have less energy in their work and to give less time to it, but that the wages too were less; their actual efficiency was, however, much the same. Elsewhere the unprofitable employment of men in gangs, or as roundsmen, was the chief cause of the decrease in the quality of labour. The wages were extremely low,²²² and no superintendence was exercised over the gangs of workmen, hence there was no check upon idleness. A labourer said to Sir H. Verney, 'I had much rather have parish work which does not exhaust my strength than farmer's work and another shilling a week.'

At Steeple Claydon the causes of deterioration were summed up as the round system, low wages, want of constant employment, and worse food, since the labourers were no longer boarded in their masters' houses.

Another evil which arose from the poor relief was the habit of changing masters, but it was generally due to the farmers, who did not wish to hire a man for a long period.²²³ On the other hand, men had no fear of want by leaving a place, since the parish gave them as much whether they worked hard or not, and by working for the parish there was more time for working in their gardens, &c.

The two cases at Burnham and Leckhampstead, where the best labourers were employed on the same farms all the year round, and some of them at the same farm for many years, were but rare exceptions, the majority of farmers employing men sent to them at the choice of the overseers of the poor.

In the parishes making returns to the commissioners in 1832, which were situated in the southern part of the county, there had been practically no riots at all; but in the neighbourhood of Wycombe and Colnbrook²²⁴ the disturbances had been serious. The paper mills in the valleys of the Wyc and the Colne were burnt down, and many men were convicted of riot and arson, and suffered imprisonment or transportation. At Adstock, Bledlow, Steeple Claydon, Oving, Sherington, and Turville, the disturbances were attributed to want of employment, low wages, and the poor laws. At Turville the rising was due to 'distress driving to desperation,' and only at Oving was there a suggestion that new machinery was unpopular. The

²²⁰ But compare note on Upton-cum-Chalvey.

²²¹ Beer-shops had sprung up in out-of-the-way corners, and are specially mentioned at Denham, Fawley, and Taplow.

²²² At Whitechurch and Oving the wages at the stone-pits were 3*d.* a day.

²²³ At Sherington, owing to the labour-assessment system, a farmer could not be certain of having the men whom he would have been willing to employ for a long period sent to him by the overseers. A worse workman might suddenly be substituted.

²²⁴ J. K. Fowler, *Recoll. of Old Country Life*.

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opportunities for planning the riots in all parts were found in the congregation of large numbers of men in the stone-pits and on the roads, doing little work under no supervision, or else in the beer-shops in out-of-the-way places. The labourers in the north did not take part in the risings to so serious a degree, possibly because of the extra employment in lace-making. The rate of wages was also slightly better than in the southern districts. The riots were certainly successful in their object in many cases, and higher wages at least were obtained by unmarried labourers, but as late as 1834 a riot took place at Aylesbury, the able-bodied paupers demanding higher wages.

The report of the Royal Commission was followed by the Poor Law Amendment Act. The more important of its regulations were the appointment of the central board to control the local administration, the formation of unions of parishes, each with a common workhouse for the district, and the institution of the workhouse test in the case of all able-bodied persons applying for relief. This brought to an end the whole system of allowances, parish labour, or roundsmen, and in the future all labourers were paid their wages by the master for whom they were working.

Not only did the artificial depression of wages cease, but the labourer was no longer prevented from seeking better work in other parts of the country by the necessity of remaining in his place of settlement.

At first a good deal of hardship must have ensued, especially as the price of corn was still high. It had dropped to some extent after the conclusion of peace, but in 1830, the wheat used in Aylesbury²²⁵ gaol was bought at prices varying from £2 17s. 3½d. a quarter to £3 11s. 9d. a quarter; flour was 11s. a bushel, and the 1 lb. loaf of bread 2½d. to 2¾d. On the repeal of the Corn Laws the fall in the price of wheat improved the purchasing power of the labourer's wages, though these were not higher than 9s. or 10s. a week in the Vale, and 8s. in the Chilterns in 1850.²²⁶ After the poor-law reform a rise had been effected, since in 1847, while higher prices still prevailed, wages had been 2s. or 3s. a week more than in 1850. Foreign competition affected the farmers in the Vale less than those in the Chilterns, since dairy-farming was not influenced by the low prices. The nearness of London provided the best market for butter and fat cattle, and 50s. an acre was paid for the best grazing lands, while the comparatively high poor rates caused but few complaints. As early as 1804 a market at Aylesbury for fat cattle, in addition to the ordinary weekly cattle market, had been established, and on the opening up of the country by railway communication fresh facilities were afforded for supplying the London market. The population was not large, and few labourers were out of employment, although only ten to fourteen men were employed on a dairy farm of 300 to 400 acres.

In the Chiltern districts the low prices of corn occasioned very general complaints. The farmer could not make arable farming pay when wheat was less than 56s. to 64s. a quarter, and his rents had not fallen at all, the average being 30s. an acre. Rather lower rents were paid in the south-eastern part of the county, and market gardens were established near London.

As a rule the covenants as to cropping had died out, and the landlords did not interfere, but some leases enforcing the rotation of three crops and a fallow still existed.

²²⁵ Quart. Sess. Rec.

²²⁶ Caird, *Brit. Agric.* 1850-1.

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The labourer's position had been improved to a great extent by the new poor law, the low prices, and higher wages, but in the middle of the nineteenth century he had lost to a great extent the extra income obtained by his family by lace-making and straw-plaiting. By the introduction of machinery a much cheaper lace was made, and a foreign straw plait began to be imported into the country, which to a great extent ruined the industry in Buckinghamshire.

In the Amersham Union district a large number of people belong to benefit societies, but elsewhere the old people come very largely on the rates, and even where lace-making and straw-plaiting can still give some occupation to women the earnings are extremely small. The low rate of wages largely accounts for this, but that labourers have been able to save was shown in the small holdings of a few acres,²²⁷ taken up at Claydon by labourers, who had been earning 14s. a week.

In the Chilterns the farmers have suffered far more than in the Vale during the agricultural depression. In 1894²²⁸ the rents of rich pasture lands had fallen much less than those of purely arable land, in spite of the fact that dairy produce also had fallen in price very considerably. The farmers, however, complained less of railway rates than is common elsewhere, owing to the competition between the three railway companies whose lines run through the county. At that time there was no shortage of labour on the farms in the Vale, but in many places it is an increasing difficulty in the way of agriculture. The railway works at Wolverton, for instance, draw many young men in the district away from agricultural work, attracted by the higher wages paid at the works.

The average wage for the county for a labourer is 14s. 6d., but the actual rate differs considerably not only in different districts, but on different farms in the same neighbourhood. Thus on two farms in the Claydon district there is a difference of 1s. in the wages paid to all classes of labourers.²²⁹

An interesting experiment has been made in the three Claydons of establishing village libraries²³⁰ under the Public Libraries Acts. In towns the free library supported by the rates has become a well-known institution, but in villages it has been thought to be impossible. In these Buckinghamshire villages, however, successful libraries have been established, and Middle Claydon claims the distinction of being the first village in England at which such a library has been opened. The neighbouring places also share the benefits of the libraries on payment of a small subscription. Books are provided suitable for all ages of readers, and an interesting point about the movement is the high standard of the books that are the most popular and eagerly read in the cottages.

Aylesbury ducks have always been famous, and are kept by many of the cottagers and small tradesmen. A high price can be obtained for the ducklings, and in this way a small addition to the regular wages can be obtained by many of the labourers. Of late years also a determined attempt has been

²²⁷ *Rep. of Select Com. on Small Holdings*, 1889.

²²⁸ *Rep. of Roy. Com. on Agri.* 1897.

²²⁹ From information supplied by Miss Ruth Verney.

²³⁰ Lady Verney, *Pub. Lib. Acts in Village Communities*.

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made to revive the cottage industries of the county. Under the auspices of the North Bucks Lace Association, formed in 1897, lace-making has been revived, and as far as possible a market has been found for the hand-made lace. Old patterns have been brought to light, and the quality of the work, which had greatly decreased during the decay of the industry, has also been improved.

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Will. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoined, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table also are given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (a) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (b) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial, overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (c) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

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POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841-1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows :—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other subdivision to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which were calculated by other authorities. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such subdivisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

—	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County ¹	477,151	107,900	117,864	134,522	146,977	156,439	163,723	167,993	175,926	176,323	185,458	195,905

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Ashendon Hundred</i>												
Ashendon . . .	2,128	248	319	339	368	312	290	325	274	237	199	212
Aston Sandford † .	679	71	76	84	82	86	88	59	58	59	48	46
Boarstall . . .	3,078	179	188	231	268	252	243	255	244	209	188	151
Brill † . . .	3,109	859	864	1,060	1,283	1,449	1,311	1,432	1,353	1,289	1,251	1,206
Chearsley † . . .	943	214	217	263	337	308	292	287	311	235	242	212
Chilton † . . .	2,069	316	338	379	314	364	398	364	336	301	287	285
Claydon, East . .	2,396	299	309	339	336	378	361	385	376	341	343	336
Claydon, Middle .	2,640	103	129	160	136	127	165	146	139	225	227	231
Crendon, Long ² † †	3,461	991	989	1,212	1,382	1,656	1,700	1,570	1,365	1,179	1,187	1,075
Dorton . . .	1,477	105	124	133	158	151	139	137	125	111	137	140
Fleet Marston ³ † .	934	—	46	43	41	38	30	23	37	27	51	53
Grandborough † .	1,580	230	251	286	341	345	359	374	367	300	301	297
Grendon . . .	2,536	285	271	312	379	384	427	451	448	365	373	323
Underwood † †												
Hogshaw with Fulbrook . . .	1,322	55	55	68	48	50	50	50	61	62	78	56
Ickford (part of) ⁴ .	1,025	271	308	324	382	374	398	416	398	354	345	319
Ilmer † . . .	684	74	69	68	78	79	82	79	70	63	48	51
Kingsey (part of) ⁵ † . . .	915	165	169	204	222	178	202	171	145	151	124	85
Ludgershall † :—	2,823	396	412	576	585	566	514	536	500	422	422	354
Ludgershall † . .	2,562	359	—	520	—	500	461	482	461	395	382	325
Kingswood . . .	261	37	—	56	—	66	53	54	39	27	40	29
<i>Hamlet</i>												
Marston, North . .	1,983	478	513	558	606	619	692	644	643	649	580	524
Oakley † † . . .	2,283	305	329	382	413	391	425	420	442	421	445	398
Oving † . . .	990	257	306	372	384	391	442	436	440	385	364	318
Pitchcott † . . .	925	51	56	44	28	68	59	36	51	35	41	40
Quainton † :—	5,346	870	942	1,017	1,056	1,081	945	929	921	865	885	838
Quainton . . .	3,805	750	848	971	952	966	854	864	858	804	807	787
<i>Township</i>												
Shipton Lee † . .	1,541	120	94	106	104	115	91	65	63	61	78	51
<i>Hamlet</i>												
Quarrendon . . .	1,948	55	54	68	60	64	64	58	56	37	52	65
Shabbington † † .	2,152	184	242	241	298	366	397	371	395	351	302	262
Towersey † . . .	1,380	294	325	367	403	413	448	449	434	342	349	305

¹ *Ancient County*.—The County as defined by the Act 7 & 8 Vict. cap. 61. This Act affected Buckinghamshire to the following extent :—(A) Annexed to it (1) Lillingstowe Lovell Ancient Parish, (2) Boycott Hamlet in Stowe Ancient Parish, (3) Coleshill Hamlet in Amersham Ancient Parish, and (4) the part of Lewknor Ancient Parish shown in this Table; (B) severed from it (1) Studley Hamlet in Beckley Ancient Parish (to Oxfordshire), and Caversfield Ancient Parish (to Oxfordshire).

The population given in this Table for 1811 is exclusive of 201, and for 1821 of 611, militiamen who could not be assigned to the places to which they belonged (see also notes to Ickford, Kingsey, Luffield Abbey, Ibstone, Lewknor, Stony Stratford West Side, and Stoke Poges).

² *Long Crendon*.—Migration to Redditch to seek work in the manufacture of needles was said, in 1861, to be partly the cause of the decline in population.

³ *Fleet Marston*.—The population may have been included in that given for *Waddesdon Ancient Parish* in 1801.

⁴ *Ickford*.—The remainder is in Oxfordshire (Ewelme Hundred). The entire population is shown in Buckinghamshire, 1801–31.

⁵ *Kingsey*.—The remainder is in Oxfordshire (Lewknor Hundred). The entire population is shown in Buckinghamshire, 1801–31. The population given for the part in Buckinghamshire in 1841 is too small owing to an error as to the boundary between the Buckinghamshire part and the Oxfordshire part.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801-1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Ashendon Hundred (cont.)</i>												
Waddesdon * † : —	7,282	1,292	1,283	1,616	1,734	1,750	1,743	1,786	1,838	1,651	1,959	1,837
Waddesdon Township †	5,546	1,040	1,020	1,327	1,454	1,408	1,439	1,470	1,505	1,375	1,637	1,547
Westcott Hamlet †	1,411	231	228	261	242	303	273	278	355	245	282	255
Woodham Hamlet †	325	21	35	28	38	39	31	38	37	31	40	35
Winchendon, Nether †	1,554	244	266	284	294	291	284	316	283	257	272	222
Winchendon, Upper †	1,202	206	204	216	223	218	186	220	209	188	150	142
Wotton Underwood † †	2,487	212	254	344	312	265	253	266	235	221	247	235
Worminghall †	1,510	266	254	314	297	314	360	354	341	303	269	247
<i>Aylesbury Hundred</i>												
Aston Clinton : —	3,809	721	823	908	1,001	1,025	1,096	1,297	1,435	1,495	1,393	1,279
Aston Clinton Township †	—	584	652	723	854	847	928	1,108	1,235	1,317	1,246	1,131
St. Leonard Hamlet †	—	137	171	185	147	178	168	189	200	178	147	148
Bierton with Broughton †	2,442	518	503	620	605	605	688	691	746	812	982	827
Bledlow with Bledlow Ridge *	4,169	917	931	1,050	1,135	1,205	1,202	1,189	1,170	1,070	978	854
Buckland † †	1,555	288	331	496	510	537	662	732	820	863	847	730
Cuddington †	1,308	435	462	547	620	626	623	590	532	476	443	455
Dinton †	3,897	668	713	817	893	818	859	814	790	718	747	663
Ellesborough †	3,595	480	469	581	665	708	782	724	703	608	641	577
Haddenham †	3,274	964	1,038	1,294	1,484	1,545	1,703	1,623	1,514	1,443	1,282	1,223
Halton †	1,456	159	171	195	209	198	157	147	155	195	226	188
Hampden, Great †	1,763	228	235	281	286	290	308	266	262	255	246	207
Hampden, Little †	515	79	69	88	105	83	73	68	61	46	76	48
Hartwell †	911	115	221	133	137	138	151	137	143	146	118	118
Horsenden	535	52	34	50	37	27	51	45	46	46	39	35
Hulcott † †	717	117	125	139	145	133	150	143	125	119	108	88
Kimble, Great †	2,507	316	319	360	436	489	501	408	459	422	395	345
Kimble, Little †	850	142	143	165	176	177	184	182	203	161	170	158
Lee	502	150	172	198	186	142	126	116	104	122	119	125
Missenden, Great	5,820	1,411	1,576	1,735	1,827	2,225	2,097	2,250	2,278	2,170	2,385	2,166
Missenden, Little	3,214	625	678	814	937	1,011	1,142	1,089	1,148	1,113	1,136	1,112
Risborough, Monks †	2,873	768	899	934	1,018	1,083	1,064	985	938	847	810	714
Risborough, Princes	4,697	1,554	1,644	1,958	2,122	2,206	2,317	2,392	2,549	2,418	2,318	2,189
Stoke Mandeville †	1,773	248	341	402	461	493	538	477	528	497	480	411
Stone † †	2,568	515	592	716	773	809	785	1,094	1,292	1,368	1,433	1,393
Wendover †	5,832	1,397	1,481	1,602	2,008	1,877	1,937	1,932	2,033	1,902	2,036	2,009
Weston Turville †	2,323	497	524	611	637	718	748	724	812	824	791	720
<i>Buckingham Hundred</i>												
Addington †	1,303	93	99	89	72	84	71	111	141	134	100	102
Adstock †	1,166	289	314	393	445	419	393	385	383	352	330	329
Akeley †	1,325	245	257	295	291	362	373	366	378	387	380	341
Barton Hartshorn †	892	100	92	113	145	165	137	126	127	111	102	78
Beauchampton †	1,528	187	217	251	254	248	248	272	283	217	181	180
Biddlesden † †	2,052	147	160	175	184	169	144	169	150	125	124	84
Chetwode †	1,171	123	98	131	149	197	217	177	173	155	170	157
Edgcott †	1,140	122	121	160	180	195	193	182	224	187	150	136
Foscott †	719	85	91	119	107	119	99	96	79	72	58	46
Hillesden †	2,606	183	216	247	251	262	244	251	274	221	197	181
Leckhampstead †	2,571	346	397	519	499	505	518	482	447	340	302	241

^{6a} See note 3, ante.

⁶ Dinton also extends into Ashendon and Desborough Hundreds. It is entirely shown in Aylesbury Hundred.

⁷ Stone.—The increase in population in 1861 is attributed to the erection of the County Lunatic Asylum between 1851 and 1861; the Asylum was enlarged between 1861 and 1871.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Buckingham Hundred—cont.)</i>												
Lillingstone	2,223 ^a	111	132	127	150	187	207	198	250	275	273	259
Dayrell ††												
Lillingstone	1,269 ^a	135	144	160	159	140	171	185	152	161	156	137
Lovell ††												
Luffield Abbey	216	16	—	—	10	5	17	18	5	8	7	6
Extra Par. ^a												
Maids' Moreton †	1,366	239	315	407	474	570	573	543	511	448	444	425
Marsh Gibbon †	2,818	534	626	738	812	863	944	858	876	743	696	598
Padbury † . . .	2,029	459	510	618	708	696	660	550	601	530	490	439
Preston Bissett †	1,523	322	337	396	502	517	554	469	485	344	311	290
Radclive † . . .	1,186	252	227	296	334	364	387	356	339	367	321	295
Shalstone with } The Den, or } Old Wick }	1,383	158	183	201	198	201	247	246	232	186	172	205
Steeple Claydon †	3,329	646	704	804	881	849	869	946	906	852	780	721
Stowe ^a †	3,088	311	395	478	490	410	342	352	370	338	311	246
Thornborough †	2,392	458	539	572	673	762	754	694	687	577	564	481
Thornton	1,347	85	70	78	94	101	103	111	103	67	80	78
Tingewick † . . .	2,178	642	711	832	866	911	877	914	945	787	714	635
Turweston † . . .	1,295	211	252	314	371	361	322	335	362	305	269	257
Twyford † :—	4,458	517	547	623	660	754	848	694	596	561	554	534
Twyford	1,567	296	317	367	416	452	511	429	346	339	349	340
Charndon	1,911	146	153	165	160	190	204	170	165	150	131	148
Hamlet												
Poundon Hamlet	980	75	77	91	84	112	133	95	85	72	74	46
Water Stratford †	1,102	143	160	167	186	172	179	179	227	188	137	113
Westbury †† . . .	2,530	308	320	345	391	471	458	379	419	417	357	302
<i>Burnham Hundred</i>												
Amersham † :—	7,969	2,314	2,688	3,104	3,313	3,645	3,662	3,550	3,259	3,001	3,129	3,209
Amersham* . . .	6,119	2,130	2,259	2,612	2,816	3,098	3,104	3,019	2,726	2,500	2,613	2,674
Colehill Hamlet	1,850	184	429	492	497	547	558	531	533	501	516	535
Beaconsfield † . .	4,504	1,149	1,461	1,736	1,763	1,732	1,684	1,662	1,524	1,635	1,773	1,570
Burnham :—	6,866	1,519	1,640	1,918	2,137	2,284	2,301	2,233	2,281	2,356	2,915	3,689
Burnham † . . .	6,383	1,354	1,490	1,716	1,930	2,095	2,142	2,081	2,179	2,241	2,513	3,144
Boveney,	483	165	150	202	207	189	159	152	102	115	402	545
Lower Chap.												
Chalfont St. Giles †	3,726	762	924	1,104	1,297	1,228	1,169	1,217	1,243	1,264	1,286	1,362
Chalfont St. Peter	4,758	1,174	1,153	1,351	1,416	1,483	1,482	1,344	1,459	1,456	1,509	1,753
Chenies, or Isle- hampstead	1,759	423	510	595	649	625	565	468	495	388	378	324
Cheyneys †												
Chesham	12,746	3,969	4,441	5,032	5,388	5,593	6,098	5,985	6,488	6,502	8,018	9,005
Chesham Bois † . .	910	135	130	160	157	218	185	218	258	351	552	767
Dorney †	1,560	190	247	279	268	324	355	367	374	319	401	358
Farnham Royal :—	3,104	851	1,053	1,149	1,193	1,258	1,298	1,378	1,443	1,576	1,586	1,647
Farnham Royal	1,664	550	624	686	777	792	787	817	884	1,042	1,053	1,162
Hedgerley Dean	551	77	180	199	171	185	196	227	242	204	249	200
Hamlet												
Seer Green	889	224	249	264	245	281	315	334	317	330	284	285
Hamlet †												
Hitcham	1,484	200	161	172	232	267	236	205	270	395	512	553
Penn ^a	3,992	927	950	1,054	1,103	1,040	1,254	1,096	1,086	1,100	1,021	1,030
Taplow	1,762	422	592	586	647	744	704	811	1,028	1,063	1,029	1,056
<i>Cottesloe Hundred</i>												
Aston Abbots † . .	2,198	276	267	321	303	356	343	311	327	290	281	290
Cheddington †† . .	1,429	273	301	341	375	439	508	628	745	744	654	580
Cholesbury † . . .	178	122	114	132	127	124	113	105	109	99	95	107
Creslow	887	6	5	5	5	7	10	9	6	10	12	5

^a *Luffield Abbey*.—The population was included in that given for *Stowe Ancient Parish* in 1811 and 1821. A small part appears to be in *Northamptonshire*; the entire area and population is included in *Buckinghamshire*.

^a *Penn*.—The decline in population in 1861 is attributed to the absence of woodmen temporarily present in 1851.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Cottesloe Hundred (cont.)</i>												
Cublington † . . .	1,223	271	233	259	284	290	287	288	283	259	223	215
Drayton	1,888	191	224	272	275	231	261	258	227	194	177	149
Beauchamp †												
Drayton	1,750	307	287	372	416	526	490	468	479	473	425	369
Parslow ¹⁰ †												
Dunton †	1,197	85	89	98	116	107	98	106	96	80	71	82
Edlesborough † †	4,647	997	1,146	1,378	1,490	1,722	1,838	1,671	1,814	1,598	1,448	1,099
Grove †	437	25	33	18	21	25	38	19	23	17	19	19
Hardwick † :—	3,001	563	554	627	640	747	739	708	717	647	596	488
Hardwick . . .	1,213	178	196	207	235	319	292	283	254	214	183	167
Weodon	1,788	383	358	420	405	428	447	425	463	433	413	321
Hamlet †												
Hawridge † . . .	697	121	144	208	217	233	270	276	254	242	214	209
Hoggeston † . . .	1,571	197	190	188	173	204	220	207	191	175	166	129
Horwood, Great †	3,271	537	581	688	720	712	834	846	866	712	639	554
Horwood, Little †	1,948	339	325	429	431	392	427	449	411	309	304	267
Ivinghoe † † . .	5,618	1,215	1,361	1,665	1,648	1,843	2,024	1,849	1,722	1,380	1,270	1,077
Linslade † . . .	1,693	203	281	370	407	883	1,309	1,511	1,633	1,724	1,982	2,157
Marsworth †		259	264	391	427	472	463					
Long Marston and Asthorpe Extra Par. }	1,266	—	—	—	—	12	16	549	564	455	385	396
Mentmore † . . .	1,575	279	298	302	329	348	356	399	408	314	307	289
Mursley ¹¹ † . . .	2,975	318	310	473	495	479	553	482	488	363	369	367
Pitstone :—	2,459	360	389	461	578	522	545	581	612	544	574	484
Nettleden	804	85	101	108	142	98	107	124	133	111	115	88
Hamlet												
Pitstone † † . .	1,655	275	288	353	436	424	438	457	479	433	459	396
Shenley (part of) ¹² :—												
Brook End Township	1,659	232	230	224	244	264	283	289	290	219	215	186
Slapton † † . . .	1,211	228	202	312	360	336	298	325	325	265	214	161
Soulbury † . . .	4,226	526	515	547	578	615	628	589	551	475	510	550
Stewkley † . . .	3,982	680	802	933	1,053	1,262	1,432	1,453	1,431	1,361	1,328	1,159
Swanbourne † . .	2,552	529	499	616	668	679	646	603	558	474	429	405
Tattenhoe, or	647	31	24	16	13	15	55	64	63	17	45	16
Tottenhoe †												
Whaddon :—	3,772	810	811	900	889	910	987	955	936	745	704	584
Nash Hamlet . .	1,247	265	263	375	377	366	439	462	460	340	306	263
Whaddon Township †	2,525	545	548	525	512	544	548	493	476	405	398	321
Whitchurch . . .	1,717	646	714	845	928	930	915	884	799	725	709	619
Wing †	5,703	993	937	1,086	1,152	1,274	1,376	1,504	1,520	1,636	1,799	1,740
Wingrave with Rowsham † †	2,488	602	588	675	783	814	813	863	908	903	926	827
Winslow * † . . .	1,920	1,101	1,222	1,222	1,290	1,434	1,889	1,890	1,826	1,663	1,704	1,703
<i>Desborough Hundred</i>												
Bradenham † † . .	996	170	181	220	263	226	138	185	169	183	152	154
Fawley †	2,213	181	189	276	254	280	254	272	289	302	266	235
Fingest	1,285	316	303	295	340	379	387	352	337	333	364	367
Hambleden . . .	6,598	1,074	1,110	1,281	1,357	1,241	1,365	1,464	1,461	1,502	1,557	1,517
Hedsor †	548	140	162	188	207	194	183	175	225	155	191	166
Hitchenden, or	5,828	887	989	1,247	1,457	1,481	1,541	1,653	1,792	1,803	1,765	1,728
Hughendon												
Ibstone (part of) ¹³	848	258	247	272	313	177	162	153	140	142	149	116
Lewknor (part of) ¹⁴ †	456	—	—	—	—	—	71	63	52	61	33	24

¹⁰ *Drayton Parslow*.—There were 52 persons temporarily present at the 1841 Census, owing to the annual village feast.

¹¹ *Mursley*.—The decline in population in 1861 is attributed to the absence of men temporarily present in 1851 and engaged on railway works.

¹² *Shenley Ancient Parish* is situated partly in Cottesloe Hundred and partly in Newport Hundred.

¹³ *Ibstone*.—The remainder is in Oxfordshire (Pirton Hundred). The entire population is shown in Buckinghamshire 1801–31.

¹⁴ *Lewknor*.—The remainder is in Oxfordshire (Lewknor Hundred), where the entire population is shown 1801–41.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Dasborough Hundred (cont.)</i>												
Marlow, Great †	6,245	3,236	3,965	3,763	4,237	4,480	4,485	4,661	4,701	4,763	5,250	5,645
Marlow, Little †	3,328	728	730	775	783	927	894	790	964	976	922	939
Medmenham †	2,442	284	323	369	384	385	401	380	310	336	320	387
Radnage †	1,369	306	319	366	399	401	433	478	476	427	452	385
Saunderton *†	1,831	193	192	210	231	232	380	428	411	424	373	370
Turville †	2,328	376	382	362	442	476	436	437	456	423	468	371
Wooburn ††	3,133	1,401	1,604	1,831	1,927	1,830	2,026	2,245	2,343	2,431	2,727	3,328
Wycombe, Chipping	6,395	4,248	4,756	5,599	6,299	6,480	7,179	8,373	10,492	13,154	16,409	19,282
Wycombe, West.	6,533	1,330	1,362	1,545	1,901	2,002	2,000	2,161	2,343	2,390	2,599	3,466
<i>Newport Hundred</i>												
Astwood ††	1,286	160	209	263	268	243	268	247	268	222	187	168
Bletchley :—	3,364	1,038	1,103	1,160	1,254	1,450	1,544	1,658	1,862	2,432	3,311	4,269
Bletchley . . .	2,348	824	916	884	1,011	1,183	1,303	1,416	1,619	2,184	3,070	4,068
Water Eaton Township	1,016	214	187	276	243	267	241	242	243	248	241	201
Bradwell . . .	917	255	259	271	257	381	381	1,658	2,409	2,460	2,899	3,946
Bradwell Abbey Extra Par.	447	12	10	20	17	21	16	14	10	28	16	18
Brayfield, Cold . .	744	82	75	80	93	83	80	99	86	85	80	79
Brickhill, Bow †	1,848	431	392	438	475	566	591	546	468	460	464	448
Brickhill, Great †	2,383	560	554	558	776	721	730	590	566	557	522	491
Brickhill, Little †	1,367	385	409	485	514	563	483	423	291	241	312	278
Broughton †	937	157	194	191	172	168	182	155	174	159	122	113
Calverton †	2,011	321	332	370	425	493	505	595	579	550	658	711
Castle Thorpe . .	1,372	260	242	348	366	365	346	338	366	329	441	539
Chicheley †	2,070	189	179	219	218	256	271	265	250	181	180	208
Clifton Reynes †	1,454	221	238	230	246	213	217	212	216	203	170	122
Crawley, North ††	3,362	617	681	775	791	865	914	981	933	699	622	541
Emberton ¹⁵ †	2,364	549	541	549	598	658	613	632	637	653	526	510
Gayhurst †	1,012	89	89	90	118	116	88	129	95	91	91	104
Hanslope . . .	5,801	1,289	1,345	1,479	1,623	1,553	1,604	1,792	1,726	1,584	1,489	1,424
Hardmead ††	1,145	45	68	75	83	83	61	91	92	92	79	51
Haversham †	1,634	223	256	289	313	283	280	288	262	237	224	200
Lathbury ††	1,394	189	177	164	172	127	147	147	136	121	152	188
Lavendon ¹⁶ †	2,615	544	546	613	664	691	769	820	916	783	665	704
Linford, Great ¹⁷ †	1,836	313	376	408	420	474	486	557	468	437	481	478
Linford, Little †	727	44	40	73	55	64	57	58	58	69	70	70
Loughton †	1,536	302	288	293	325	361	335	386	359	324	348	371
Milton Keynes †	1,909	280	287	338	334	327	317	346	321	244	207	219
Moulsoe †	1,654	282	229	260	303	297	239	234	241	194	214	190
Newton Blossomville ¹⁸ †	1,014	221	211	243	237	264	332	277	320	260	191	177
Newton Longville †	1,735	459	486	486	473	565	595	547	537	471	415	424
Newport Pagnel * †	3,432	2,048	2,515	3,103	3,385	3,569	3,651	3,823	3,824	3,686	3,788	4,028
Olney :—	3,260	2,075	2,268	2,339	2,418	2,437	2,329	2,358	2,741	2,430	2,467	2,740
Olney Township ^{16 18}	2,359	2,003	—	—	2,344	2,362	2,265	2,284	2,672	2,362	2,409	2,705
Warrington Hamlet †	901	72	—	—	74	75	64	74	69	68	58	35
Ravenstone ††	1,920	381	370	418	430	415	446	400	431	370	300	224
Shenley (part of) ^{18a} :—	1,662	232	211	225	240	227	210	203	209	184	180	166
Church End Township	1,805	671	773	796	804	856	826	839	718	604	566	548
Sherington †												

¹⁵ Emberton includes the area, and population 1841–1901, of Petsoe Manor, which became a separate Civil Parish under the Extra Parochial Places Acts.

¹⁶ Lavendon, Newton Blossomville, Weston Underwood, and Olney Township. —The increase in the population of these places in 1871 is almost entirely due to the presence of men engaged in railway construction.

¹⁷ Great Linford. —In the 1821 volume four families are said to live here in turf-huts and to be engaged in cultivating woad.

¹⁸ Olney Township includes the area, and the population 1851–1901, of Olney Park Farm, which became a separate Civil Parish under the Act 20 Vict. c. 19, having been previously Extra Parochial.

^{18a} See note 12, *ante*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Newport Hundred—(cont.)</i>												
Simpson † . . .	1,366	367	372	395	470	585	540	562	678	737	727	731
Stantonbury . . .	806	39	32	40	51	42	27	29	40	35	29	41
Stoke Goldington ¹⁹	2,352	636	617	818	912	855	902	963	875	808	767	629
Stoke Hammond †	1,566	268	283	320	323	407	438	401	369	365	312	288
Stony Stratford- West Side, or St. Giles ²⁰ †	55	893	968	969	1,053	1,227	1,256	1,356	1,186	1,216	1,160	1,395
Stony Stratford- East Side, or St. Mary Magdalen	69	528	520	530	566	530	501	649	790	727	859	958
Tyringham with Filgrave †	1,792	236	180	204	227	206	188	226	246	199	155	198
Walton † . . .	772	79	97	102	114	103	95	95	105	112	93	84
Wavendon † . .	2,791	635	685	721	802	846	935	879	953	971	1,384	1,659
Weston Under- wood ^{20a} †	1,873	357	339	420	441	438	405	398	430	352	325	275
Willen † . . .	678	97	78	83	98	97	98	80	76	86	86	91
Woolstone, Great .	514	113	116	108	120	94	72	71	84	81	80	45
Woolstone, Little .	631	103	88	114	124	115	102	125	117	81	83	85
Wolverton . . .	2,325	238	258	335	417	1,261	2,070	2,370	2,804	3,611	4,147	5,323
Woughton-on-the- Green †	1,224	311	285	299	303	354	337	314	273	231	208	202
<i>Stoke Hundred</i>												
Datchet † . . .	1,386	357	710	839	802	922	898	982	990	1,202	1,582	1,834
Denham † . . .	3,939	796	1,000	1,189	1,169	1,264	1,062	1,068	1,234	1,254	1,242	1,146
Eton . . .	786	2,026	2,279	2,475	3,232	{ 3,526 83 }	{ 3,666 130 }	3,122	3,261	3,984	2,955	3,666
Eton College Extra Par. }												
Fulmer . . .	1,895	292	262	340	391	355	328	351	412	428	349	340
Hedgerley † . . .	1,097	137	126	158	187	161	150	153	175	132	118	147
Horton . . .	1,367	647	723	796	804	873	842	810	835	861	824	834
Iver . . .	6,467	1,377	1,635	1,663	1,870	1,948	1,985	2,114	2,239	2,309	2,476	2,690
Langley Marish .	3,937	1,215	1,571	1,616	1,797	1,844	1,874	1,874	1,964	2,162	2,474	3,167
Stoke Poges ²¹ †	3,465	741	838	1,073	1,252	1,528	1,501	1,600	1,850	2,150	2,356	3,175
Upton-cum- Chalvey *	1,943	1,018	1,083	1,268	1,502	2,296	3,573	4,688	5,940	7,030	7,700	9,406
Wexham † . . .	748	172	178	154	181	175	201	196	218	172	231	239
Wyrardisbury, or Wraysbury †	1,679	616	560	520	682	672	701	735	731	658	660	779
<i>Aylesbury Borough</i>												
Aylesbury * † . .	3,302	3,186	3,447	4,400	5,021	5,429	6,081	6,168	6,962	7,795	8,680	9,099
<i>Buckingham Borough</i>												
Buckingham * . .	5,006	2,605	2,987	3,465	3,610	4,054	4,020	3,849	3,703	3,585	3,364	3,152

GENERAL NOTE AS TO BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The following Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts, were, at the Census of 1901, co-extensive with one or more places mentioned in the Table :—

Municipal Borough, or Urban District	Place
Beaconsfield U.D. . . .	Beaconsfield Parish (Burnham Hundred)
Buckingham M.B. . . .	Buckingham Parish (Buckingham Borough)
Fenny Stratford U.D. . . .	Bletchley Ancient Parish (all except Water Eaton Township), and Simpson Parish (both in Newport Hundred)
Linslade U.D. . . .	Linslade Parish (Cottesloe Hundred)
Newport Pagnel U.D. . . .	Newport Pagnel Parish (Newport Hundred)

¹⁹ *Stoke Goldington* includes Gorefields, which was formerly Extra Parochial.

²⁰ *Stony Stratford West Side*.—The population for 1801 is an estimate.

²¹ *Stoke Poges*.—The population for 1801 is an estimate.

^{20a} See note 16, *ante*.

INDUSTRIES

INTRODUCTION

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE has never been a manufacturing county, and before the 16th century there were probably no industries but those which supplied the actual wants of the local agricultural population. During the last three centuries the industries carried on in the county, though on a small scale, have been very various. The most interesting are those which may be called cottage industries: lace, straw-plaiting, and chair-seating. Of these, the two latter owe their origin to natural products grown in the county, the wheat-straw being suitable for plaiting, and the beech woods of the Chiltern Hills being famous throughout the history of the county. Chair-making is now perhaps the most important manufacture, and is still peculiarly local in its character, although much of the wood used is not grown in the district. Other trades owe their prosperity to the water-power, arising from the Thames and its tributaries in the south and the Ouse in the north. The chief of these is the manufacture of paper, the mills being grouped for the most part on the streams running into the Thames. In the northern part of the county much of this water-power was lost, owing to the construction of the Grand Junction Canal. Other industries have existed in the county without apparently any dependence on natural commodities or situation. Needle-making, for instance, was a trade carried on for more than two centuries at Long Crendon, where it was difficult to procure wire, and the manufacturers did not attempt to utilize the water that lay close at hand. Silk mills were opened in the early 19th century with the definite object of providing work for the unemployed, and more recently branches of London printing works have been established in the county.

The growth of the town of Slough should be noticed in connexion with the Buckinghamshire industries. Originally quite a small village, it seems to have mainly grown up since the building of the station on the Great Western Railway. Its population is to a great extent industrial, employed in a great variety of undertakings, the chief being perhaps the brick-fields. Until very

recent years the means of communication, however, in the county have offered no incentive to the local industries. The roads as a whole seem to have been uniformly bad for many centuries. Each township or parish was responsible for the roads which ran through it, the different landowners being bound to repair particular pieces.

At the close of the 13th century indulgences were granted to encourage the repair of the roads in the county. In 1292, during the episcopate of Bishop Sutton¹ of Lincoln, such an indulgence was granted to those who were bound to contribute to the repair of Walton Street, in Aylesbury parish, and in the succeeding years similar indulgences² were granted for the repair of the bridges at Newport Pagnell and Great Marlow. Presentments in the manorial courts of different obstructions left on the roads were very frequent, and it seems doubtful if the courts were of sufficient authority to have much effect, the same offence coming up in court after court.³ In the 16th and 17th centuries the justices of the peace superseded the lord of the manor in this duty, but the change seems to have had no effect. In 1634-5 the county was charged with a share of carrying certain timber from Oxfordshire to London. In April the justices wrote that the roads were 'impassable, or at least so foul and unfit for carriages of weight' that the loads must be very small, and therefore they begged that the work might be done later in the summer.⁴ In the 18th century a highway rate could be levied on different parishes by order of the justices under an Act of William and Mary instead of the different inhabitants providing labourers for so many days.⁵

The repairs, however, at the close of the century were carried out mainly by gangs of parish labourers, who were underpaid and without supervision. The establishment of turnpike trusts for the repair of the main roads produced some improvement, but of course the by-roads

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton Mem.

² Ibid.

³ Add. MS. 27039, 27148, 27152. Instances are frequent throughout the series of Fawley Court Rolls.

⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, ccxv, 38.

⁵ Quarter Sessions Rec. East. 1718.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

were not affected, and the frequent collection of tolls was often a heavy tax on the farmers of a district. Thus at Aylesbury there was no road out of the town free from toll, and there were no less than seven turnpike trusts, each managing a different road, with a different set of lawyers, officials, and toll-collectors to be paid.⁶ The tolls varied slightly under different trusts, but in Buckinghamshire and the neighbouring counties the usual rates were as follows :—⁷

For a horse ridden or led, 1½d.

For a horse drawing any vehicle, 4½d.

A carriage and pair 9d. and so on.

Cattle 10d. a score, and sheep and pigs rather less.

In 1813, in a survey of the county made for the Board of Agriculture, the state of the roads is heavily condemned. The by-roads naturally were the worst; some were even dangerous, the ruts being so deep that the surveyor reports 'that when the wheels of a chaise fall into them, it is with the greatest danger an attempt may be made to draw them out; nay, instances may be produced where, if such an attempt is made, the horse and chaise must inevitably fall into bogs.' This actually happened on the road from Risborough to Bledlow, the horse of the surveyor falling into a bog up to his chest.⁸ The main roads at the present time are under the control of the County Council. Their course has been dictated from the earliest times by the position of the Chiltern Hills, the roads from London passing in the most cases through the different gaps in the hills. The road from London to Chester passes through before it reaches Buckinghamshire, which it enters at Little Brickhill, and runs north-west, covering the course of Watling Street. The Liverpool road enters the county near Woburn and passes through the town of Newport Pagnell, which owed its prosperity to its being a posting stage on this road. In the south of the county there are two roads to Oxford from London. The one follows the valley of the Thames, the other enters the county near Uxbridge and passes through High Wycombe, going over the Chiltern Hills. From this road a branch road runs up the Missenden valley to Aylesbury and Buckingham, while there is a more direct road to the former town by Tring and Aston Clinton. Other roads of course connect the different towns and villages with one another. The county was better served by water communication than by road. The Thames was used by the manufacturers established near its banks, and the Ouse is navigable throughout its course in Buckinghamshire. The Grand Junction Canal has also supplied a much-needed means of communication

for the towns in the centre of the county, which were long without adequate railway service. The main canal passes through Ivinghoe, Fenny Stratford, and Stony Stratford, but is also connected with the three towns of Buckingham, Aylesbury, and Wendover. The Act of Parliament for making the cuts was obtained in 1794. This canal was so much used in the early part of the 19th century that the road from Stony Stratford to Newport Pagnell, along which the commodities sent by canal were distributed in the county, was at many seasons of the year absolutely impassable, being cut up by the heavy wagons.⁹ In the early days of railways the Buckinghamshire landowners offered so much opposition to any scheme that the county was badly served by railways for many years. When the London and Birmingham Railway, now the London and North - Western, was surveyed George Stephenson's original plan was to bring the main line down via Aylesbury and Amersham to London, but so much opposition was raised that the line was diverted through the Countess of Bridgewater's land by Berkhamstead and Tring. 'The land,' she is reported to have said to him, 'is already *gashed* by the Canal, and if you take that course you will have no severance to pay, it will disarm opposition, and the position of the locks will be some guide to you in your levels.'¹⁰ Thus the line, when it was opened in 1838, only passed through a small portion of the county by Bletchley and Wolverton. Subsequently several branch lines have been built, opening up the northern part of the county. From Cheddington Junction there is a line to Aylesbury; from Bletchley there are two lines, one by Fenny Stratford to Bedford and Cambridge, and the other to Oxford. The Banbury line passes through Buckingham, leaving the main line at Winslow, and another branch connects Wolverton and Newport Pagnell. In the south the chief railway is the Great Western; the main line, entering the county near Colnbrook and passing through Slough, leaves the county at Maidenhead. It has branches to Eton and Windsor, and to Oxford, via High Wycombe, Princes Risborough, and Thame.

A small line was projected in 1846 by Robert Stephenson, its object being to connect the two great lines, the centre of the county being then practically without railway communications. Part of the scheme was abandoned, and not till 1861 was the Act obtained for the Aylesbury and Buckingham Railway. The project met with opposition of every kind, but finally an arrangement was made for the new line being worked by the Great Western.¹¹ Afterwards, however, an extension was made bringing the line from

⁶ J. K. Fowler, *Rec. of Old Times*, 14.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* 339-42.

⁹ Ibid. 342.

¹⁰ J. K. Fowler, *Recollections of Old Country Life*, 125.

¹¹ J. K. Fowler, *Rec. of Old Times*, 186.

INDUSTRIES

Aylesbury to London, the terminus being at Baker Street, and the Aylesbury and Buckingham Railway was bought by the Metropolitan Railway Company. The line is known as the Metropolitan Extension Railway, and a steam tramway is run in connexion with it from Quainton Road to Brill. The Great Central Railway, since its extension to London, also passes through the centre of the county, entering it near Buckingham. It then passes through Quainton Road Junction, Aylesbury, and on to the Marylebone terminus. The Great Western and Great Central Joint Committee have built a new line from Quainton Road, through Princes Risborough and Wycombe, joining the main line near Kingsbury-Neasden and so on to London.

Several industries have sprung up in the county for different reasons during the latter part of the last century. Amongst these may be classed boat-building, on the banks of the Thames. This trade has probably occupied a large number of the riverside population throughout the history of the county. In 1831 there were said to be ten boat-builders and 998 boat-makers or menders,¹² but the trade in its present form has only developed recently. At Eton it dated from the time when the boys at the college began to row—about forty-five years ago.¹³ It is now one of the four centres in the country for the building of racing-boats. The industry received a further stimulus about twenty years after the introduction of racing by the popularity of pleasure-boating on the river. A large number of the boats built for this purpose are kept on the Thames for letting on hire, the rest are sold to purchasers in all parts of the country. Recently the demand for punts has brought an increase of trade, which had been decreasing owing to the popularity of motoring and other amusements.¹⁴ A large export trade was at one time carried on by the boat-builders at Eton to most continental countries, but this has been stopped by the establishment of boat-building firms in these countries; boats are still sent to Africa, India, Italy, Portugal, amongst other places. One firm has also extended its business by manufacturing oars and sculls, besides supplying the London County Council with a large number of mahogany boats for use in the London parks. The industry now gives employment to a considerable number of men, whose work is very various, the chief classes being builders, varnishers, decorators, upholsterers and watermen. The wages paid to first-class hands are good, the rate of wages amongst the builders reaching between £3 and £4 a week.

¹² *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

¹³ From information kindly given by Mr. G. F. Winter, Eton.

¹⁴ From information kindly given by Mr. G. Haines, Old Windsor and Wraysbury.

Although the manufacture of paper has been one of the chief industries of Buckinghamshire for so many years, there do not seem to have been any large printing works established until recently. In the second half of the 18th century there was a printer at Aylesbury,¹⁵ and for a short time, in the year 1792, the *Buckinghamshire Herald* was printed there by a man named Norman, and at the present time there are printers in most of the towns of the county. The *Buckinghamshire Standard* is printed at Newport Pagnell, as well as the *Newport Pagnell Gazette*. The *South Bucks Standard* at Wycombe, the *Buckingham Standard* at Buckingham, and the *Bucks Herald* at Aylesbury, are all printed in the towns where they are published. In the last-named town are large printing works owned by Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd.¹⁶ The firm was founded in London in 1845, but the Aylesbury works were not opened till 1867, when they were started as an experiment in an old silk-mill, with the object of establishing works in the country rather than in London. All kinds of printing are done by the firm, who also are book-binders, printing-ink makers, printers' roller makers, &c. A great many institutions and clubs have been established at Aylesbury for the employees of the firm, who are also shareholders under different schemes, the total value of the shares so held being between £16,000 and £17,000. There are numerous coach and carriage builders in all parts of the county. Their trade appears to be of recent development, since in 1831 only twenty-three men were so employed. The chief centres are at Newport Pagnell, Great Marlow, and Slough. At Slough a large export trade is carried on and this has prevented one firm at least from suffering from the increasing demand for motor cars.¹⁷

Embrocation is made by two firms in the county, the Line Romanelicum Company at Newport Pagnell and the well-known Messrs. Elliman & Sons, Ltd., at Slough.

Brewing was carried on in Buckinghamshire, as in the rest of England, in nearly every village in mediæval times, and the industry was supervised as a rule by the lords of the manors or their officials, claiming the right to hold the assize of ale. Owing to the process then obtaining, no large quantities of beer or ale were made, so that the business was carried on on a very small scale. At High Wycombe, in the 16th century, there were severe orders against those who brewed selling, or as it was then called 'tippling,' their beer at their own houses.¹⁸ Instead it was to be sent into the town to be

¹⁵ Gibb, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 628-9.

¹⁶ *After Hours*, published by Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd.

¹⁷ Information kindly given by Messrs. Brown & Sons, Slough.

¹⁸ Wycombe Borough Records.

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sold by the 'tipplers' at the price fixed by the mayor of the borough. The more important breweries, in the modern sense, seem to have been established during the 18th century. At Great Marlow brewing is the most important industry in the town, the chief brewery having been established by the Wethereds in 1758. The same family still carries on the business, which, however, was formed into a company in 1899. The brewery now carried on by the Newport Pagnell Brewery Co., Ltd., has also been established for at least a hundred years. There were also breweries at Buckingham, Bletchley, and Aylesbury, but these are now all in the hands of the Aylesbury Brewery Co., Ltd.

The oldest nursery gardens in Buckinghamshire are the Royal nurseries at Slough, which were founded by Mr. Thomas Brown in 1774.¹⁹ In 1848 they passed into the hands of the late Mr. Charles Turner, and they have remained in his family to the present day. The nurseries have always been noted for 'Florists' Flowers,' the chief kinds grown being carnations, picotees, pinks, roses, auriculas, pelargoniums, dahlias, etc.

Roses grown at Slough were specially famous, and Dean Hole described Mr. Charles Turner as 'the king of florists.'²⁰ At the present day the gardens cover about 150 acres of ground. In the same neighbourhood Messrs. Veitch & Sons, of Chelsea, have opened nurseries at Langley Marish. In 1880, 20 acres of land were

purchased, and more has been added till the nursery includes about sixty acres in all. The principal culture is that of fruit trees, roses, and herbaceous plants, but flower and vegetable seeds are also grown there. The nursery is particularly noted for its pears and apples. There are various nurseries in different parts of the county, which have been developed of late years and have profited by the new lines of railway. Of these, the nursery near Claydon was started about fourteen years ago 'to develop a local trade for small orders for ready money.'²¹ Tomatoes, bedding plants, and chrysanthemums are grown in large quantities, and cut flowers are also supplied. Fruit of all kinds is grown, and some twelve years ago a Fruit Growers' Association was formed, so that customers living near could obtain the best variety of fruit trees at wholesale prices. To encourage fruit-growing amongst the tenants of Sir Edmund Verney, bart., on whose estate the Claydon Nurseries are situated, compensation for disturbance is given to the cottagers and others who have purchased fruit trees through the Association and have left their cottages within six years after planting. Various other branches of work have also been undertaken, such as fruit-preserving, bee-keeping, and wood-growing. The Claydon Nurseries Company is co-operative so far as the horticultural department is concerned, the profits being annually divided amongst the permanent employees of that branch of the work.

LACE-MAKING

Lace-making for a very long period formed the most important industry of Buckinghamshire. There seems some doubt as to its origin in the county, but tradition attributes it to Queen Katherine of Aragon, who besides holding several manors in Buckinghamshire as part of her dower, also lived for two years at Ampthill in the neighbouring county of Bedford.¹ Thread-lace was made in England as early as 1463,² and bone-lace, the original name for pillow-lace, is mentioned in 1577.³ The type of lace made in England at this time was Flemish, and may have been first brought to England by refugees from Flanders. Pennant⁴ speaks 'of the lace-manufacture which we stole from the Flemings,' but Queen Katherine may still, in the first instance, have brought

the industry to Buckinghamshire. It seems to have been flourishing by the beginning of the 17th century, since in 1611 men 'who continually travelled to sell bone-lace on the Sabbath day' were presented at an ecclesiastical visitation.⁵ A time of depression, however, followed, probably owing to the monopolies granted by James I. In High Wycombe and the neighbourhood there was a great deal of distress in 1623 mainly due to lack of employment, since both the clothing and bone-lace trades were daily becoming more depressed.⁶ This depression was, however, merely temporary. Three years later, in the neighbouring town of Great Marlow, Sir Henry Borlase founded a school for twenty-four boys and twenty-four girls, and the latter were to learn to knit, spin, and make bone-lace. The chief centres of the lace industry were Newport Pagnell, or Olney, High Wycombe, and Aylesbury. Fuller, in 1660,⁷ specially mentions Olney, but the industry was already widely spread in the county. A few

¹⁹ From information kindly given by Mr. Charles Turner, The Royal Nurseries, Slough.

²⁰ *Memoirs of Dean Hole* (1893), 207.

²¹ From information kindly given by Mr. J. Milsom, Claydon Nurseries.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, vi, 661.

² *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 507b.

³ *New Engl. Dict.*

⁴ *Journey from Chester to Lond.* 342.

⁵ F. W. Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 17.

⁶ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxlii, 44.

⁷ *Worthies of Engl.* (Nuttall's ed.), 193.

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years later Sir Edmund Verney,⁸ at Claydon, writes that one of his men had given him some very good lace made by his daughter. She received a guinea, and the lace was made into a cravat of the latest fashion.

The greatest time of prosperity in the industry came, however, in the 18th century, when bone-lace was in great demand. The *Spectator*, when deploring the extravagance of women in their head-dresses,⁹ speaks of 'childish Gewgaws, Ribbands and bone-lace.' In 1717 the lace-makers on a large scale, living at Wycombe and in that neighbourhood, petitioned against a decision which forced them to take out licences as petty chapmen or hawkers.¹⁰ One of the chief of these lace-makers was Ferdinando Shrimpton of Penn, who was eight times Mayor of Chepping Wycombe.¹¹ He and other men of his class kept several hundred workers constantly employed.¹² They went weekly to London, generally on a Monday, and sold their goods to the London milliners at the lace markets held at the George Inn, Aldersgate Street, or in the Bull and Mouth Inn in St. Martin's by Aldersgate. They returned with a stock of thread and silk, which they gave out to their workwomen to be made up according to their orders.¹³ In the northern part of the county Newport Pagnell was a sort of staple town for bone-lace,¹⁴ and it was said to produce more lace than any other town in the country.¹⁵ A lace-market was held every Wednesday at which great quantities were sold. Lace-buyers also came round from the London houses about once a month, meeting the lace-makers at some inn, such as the 'Nagg's Head' at Thame, and there buying their stock.¹⁶

The Anti-Gallican Society some years before had awarded its first prize for lace shown by Mr. William Marriott, of Newport Pagnell,¹⁷ and in 1761 Earl Temple, the Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, presented the king, on behalf of the lace-makers, with a pair of fine lace ruffles, made at the same town.¹⁸

Aylesbury was also noted for the fine quality of the lace made there.¹⁹ In the 18th century the women in the workhouse were employed in lace-making instead of spinning.²⁰ In 1784 the overseers entered two cloths for lace-pillows in their accounts ;²¹ in the same year they paid 4d.

to 'four girls cutting off,' and on another occasion Mary Slade received 3s. 7d. to set up lace-making.²² Lace played a prominent part also in the Parliamentary elections for the borough.²³ No candidate could hope to be successful if he did not promise to uphold the bone-lace industry and denounce the machine-made lace of Nottingham. A lace-pillow was mounted on a pole and carried at the head of processions, and banners were hung with Aylesbury lace, for which enormous prices were paid.

The lace trade flourished in the early part of the 19th century, and its extent is well illustrated by the village of Hanslope.²⁴ In 1801, 500 people out of a population of 1,275 were employed in lace-making, and both men and women made it their regular employment. No women's labour for agricultural work could be obtained in the county²⁵ owing to the good wages they were paid for lace-making.

The decline came very quickly after the close of the French wars. The introduction of machine-made lace about 1835²⁶ and the effects of free trade gradually killed the industry.²⁷ The quality of the lace made fell off, and in spite of temporary revivals the trade proper became extinct about 1884.²⁸ The industry, however, lingered on in many parts of the county, and of late years a great effort has been made to bring about a revival. The North Bucks Lace Association was formed in 1897, and is the largest association of the kind. It aims not only at reviving old patterns and improving the quality of the lace made, but also at securing a better price than the workers can obtain for themselves. In other parts of the county various people have interested themselves in the industry, and very beautiful lace is now made, such as the lace in Hughenden Church.

In the south of the county other trades, especially chair-making, afford both an easier and at the same time a better paid occupation for the women, so that there is less lace-making than round Buckingham and Newport Pagnell.

Another difficulty in the way of the revival of the industry is the length of time taken in learning to make lace. It seems probable that after the present generation of workers has passed away no fine, wide lace will be made any more with the object of earning a livelihood. Children, in order to become expert workers, must begin very young and work more hours a day than is possible whilst they are attending school.

In the flourishing days of the industry there were hardly any schools except lace-schools in

⁸ *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iv, 213.

⁹ *The Spectator*, no. 98.

¹⁰ *Treasury Papers*, ccviii, 47.

¹¹ Langley, *Hist. of the Hund. of Desborough*.

¹² *Treasury Papers*, ccviii, 47.

¹³ Pinnock, *Hist. and Topog. of Engl.* i, 31.

¹⁴ Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain* (1778), ii, 173.

¹⁵ Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 17.

¹⁶ W. Shrimpton, *Notes on a decayed Needle-land*, 25.

¹⁷ Mrs. Bury Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 380.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain* (1778), ii, 173.

²⁰ Aylesbury Overseers' Accounts. ²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 621.

²⁴ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 482.

²⁵ St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* 346.

²⁶ Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 196.

²⁷ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 393.

²⁸ Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 196.

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the county. Sir William Borlase's school at Great Marlow was not continued long, but in 1672 the Aylesbury overseers paid Mary Sutton 5s. to teach the workhouse children to make lace.³⁹ At Hanslope children were sent to the lace-schools when they were five years old,⁴⁰ and both boys and girls could maintain themselves by the time they were eleven or twelve. The hours were very long, and schools were held in small cottages without sufficient light or ventilation. In some parts of the county the children were sent to the lace-schools at four years old. The old woman who kept the principal lace school at Lane End died about a year ago at the age of eighty-six. The schools must have disappeared about thirty to thirty-five years ago, but the children then seem to have had first about an hour's reading lesson, followed by six to seven hours' lace-making.⁴¹ Besides the children, the skilled workers were crowded in large numbers into a small room, with the result that the industry was most unhealthy. As early as 1782⁴² Pennant noticed the pale faces of the girls at Newport Pagnell, due to their sedentary trade, and three years later a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁴³ suggested remedies for this state of things. In the course of a journey in Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire his attention was drawn to 'the frequent sight of deformed and diseased women in these counties.' He found they were mostly lace-makers, growing deformed and ill from the stooping position in which they worked and from sitting in 'small, low and close' rooms. His recommendations probably had no effect, and in 1797 lace-making in the towns of the hundred of Desborough did not 'induce those habits of neatness and industry which appear highly necessary to render an occupation beneficial to a county.'⁴⁴

The kind of lace made in Buckinghamshire has passed through many variations, but it has always been pillow-lace of one kind or another, the most characteristic lace being pillow-point, or 'half-stitch' as it is called in the county.⁴⁵ The earliest Buckinghamshire lace was old Flemish with a wavy and graceful pattern and well-executed ground. Some of the patterns seem to have been worked in with a needle on the net ground. In 1778 point-ground was introduced, and from that time the staple pillow-lace of the county developed. Much of the point-ground was made by men. The principal branch of the

trade was 'baby lace' and edgings, mostly used in trimming babies' caps.⁴⁶ Point-ground was used, while the patterns were copied from Lille or Mechlin lace.⁴⁷ Large quantities were exported to the United States until the outbreak of the Civil War, when the demand ceased rapidly.⁴⁸ Other sorts of grounds were made, such as 'wire,' 'double,' and 'trolley.'⁴⁹ Fresh kinds of lace were introduced at the outbreak of the French War at the close of the 18th century. Manufacturers undertook to supply French laces, and both true Valenciennes lace and 'French ground' were then made in Buckinghamshire.⁴⁰ Early in the 19th century Regency Point came into fashion, a point lace with cloth or toile on the edge. Insertions were also introduced, and made in large quantities. A lace made of worsted of various colours, called Norman lace, suddenly became fashionable,⁴¹ and the demand was great, especially in the United States. The trade dropped, however, as suddenly as it had arisen. In the middle of the 19th century Maltese lace was introduced, resulting in a great recovery in the industry.⁴³ It was made both of thread and silk,⁴³ and completely ousted the older Buckinghamshire lace, which could no longer compete with the machine-made article. At the Exhibition of 1862 hardly anything but Maltese lace was exhibited, but a fresh impulse was given to the trade.⁴⁴ New kinds of Maltese lace were introduced called 'plaited laces,' but this revival of lace-making came to an end about 1870, the quality of the lace having become worse and worse, both as to pattern and material.⁴⁵ The last variety of lace appeared about 1875, and was called Yac lace. It was made from a species of goat's hair dyed to all colours, but the fashion died out very quickly.⁴⁶

Maltese lace-making lingered on in the different villages, and is still made, but the North Bucks Lace Association and kindred societies encourage the older and more characteristic 'Buckinghamshire lace.' Old stores of lace have been sought out and the patterns revived. A good deal of jealousy used to exist with regard to the copying of patterns, and the same feeling has again appeared of late years. The pattern is pricked on a strip of parchment and pinned down to the pillow. It is about ten inches long,⁴⁷ and in Buckinghamshire the custom

³⁹ Defoe, *Complete English Tradesman* (1738), ii, 347.

⁴⁰ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace*, 385.

⁴¹ Ibid. 386.

⁴² Ibid. 387.

⁴³ Ibid. 388.

⁴⁴ Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 196.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 392.

⁴⁷ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 622.

⁴⁸ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 392.

⁴⁹ Bull, *Hist. of Newport Pagnell*, 196.

⁵⁰ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 391.

³⁹ Aylesbury Overseers' Accounts, quoted in Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 617.

⁴⁰ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 482.

⁴¹ Information kindly given by Miss E. Johnson, Lane End, nr. High Wycombe.

⁴² *Journey from Chester to Lond.* 342.

⁴³ Vol. iv, 938.

⁴⁴ Thomas Langley, *Hist. of Hund. of Desborough*, 10.

⁴⁵ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 384.

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is to have two of these strips, and as one is finished the other is placed below it, the lace-maker thus working round and round the pillow. The lace is made of linen thread, and at the present day there is considerable difficulty in procuring it fine enough and even enough.⁴⁸ This was probably a difficulty in earlier times, and silk was used many years before Maltese lace was introduced.⁴⁹ Amersham and Great Marlow were specially noted for the black silk lace made there.⁵⁰ The bobbins were originally made of bone—hence the name bone-lace; but more frequently they are of wood.⁵¹ The number used varies according to the design, but for a wide pattern as many as 500 may be needed. Old bobbins often show an interesting history of their owner, since it was the custom to inscribe them with names and the dates of various events occurring in her life. Forty years ago it was still the custom to give bobbins, often of intricate workmanship, as love-tokens.⁵² The pillow was, however, the costliest part of a lace-maker's implements. It is a hard round cushion, stuffed with straw and well-hammered to make it hard, and covered with 'pillow-cloth.'⁵³ The making of pillows was almost a monopoly, one family making them for a district.⁵⁴ A pillow with all its appurtenances in some cases cost as much as £5 in the early part of the 19th century. In the prosperous days of the industry women could earn very good wages, often making more than their husbands, who were agricultural labourers. In 1794 the average wages of the best lace hands were from 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day,⁵⁵ but about the same time in the Thames Valley women only earned 10d. a day and girls about 4d. and 6d.⁵⁶ In 1813 the wages given were rather lower, 9d. to 1s. 4d.⁵⁷

a day, but good workers at Aylesbury, before machine-made lace killed the trade, could earn 25s.⁵⁸ a week, and married women who did not give their whole time to the work often made as much as £1 a week. The workers were sometimes, however, only paid once a month, after the lace-buyers had come round and the local lace-men had sold their store of lace.⁵⁹

At the present day the lace-makers are paid by the hour, and the wages are not high, varying from 1½d. to 1¾d. per hour.⁶⁰

Many old customs existed amongst the lace-makers. St. Catherine was their patron saint, and her festival was kept as a holiday till recent years.⁶¹ The Aylesbury Overseers⁶² even gave the lace-makers in the workhouse '3s. to keep Catern,' and special Catern cakes were made to celebrate the holiday.

At Aylesbury a lace-queen was chosen from among the lace-makers and carried round the town on a platform, working on her pillow, and accompanied by a band and a great crowd.⁶³ Whether these processions were held on St. Catherine's Day is not clear, but more probably they took place during fairs, since the time of year commanded indoor celebrations of the lace-makers' holiday rather than street processions.

In some parts of the county the women, who have lost their employment owing to the decline of the lace trade, have taken to sequin and bead work. This is the case round Princes Risborough, particularly at Lacey Green, Amersham, and near High Wycombe.⁶⁴ At Lacey Green bead-work has been done about twenty-five years, and was sent to London, but the demand is lessening, and only an occasional order is now received.

WOODEN WARE AND CHAIR-MAKING

The beechwoods of the Chiltern districts have naturally led to the manufacture of wooden ware for many years. Presumably the 13th-century names, Hubert Turnator, Peter le Turnur, and Bartholomew le Turnur, specify the trade carried on by their bearers, a trade which afterwards obtained a considerable im-

portance, and was and is specially centred at Chesham.¹ In 1725 Defoe² mentions the supply of beechwood which was then used for making felloes for 'the great cars of London, cole-carts, dust-carts, &c., which the city laws do not allow to have tyres of iron,' for the billet wood for the king's palaces and similar purposes, and lastly for chairs and turnery ware.

⁴⁸ *Pamphlet of the North Bucks. Lace Assoc.* 7.

⁴⁹ Aylesbury, Overseers' Accounts, 1787.

⁵⁰ Pinnock, *Hist. and Topog. of Engl.* i, 25, 52.

⁵¹ *Pamphlet of the North Bucks. Lace Assoc.* 9.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Palliser, *Hist. of Lace* (1902), 391.

⁵⁴ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 617.

⁵⁵ W. James and J. Malcolm, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.*

⁵⁶ Arthur Young, *Six Months' Tour*, iii, 356.

⁵⁷ St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. in Bucks.* 346.

⁵⁸ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 621.

⁵⁹ Shrimpton, *Notes on a Decayed Needle-land.*

⁶⁰ Information kindly given by Miss E. Johnson.

⁶¹ *Mem. of the Verney Family*, i, 11.

⁶² Overseers' Accts. 1797.

⁶³ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 621.

⁶⁴ From information kindly given by Mrs. Robson, Lacey Green Vicarage, and Miss Tighe, Looseley House, Princes Risborough.

¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 22, 35, 36.

² *Tour in Gt. Brit.* (1725), ii, 72.

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At the close of the 18th century the value of the woods had considerably increased, frequent felling having been found more advantageous to the owners than allowing the trees to come to a considerable size.³ Even then, however, the wisdom of carrying this new system too far was doubted. The uses to which the wood was put were much the same as in Defoe's time—spokes, felloes, bedsteads, and chairs.⁴ Chesham became noted for its turnery ware early in the following century, but in 1862 its wooden ware and turnery trade was declining.⁵ There are, however, a considerable number of manufacturers still carrying on the trade in the town and neighbourhood, wooden dairy utensils being a speciality of some makers. Several firms also make brushes of various kinds. Chair-making, though possibly of later development than the wooden-ware manufactory, has outstepped it in importance. Both Defoe and Langley mention chair-making as one of the uses to which the beechwoods on the Chilterns were put, but the industry does not seem to have become of great importance until the 19th century.⁶ In 1830 there were said to be only two chair manufacturers in High Wycombe,⁷ which has since become the centre of the industry. In 1862 one of the chief manufacturers of the town described the early condition of the business in the following words⁸:—"When I began the trade . . . I loaded a cart and travelled to Luton. All there was prosperous. There was a scramble for my chairs; when I came home I laid my receipts on my table, and said to my wife: "You never saw so much money before." The demand for chairs grew rapidly, and the Wycombe chair-makers supplied the chairs for the Crystal Palace, for St. Paul's Cathedral, and many barracks,⁹ and a large export trade, especially to the Colonies, was developed in the middle of the 19th century.¹⁰ It was then the boast of Wycombe that it turned out a chair a minute all the year round, or 1,800 doz. per week,¹¹ that is, over 1,100,000 per annum.

In 1885 there were about fifty chair-makers, large and small, in Wycombe,¹² and at the present day the number has reached nearly a hundred. The trade has, however, suffered a depression of late years, owing to the loss of some of the foreign trade, which has passed into American

and Austrian hands, and the competition at home is so severe that some of the work done is unremunerative.¹³ Nevertheless nearly every village round Wycombe has its manufactory, employing both men and women, boys and girls.¹⁴

The falls of timber take place in November and March, when the trees are sold by auction, and the manufacturers lay in their stock of wood.¹⁵ Beechwood forms the greater part of the raw material, but elm is used for the seats, and ash for the bows of Windsor and similar chairs. Oak and walnut are only as a rule procured for special orders.¹⁶

The manufacturers in 1885 were divided into three classes, which still obtain at the present day. In the first place there are those who have their own steam saw-mills, and turn out the finished article; then come manufacturers who send their wood to public saw-mills to be cut up into lengths, and afterwards turn out the chair complete; and lastly, there are smaller men who live in the surrounding villages and supply the manufacturer proper with what is called 'turned stuff,' i.e., with fore-legs, stretchers, and lists of chairs according to pattern. Thus it often happens that only the backs, hind-legs, and seats are made at the factory proper, other parts being sent in from the country. There much of the work is done in the cottages, the wood being turned by hand, after it has come, cut up in lengths, from the saw-mill.

Certain factories in High Wycombe specialize in a particular part of the chair, and turn out nothing but chair-backs, or seats. The seats are made by women and girls, who learn the trade at an early age. When the work is done at home, they can earn about 1½d. an hour for caning, and rather more for 'matting,' a dirtier and harder process.¹⁷ The greater number of chairs made in this district are, however, seated with cane, not rushes, and the splitting is all done by hand. All kinds of chairs are made, from the common kinds known as Windsor, cathedral, bedroom, kitchen, barrack chairs, to the more elaborate patterns made by the larger manufacturers of High Wycombe. The oak chairs, for instance, made for the judges at the Royal Courts of Justice were manufactured at Wycombe, and, more recently, the mahogany chairs used by the peers and peeresses at the coronation of King Edward VII.¹⁸

Besides the actual chair-makers there are several firms who make articles used in the manufacture, such as varnish and chair-makers' tools.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Information given by Miss E. Johnson, Lane End.

¹⁵ *Factory and Workshops Rep.* xv, 185.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Information given by Miss Johnson, Lane End.

¹⁸ Copies or examples shown at an exhibition held at Aylesbury, July 1905.

³ Langley, *Hist. of the Hund. of Desborough*, 9.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Pinnock, *Hist. and Topog. of Engl.* i, 24; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 263; Sheahan, *Topog. of Bucks.* 838.

⁶ *Tour in Gt. Brit.* ii, 72; *Hist. of Hund. of Desborough*, 9.

⁷ *Factory and Workshops Rep.* xv, 185.

⁸ Sheahan, *Topog. of Bucks.* 220.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Factory and Workshops Rep.* xv, 185.

¹² Ibid.

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PAPER-MAKING

Various causes have made paper-making a profitable undertaking in Buckinghamshire. Especially in the Thames Valley, the water-power obtained from the tributaries of the river, the easy means of communication by water, and the nearness to London, all favoured its manufacture, and at the close of the reign of Elizabeth paper-mills had already been established. John Spilman, the queen's jeweller, obtained a licence that he himself, or his deputies, should alone build any paper-mills or collect linen rags in the country,¹ but by 1600 other mills had been erected, and he petitioned for assistance against the paper manufacturers. John Turner, Edward Marshall, and George Friend, had built a mill in Buckinghamshire, but its exact position is not mentioned in Spilman's petition. Other mills must have been built very quickly in spite of his licence. In 1636 there were twelve paper-mills in the county,² one of the most important being at Horton, worked by Edmund Phipps. He was chief constable of the county, and seems to have worked his mill with but little consideration for the convenience of his neighbours. In fact the paper-mills seem to have been thoroughly unpopular in the country, owing to the importation of rags, and the consequent outbreaks of the plague. Phipps was presented at an ecclesiastical court in 1635 for working his mill on Sunday all through the year.³ The next year the mills were stopped owing to the prevalence of the plague, and the paper-masters petitioned for a contribution from the county towards their relief. This made them even more unpopular than before, and the justices of the peace made a counter petition, not only against the rate, but for the destruction of the mills altogether. Some of these mills were already built at High Wycombe,⁴ or near the town, and this district became the centre of the paper-making industry in Buckinghamshire. At Horton, Richard West had succeeded Phipps as paper-maker by 1649.⁵

At the close of the 17th century⁶ a bill was brought into Parliament for the formation of a company with the monopoly of making white writing and printing paper. Whilst it was before the House of Lords, the mayor, aldermen and inhabitants of Chepping Wycombe petitioned against the formation of such a company, which would ruin their trade. There were then, in 1690, eight paper-mills at High Wycombe; probably they were not all within

the borough itself, but were in the neighbourhood, and fifty families were employed in making paper. The men had mostly been apprenticed to the trade, and if the prohibition against making white paper became law, they would come, for the most part, with their families on the rates. The Wycombe mills were worked by water from the River Wye, but other mills were established on the Loddon, which runs into the Thames between Wycombe and Great Marlow.⁷

In the 18th century paper-making was the most important industry in the county, with the possible exception of lace.⁸ In 1797 Thomas Langley wrote:—"The paper manufacture is very flourishing and has experienced every attention its importance so highly deserves."⁹ The paper-mills at Horton and Wyrardisbury (Wraysbury) were worked during the greater part of the 18th century, but for a time were converted into iron or copper mills.¹⁰ Wyrardisbury mills were re-converted into paper-mills early in the 19th century,¹¹ while in the northern part of the county the manufacture was carried on at Newport Pagnell and at Marsworth,¹² and other mills may have existed on the northern streams. The Marsworth mill was destroyed by the construction of the grand Junction Canal, which took away all the water of the stream, for the reservoirs and canal. In 1831 there were seventy-six paper manufacturers in the county, while 220 men or boys were employed in the trade either as masters or workmen.¹³ Since then a mill at Chenies stopped working between 1851 and 1861,¹⁴ and at the present day the chief paper-mills are in the south of the county, the most important being at High Wycombe, Great Marlow, Wooburn, Iver, and Bledlow.

The first paper made in Buckinghamshire was writing and printing paper of good quality,¹⁵ but in 1636-7 complaints were made that the paper would not bear ink on either side, while the price had risen considerably.¹⁶ So little competition was there, that Phipps and his fellow manufacturers seem to have made a great profit on the manufacture of bad paper, while a few

¹ Defoe, *Tour in Gt. Brit.* (1725), ii, 70.

² W. James and J. Malcolm, *Gen. View of Agric. in Bucks.* (1794).

³ T. Langley, *Hist. of Hund. of Desborough*, 9.

⁴ Gyll, *Hist. of Wraysbury*, 71, 198.

⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iv, 620.

⁶ Pinnock, *Hist. and Topog. of Engl.* i, 31. Information supplied by Rev. W. Ragg.

⁷ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1861, i, 298.

⁹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cccxxvi, 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Chas. I, cccxlii, 40 (1).

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxvi, 6.

² *Ibid.* Chas. I, cccxlii, 40.

³ *Ibid.* cccxvi, 17.

⁴ *Ibid.* ccccviii, 148.

⁵ Gyll, *Hist. of Wraysbury*, 98.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. v, 74.

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years before they had stopped their mills by combination to bring down the price of rags.

The Wycombe mill-owners claimed to make the best kinds of white writing and printing paper. The price varied from 3s. to 20s. a ream, and the Paper Act of 1690 aimed at preventing their making it over 4s. a ream.¹⁷ Some makers did make this good paper, but the greater part was probably of a cheaper kind, since in mentioning the paper-mills near Wycombe and Marlow in 1725, Defoe¹⁸ said that printing paper was made 'good of its kind and cheap such as generally is made use of in printing our newspapers, journals, &c., and smaller pamphlets, but not much fine or large for bound books or writing.' During the 18th century, however,

many improvements were made in the manufacture. These were due largely to the efforts of Mr. John Bates, a paper-maker at Wycombe Marsh. His chief discovery was a method of producing paper for mezzotints and other engraved plates, which was equal to the French paper for the same purpose, and for this he received the gold medal of the Society of Arts in 1787.¹⁹

Besides the invention of this special paper, other manufacturers at the close of the 18th century were making only papers *de luxe*. The Rye Mill at High Wycombe, for instance, which has been in existence for certainly a hundred years and probably for longer, has always produced paper of this class for writing, drawing, ledgers, and bank notes.²⁰

TANNING AND SHOEMAKING

Several tan-yards used to exist in the county, but they are now closed and there is only one firm of tanners in Buckingham at the present day. So important were the tan-yards of the town of Buckingham that the tanners formed one of the four companies to which all the burgesses of the borough belonged.¹ In 1831,² 131 men were employed in the business there, but no other tanneries are mentioned. At Olney, however, the tan-yards must have been working at that time,³ and it was noted for the excellence of its leather in all parts of the kingdom. Leather tanning seems to have been given up some thirty years ago, when the tan-yard, worked by Mr. Joseph Palmer for oak-bark tanning, was closed. His yard, however, has been purchased within the last few years by Messrs. W. E. & J. Pebody, Ltd., and the works re-constructed, being old-fashioned and disused for many years. The process of chrome tanning is now carried on by the firm at the Olney yard.

The manufacture of boots and shoes, which has developed at Olney during the last twenty years, was not established till after the tan-yard was closed, so that its growth can have no connexion with the tannery.

Boot and shoe-making is also the most important trade of the town of Chesham. One of

the chief manufacturers at the present time states that there has been an industry there for many generations, and that it was probably due to the existence of several tan-yards in the town. These latter have been given up a very long time, owing doubtless to the later mode of producing leather by much larger firms in London and other leather centres, and to the large quantity of leather imported. In the 16th century the shoemakers at High Wycombe succeeded in closing the market to 'foreign' shoemakers,⁴ but at the close of the reign of Elizabeth a new order was made by the mayor and bailiffs, in which the restriction against showing goods in the market was specially removed from the victualling and shoemaking trades. There is, however, no mention of any particular locality in which shoes were made in any quantity.

Early in the 19th century a great many hands were employed at Chesham in the shoe-making trade, the goods manufactured being sent in the main to the London market.⁵ It is curious, however, that shoemaking does not appear among the handicrafts or manufactures of the county in the census of 1831.⁶ A few years later the trade was flourishing,⁷ and by 1862 it had assumed very considerable proportions, the goods being both sent to London and exported to foreign countries.⁸ For many years all the boots and shoes were made by hand throughout, and the work was done in the homes of the workers. This is still the case to the extent that hand-work is produced, but there are few, if any, young 'hand sewn' men in the town. When boots began to be riveted,

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. v, 74.

¹⁸ Defoe, *Tour in Gt. Brit.* (1725), ii, 70, 71.

¹⁹ Robert Gibbs, *Worthies of Bucks.* 30; T. Langley, *Hist. of Hund. of Desborough.*

²⁰ Information supplied by Messrs. T. H. Saunders & Co. Ltd., Rye Mill, High Wycombe.

¹ Brown Willis, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Town, etc. of Buckingham.*

² *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 35.

³ From information kindly given by Messrs. W. E. & J. Pebody, Ltd. Cowper Tannery, Olney.

⁴ Wycombe Borough Records.

⁵ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 536.

⁶ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

⁷ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 263.

⁸ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 838.

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a number of these men took to that branch of the trade, and the term shoemaker is no longer used, except among the hand-makers, for several hands contribute now in the making of a pair of boots—the riveters, sewers, and finishers and several others all carrying on a specialized part of the work. At one or two factories the welting machine has been introduced and then discarded as not satisfactory for the somewhat stronger classes of boots for which Chesham has become noted. For many years these classes of boots formed the staple of the Chesham factories, and to a large extent this is still the case. The

boots, when finished, are sent all over the country and a considerable quantity of them are exported. The conditions of the trade at the present time are said to be good. 'The families engaged in the boot trade here are very well paid and generally occupy good class cottages of the better order; a strike is scarcely ever heard of . . . employers and employed appear to get on very well together. There is no trade union here, from time to time efforts have been made from outside to establish one. There is sufficient demand for labour that an unreasonable employer would find his men leave him.'⁹

STRAW-PLAITING

A second home industry, which still employs a certain number of people in Buckinghamshire, is the manufacture of straw-plait for hats and bonnets. The manufacture first became important in Italy, Leghorn hats being still famous, but it does not seem to have been introduced into England until the 18th century, when the French War stopped the importation of foreign plait. The industry spread quickly in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, where the wheat-straw produced was the most favourable for English plait. In 1768 when Arthur Young visited Dunstable,¹ the manufacture of straw-plait was established, but had not grown to much importance, basket-work being still the chief industry of the neighbourhood. Probably in the neighbouring county of Buckingham there was then no straw-plaiting, but by the end of the 18th century it had spread all over the county.

In 1813 lace and straw-plaiting were the chief industries² of the county, occupying so many women and girls that none of them worked in the fields.

When foreign plait was unprocurable, the English article was much used, but the large size of the wheat-straws used made it very inferior to the Italian plait.³ To overcome this defect the straws were split and the narrow 'splints' used instead of the whole straw. At first this process was done by hand with a pen-knife, but it was tedious and difficult to obtain uniformity in the size of the splints. A straw-splitting machine was then introduced, which greatly added to the success of the industry. It is not certain who was the original inventor, several stories existing as to the first machine made. One of these, however, claims that the honour belongs to a Bucking-

hamshire man. In an account of straw-plaiting written in 1822, the following story is given⁴ :—

Our informant states that his father, Thomas Simmons (now deceased), was residing when a boy, about the year 1785, at Chalfont St. Peter's, Buckinghamshire, and that when amusing himself one evening by cutting pieces of wood, he made an article upon which he put a straw and found that it divided it into several pieces. A female who was present asked him to give it to her, observing that if he could not make money of it, she could. She had the instrument, and gave the boy a shilling. He was subsequently apprenticed to a blacksmith; and on visiting his friends, he found them engaged in splitting straws with a pen-knife. Perceiving that the operation might be better performed by an apparatus similar to that which he had made some time before, he then made some machines of iron on the same principle.

The straw-splitting machine does not seem to have come into general use until about 1815.

The most successful period of the manufacture was during the French War, when foreign plaits were prohibited. The latter were in many ways superior to English plait, but various efforts were made to improve its quality, especially by the Society of Arts.⁵ These efforts maintained the industry for a considerable period and it was in a flourishing condition in the middle of the 19th century. Lipscomb, writing at that time,⁶ says that at Broughton 'the female population were chiefly employed, formerly in lace-making but more recently in platting straw or chip hats and bonnets' and at High Wycombe lace-making had been almost entirely superseded by straw and chip plaiting.⁷

Very good wages, for the time, were earned at the trade. In 1813 women were able to earn 30s. a week,⁸ but this was probably the highest

⁹ Information given by Messrs. J. & E. Reynolds.

¹ *Six Months' Tour*, i, 16.

² St. John Priest, *Agric. Surv. of Bucks.* 346.

³ *Penny Cyclopaedia* xxiii.

⁴ *Ibid.* 109.

⁵ Johnson, *Universal Cyclopaedia*.

⁶ *Hist. of Bucks.* iv, 77.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 644.

⁸ St. John Priest, *Gen. View of Agric. of Bucks.* 346.

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rate obtainable, and in the Aylesbury district 22s. a week were the best wages obtained while the industry was most successful.⁹ Ivinghoe and Aylesbury were the chief centres of the manufacture in Buckinghamshire. At the former, the Saturday market was largely for straw-plait, which was still brought to it in considerable quantities in 1862.¹⁰ At Aylesbury a plait-market was established by Mr. Robert Thorpe in 1846¹¹ and succeeded for a time, but was finally given up owing to the drop in prices that shortly occurred. In 1862 the following places carried on the industry in the county, Bow Brickhill, Great Brickhill, Little Brickhill, Wavendon, Aston Abbots, Drayton Parslow, Hoggeston, Pitstone, Stewkley, Swanbourne, Whitchurch, Amersham, besides the Ivinghoe and Aylesbury districts.¹² The industry had many different kinds of workers, with a great

deal of specialization; there were bleachers, cutters, dyers, flatters, stringers, drawers, and packers each doing their own particular work in making the straw-plait.¹³

Although the end of the French War made straw-plaiting less profitable in England than it had been before, it was not till the removal of the import duties on foreign plait, that the real decay of the industry set in. Buckinghamshire seems to have lost the greater part of its trade in this article sooner than the other straw-plaiting counties,¹⁴ but it is still carried on about Ivinghoe and Edlesborough.¹⁵ A rough estimate fixes 500 to 600 as the number of straw-plaiters in Buckinghamshire, but the industry is still declining, the demand being very small. The workers, too, prefer factory or domestic service, for both of which there is a great demand.

BRICKS, TILES AND POTTERY

In a county possessing but little stone for building, the manufacture of bricks was one of the most important industries. In the rates of wages fixed by the justices of the peace in 1562,¹ only five kinds of artificers are especially mentioned, namely, master carpenters and sawyers, bricklayers, tilers and thatchers. Bricklayers and tilers were to receive 8d. a day in summer and 6d. in winter, and their labourers 6d. and 5d. respectively, though in fact they received much more.

In the 17th century,² Sir Ralph Verney started a considerable amount of building, and in his correspondence with his steward there are many details about the brick-fields at Claydon. In 1656 he paid the brick-maker 6s. a thousand for making and burning bricks, 1s. a quarter for burning lime, and 5s. a hundred for making and burning pavements. The year before he had procured brick pavements from the neighbouring villages. They were 9 in. square and there was some difficulty in the carting of them to Claydon. The steward wrote that if Sir Ralph 'take soe great a quantity, as from 12 or 15 hundred together . . . 6 oxen would not well draw 500 at a loade, for they are not near twice so heavy as brick and an ordinary cart will bring on 5 or 6 hundred of brick at a loade now that wages are good.' The building had to be stopped very soon

after this owing to financial straits of the Verneys after the Civil War, but Sir Ralph had already ordered 100,000 bricks to be made and the workmen could not be discharged at once. Two years later, however, in 1658, the building was begun afresh; the brickyard was trenched and as soon as the brickmakers could come, tools, wheel-barrows and moulds were delivered to them by their employer. Bricks and tiles were made at the same period at Brill from the earth of Brill Hills³ and the brick-fields in the neighbourhood on the line of the Brill Tramway still continue. The earth there was also used for earthenware drain pipes.

Brick-making was carried on in other parts of the county in early times. In 1831,⁴ 116 men were employed in the industry either as masters or workmen, and in 1862 there were brick-fields at Fenny Stratford, Whitchurch, Burnham, Chalfont St. Peter and Hillesden.⁵ It is curious, however, that the brick-fields at Slough are not mentioned at that date, since they are now the most important in the county and had been established before 1862.

The town of Slough has grown up very recently; the demand for houses there and the facilities for the transportation of bricks have both been made by the building of the Great Western Railway. The brick-fields were started about sixty-three years ago by Mr. Thomas Nash and are now owned by a company formed in 1893 under the name of H. & J. Nash, Ltd. The fields extend into the neighbouring parishes of Langley Marish and Iver, and about fourteen million bricks are made annually, steam-

⁹ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 667.

¹⁰ Sheahan, *Topog. of Bucks.* 694.

¹¹ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 667.

¹² Sheahan, *Topog. of Bucks.*

¹³ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 667.

¹⁴ *V.C.H. Beds.* ii, 121.

¹⁵ Information kindly supplied by Mr. William Gray, plait merchant, Edlesborough.

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. xix, 43.

² *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, iii, 132.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* i, 53.

⁴ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

⁵ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 538, 772, 815, 827, 281.

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power having been used for the last twenty years.⁶

Buckinghamshire is not famous for any great potteries, but the Brill pottery dates from very ancient times. The first mention of potters there is in 1254,⁷ in an inquisition as to rights of gathering wood in Brill Woods. The jurors gave evidence as to the privileges of certain ecclesiastical lords and ended with saying that the potters took small-wood, &c., for their kilns contrary to the forest regulations. The right to dig brick earth in Barnwood Forest was probably theirs from time immemorial, but the lord of the manor of Brill exacted an annual payment of 4s. 6d. known as the 'Claygavel.' This was paid in the 13th and 14th centuries with regularity and is continually entered in the steward's accounts.⁸ At the disafforestation of Barnwood in the reign of James I.,⁹ an allotment of commonable land was made for artificers and cottages, by an order of the Court of Chancery, 'many artificers of Brill having received employment by making brick, tyle, lyme and potts out of the soyle of Brill hills.' A pot was dug up at Long Crendon near Brill, about 1885, containing coins of the period of the Civil War and earlier, and presumably was made by the Brill potters.

More recently the chief pottery works were carried on by a family of the name of Hubbocks, the last descendant being still at Brill at the present time.¹⁰ They were potters for 149 years and the father of the present Mr. Hubbocks owned the last pottery. His kiln is still to be seen, and was used till within three years of his death, which took place about thirty-two years ago. He used the old wheel and fashioned the pots with his finger and thumb. At one time, presumably during the lifetime of the elder Hubbocks, there were seven potteries in Brill, and in 1831 thirty-five men were employed in making earthenware pottery in the county.¹¹ The industry was, however, not in a flourishing condition a few years later, owing to the increased price of fuel and the cost of carriage,¹² but in 1862, there was still a pottery for the manufacture of brown earthenware. The colour however, seems more generally to have been

varying shades of yellow and green, produced by the different kinds of clay from which the pots were made.

Hubbocks made for the most part flower-pots and large pans and jugs, one or two of which are to be seen at Brill, but they bear no date since he only dated his pots at the request of the customer. His stock was bought up some years ago 'for a museum in Oxford.'

An older pot is in the possession of Mr. F. H. Parrott, of 'The Camp,' Kimble. It bears the indented inscription 'M.M. 1764' on its side and on the bottom is written 'John Sheperde, Poter, Brill, Bux.' The pot is of rough red earthenware with a greenish-brown glaze and was found in a cottage at Brill where it was bought by a man at Aylesbury, who sold it to its present owner.

There were other potteries at Coleshill, a hamlet in the parish of Amersham, and at Chalfont St. Peter, in the early part of the 19th century.¹³ The latter, which is now called the Beaconsfield Pottery, was established in 1805 by Mr. William Wellins, but changed hands shortly and was bought by Mr. John Swallow, who practically was the real starter of the pottery. It has never assumed very large proportions, and Mrs. M. Saunders & Son, the lessees of the pottery, now chiefly produce flower-pots, stands, chimney-pots and pipes and similar articles.¹⁴ It has, however, continued working to the present day, in spite of the keen competition in the industry.

A pottery of another character existed near Great Marlow until the present year, when it was moved to Staffordshire.¹⁵ The Medmenham pottery was established ten years ago about a mile from the town of Great Marlow, with the object of producing architectural pottery and tiles with individuality in design and execution. To secure this, the works were established in the country, materials from Marlow being used when possible and village work-people only employed for the most part. It has however, been found impossible to continue the pottery in Buckinghamshire, so far from the main pottery districts. Some of the chief pieces of work accomplished were, however, done while the pottery was still at Marlow, one of the most important being the frieze surrounding the new hall of the Law Society in Chancery Lane.

⁶ From information kindly given by Mr. A. H. Woolley, 14 Mill Street, Slough.

⁷ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 22.

⁸ *Mina. Accts. bdle.* 759, nos. 30, 31.

⁹ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* i, 107.

¹⁰ From information kindly obtained from Mr. Hubbocks, by Mrs. Riley, Brill Vicarage.

¹¹ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

¹² *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* i, 107.

¹³ *Ibid.* iii, 146; Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 827.

¹⁴ From information kindly supplied by Mrs. Saunders & Son, Beaconsfield Pottery.

¹⁵ Information kindly given by Mr. Conrad Dressler.

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BELL-FOUNDRIES

In the church tower of Caversfield, formerly in Buckinghamshire but since 1845 included in Oxfordshire, is what is probably the oldest church bell remaining in England; it may be fairly considered as of 'local' as opposed to London origin. Its very curious form and inscriptions have been fully described by the present writer elsewhere,¹ but its quite exceptional interest merits additional notice. The shape is probably unique; it has a very round shoulder, an extremely long waist, and it is nearly the same size all the way down from shoulder to lip. Ordinarily the greatest thickness of a bell is at the sound-bow, diminishing again thence to an edge at the lip; but in this bell the thickness continues increasing below the sound-bow until it ends abruptly in a flat lip 2 in. thick. The diameter at lip is 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; height to crown 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The large canons add about another 7 in. to the height (5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. visible under the stock).

Round the sound-bow is very legibly inscribed, with a perfectly plain initial cross, in equally plain capitals of Roman character, except only that the E is curved in Lombardic character, the A has a cross-bar on the top, and the S is reversed:—

+ INHONORE · DEI · ET 2ANTI ·
LÄVRENCII

Round the sound-bow is a second inscription,² which had hitherto baffled all attempts to decipher it. It was scratched in extraordinary characters by hand on the cope, not stamped, and is reversed, that is it reads from right to left. It cannot be adequately reproduced in type, but the intention was apparently as follows:—

HUG[H] GARGAT[E] SIBILLAQ[UE] UXOR
EJUS H[ÆC] TIMPANNA (= tympana)
FECERUNT ECPONI (= exponi)

At the beginning of the reign of Henry II, Brian Fitz Count, Lord of Wallingford, the owner of the manor of Caversfield and other estates, entered a religious house; the king seized the properties and bestowed this manor on Roger Gargate. Ten years later (1164) Roger granted the church of this parish to the Abbey of Missenden, to take effect on the next voidance of the rectory. Browne Willis³ states,

¹ *The Ch. Bells of Bucks.* (Jarrold, 1897).

² This inscription was erroneously described (tom. cit.) as if on another and now destroyed bell.

³ *Hist. and Antiq. of Town of Buckingham*, 165. In the 'Liber Cartarii Monasterii Beate Marie de Missendene' are transcribed ten deeds concerning this parish, but all dates are omitted.

on the authority of the Register of Missenden Abbey, that Hugh Gargate confirmed his father's donation, and that Hugh's wife, Sibill de Caversfield, swore that she would not interfere.

Hugh seems to have been in possession of the estate by 1207, as his name appears in the Fine Rolls for that year (9 John); and he was apparently still living in 1216, as his name appears in the Close Rolls for that year (18 John). He must have died soon afterwards—in or before 1219—because Kennett⁴ under the date of that year (3 & 4 Hen. III) quotes a deed by which Isabel daughter of Hugh Gargate of Caversfield, widow, gave to the church at Burcester part of a croft (the other part having been already given by her sister Muriel) on condition that the canons of that church should receive her and her mother into the prayers of their house for ever. Though the omission of her father's name does not prove that he was dead, it tends to suggest that supposition; and dated the same year is another deed in which there occurs—'ego Sybilla de Kaversfeld quondam uxor Hugonis Gargat in pura viduitate,' which leaves no doubt as to the fact. An agreement follows between William de Ros and Sibil de Caversfield and Muriel her daughter, by which Sibil and Muriel did remit to William de Ros the lands which lately belonged to Hugh Gargat in the village of Warmington. Dated 4 Hen. III apud Oxon. (= 1220).

It seems therefore clear that the bell was cast before 1219.

There is nothing to give any clue to its founder, but in early days the difficulty of carriage usually necessitated the casting of church bells either on the spot, or at a foundry within some dozen miles, unless water-carriage was available. No village is too small to have been the site of a foundry, and many early bells were turned out by monks in the religious houses, but the three nearest towns to Caversfield are Bicester (Oxon. 2 m. S.), Buckingham (8 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE.), and Woodstock (Oxon. 10 m. SW.). There is apparently nothing to connect either of the Oxfordshire towns with this craft (until the 17th century, when James Keene from Bedford set up a foundry at Woodstock), but Buckingham was the site of a flourishing bell-founding business by the 16th century at any rate, and several other bells have to be mentioned, showing probably at least three 'local' foundries not out of range, in the course of the 14th century.

Oddly enough, the next five bells in age in the county to that at Caversfield are by a London

⁴ *Par. Antiq.* (ed. 1, 1695), 189; (ed. 2, 1818), i, 264, 266, 268.

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founder, Michael de Wymbis, by whom no other bells are known anywhere; but there is documentary evidence proving that he was founding bells in London in 1290, and dead by 1310.³ It seems a long way to have dragged two of his bells all the way from London to Old Bradwell and one to Lee; the other two are at Bradenham, and there is evidence apparently leaving no doubt that they only came there in the 16th century, probably bought second-hand after the suppression of some religious house not very far off. As Bradenham itself is within a few miles of the Thames, and the original home of the bells may have been still nearer the river, their journey from London would have been comparatively simple. One other 14th-century bell in Buckinghamshire, at Tattenhoe, is by a London founder, Peter de Weston, who died in 1347,^{3a} but as the bell is quite small, not much over 1 cwt., its transport would have presented no serious difficulty.

Within a radius of 11 miles from Buckingham as centre, or actually within a radius of under 9 miles from Leckhampstead, are no less than nine bells which may be confidently assigned to the 14th century; they are probably all of 'local' origin, and seem to be the work of about five different founders, though by no means necessarily emanating from as many different foundries; that is to say that two or more founders may have succeeded each other at the same foundry. There is no reason to suggest that any of the bells were cast at Leckhampstead, but $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles thence to the north-west was Luffield Abbey, which is a very likely birthplace for at least some of them.

Of these nine bells five have the same initial cross in the inscription, so we need not doubt their common origin, and three of the five have the same lettering as well. Possibly the oldest is the treble at Little Linford, inscribed in rudely-formed Lombardic capitals, without any stop or increase of space between the words:—

+ A V E M A R I A G R A C I A P L E N A

The tenor at Newton Purcell, only just over the Buckinghamshire border, in Oxfordshire, has the same inscription, but arranged thus:—

+ A V E : M A R V I A : G R A C I A : P L E N A

The treble at Barton Hartshorn, in Buckinghamshire, barely a mile from the last, has:—

+ I A C O B U S : E S T O N O M E N D E I V S

The shield on the two latter bells is *chevronée*, but the cheverons are inverted. As this arrangement has no existence heraldically it is doubtless merely a trade device of the founder.

A fourth bell having the same initial cross as

the last three, but a better-formed lettering, is at Thornton. It bears a rhyming hexameter:—

+ S I N T : P R O : E L Y A : M I C H A E L : D E V S :
A T Q V E : M A R I A

It seems to allude to Elias de Tingewick, who was rector here from 1315 to 1347.⁴

The fifth appearance of the above initial cross is on the treble at Radston or Radstone St. Lawrence, Northants (west of Leckhampstead, and within the suggested radius). Mr. North⁵ unfortunately does not figure the lettering. Its rhyming hexameter has something of a family likeness to the last one:—

+ F I T : T V A : L A V R E N T I : F O R M A :
C A M P A N A : D E C E N T I

At Chetwode the single (large) bell also bears a rhyming hexameter of similar character, in lettering very similar to the Thornton set, but smaller, with initial cross to correspond; a remarkable peculiarity of the inscription being the employment of the initial 'I' as the second syllable of a 'spondee,' to be read as 'J' to avoid making the previous syllable into a false quantity:—

+ M E : T I B I : X P E : D A B A T : I : C H E T W O D E :
Q V E M : P E R A M A B A T

There were several John Chetwodes to choose from, but one who died c. 1347 gives approximately the expected date.

The same cross and lettering occur on the saunce bell at Leckhampstead, in which the oddly-blundered Latin inscription is made worse by the letter 'K' having apparently to do duty for both 'H' and 'R,' which seem to have been broken or otherwise missing. The curiously long-tailed 'Q' has been divided into three parts, two of which do duty as stops between the words. These facts, and the worn appearance of the remaining letters, indicate that this bell is later than that at Chetwode, but how much so is difficult to determine, though quite possibly it may not be older than the 16th century:—

+ C K E S T I T S M E L F I K I S F E C E T

The late Mr. E. J. Payne⁶ suggested that the first word was intended to read 'CHESTIL' as an abbreviated form of Chastillon, the family to whom the manor belonged; if so 'L' (and perhaps 'A') may be added to the category of missing letters; but the Leckhampstead estate passed out of the Chastillon family before 1398.^{6a}

³ Browne Willis similarly explains the allusion in *Hist. and Antiq. of Buck.* 300.

^{3a} *Ch. Bells of Northants.*

⁴ In a review of 'The Ch. Bells of Bucks.' in *The Records of Bucks.* viii, 41 (1898).

^{6a} Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 24.

³ *Ch. Bells of Bucks.* 6.

^{3a} *Ibid.* 9.

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The eighth of this group of nine bells is the other bell at Barton Hartshorn. The cross and lettering are very similar to those on the treble previously mentioned, which may be due merely to contemporary style. The two sets are figured on plate VI of *Church Bells of Bucks.* where the 'C' on the treble so closely matches the 'E' on the tenor, that taken by themselves they would probably be considered to belong to the same set. The patterns of the heads and canons of the two bells, however, differ so much as to point (irrespective of the lettering) to different founders, but not necessarily different foundries. The inscription is :—

+ I H E S V P I E F L O S M A R I E

From the absence of any stop or increase of space between the words, this bell seems closely to correspond in date to the treble at Little Linford, and though it may be evidence to the contrary, it is more likely to show that these two bells are the earliest of this group.

The last bell in this restricted radius is the single at Foscott, which is blank, so beyond the opinion that it undoubtedly belongs to the 14th century, and is a well-cast bell, nothing more can be said about it. A very careful comparison of head and canons might possibly show a family likeness to some other bell.

Besides the above nine bells there was formerly a bell evidently of the 14th century at Caversfield (unfortunately melted in 1876), inscribed in a pretty little set of Lombardic capitals and cross to match, together with the impression of a coin :—

+ O I N + H O H O R E (sic) + B E A T I +
L A V R E N C I I

So far as can be judged by a rubbing (kindly lent by Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A.), the saunce at Idbury, Oxon (5½ miles N. by W. of Burford), is inscribed with the same cross and lettering :—

+ A V E : P L E N A : G R A C I A

The discovery of this bell has caused the writer to alter the opinion expressed in *Church Bells of Bucks.* that the Caversfield bell was cast in London. It seems more likely that the two are of 'local' origin. Idbury is about 23 miles west of Caversfield, so perhaps their founder lived in Oxfordshire, somewhere about Chipping Norton, or one of the villages to the south-east of that town.

There are three bells in Buckinghamshire, the seconds at Little Missenden, Ravenstone, and Stoke Hammond respectively, which are believed to be by John Rofford, Rufford, or Rughford, who was appointed royal bell-founder in 1367, and was therefore probably working in London. Bells by the same founder are found in Bedford-

shire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, and Leicestershire, and at Christchurch, Hants, where there are two bearing unusually long inscriptions, each consisting of two rhyming hexameters. There is also a bell of this make at Magdalen College School, Wainfleet, Lincolnshire, to which it must have been brought second-hand, as the school was not founded till 1484. John Rofford was dead before 1390; and was followed by a William Rufford, who is believed to be the founder of the tenor at Hardmead, and of the second at Beachampton, which latter was pronounced by the late Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt to be 'clearly a Midland counties' bell'; otherwise William Rufford was thought to be a London founder. In 1888 Mr. Stahlschmidt discovered that in the Patent Roll of 21 Richard II (1398) a William Belmaker of Toddington, Bedfordshire, is mentioned, but he hesitated to say whether this indicated an actual bell-founder by trade, or a descendant of one retaining the trade name as a surname.⁷ In 1906 Mr. Fred. G. Gurney,⁸ while making researches into the history of the Ruffords of Northall in Edlesborough (Buckinghamshire), traced the pedigree back to 'William Rufford, of Tudyngton belmaker,' who is mentioned in a licence dated 8 October 1390, by which Thomas Bullok of Edlesborough might enfeof the parsons of 'Tudyngton and Edelesburgh' and others with lands there, in trust to grant them to Thomas Rufford his son-in-law, son of William above, and to his wife Katherine, daughter of Thomas Bullok.⁹ It is very probable that William the Bellmaker of Toddington is identical with William Rufford, and the existence of a bell foundry at Toddington seems to be placed beyond doubt.

William Rufford was still living in 1415, for another William, possibly his son, is called 'junior' at that date. The family took their name from Rufford, in Chalgrove parish, co. Oxon, where Thomas Rufford at his death in 1420 held 63 acres of the heirs of Dru (Drogo) Barentyn as of the manor of 'Chalgrave'¹⁰ in Oxfordshire, as well as land in chief at Edlesborough in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Gurney further mentions finding an Andrew Roffard of an earlier date than John, who may have belonged to the same family. He was one of many rioters to arrest whom commissioners were appointed on 20 May 1348, on complaint of the Black Prince, for having assaulted his servants, detained his horses and carts, and carried away his goods at Thame.¹¹

⁷ *Ch. Bells of Bucks.* 18.

⁸ Kindly communicated by letter to the writer.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, p. 305.

¹⁰ Inq. p.m. taken at Oxford, 8 Hen. V. By a coincidence there is a village of 'Chalgrave' only 1 mile from Toddington in Beds.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 156.

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For over a century, beginning from the latter part of the 13th century, when bell-founders in London begin to be recognizable, they were almost always styled 'Potter,' or by the Latin equivalent *Ollarius*.¹² *Potter* was a common name in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire from at least as early as 1213, and its very natural corruption *Porter* appears from 1275. In the *Visitation of Bucks.*, by Wm. Harley, clarenceux king at arms, 1566, the arms of a John Porter of Barton Hartshorn, who married about the first half of the 14th century, are given as 'sa. 3 Bells ar.'¹³ This certainly seems a likely coat to be borne by the descendant of a bell-founder, although a local bell-founder would hardly have had a coat of arms.

In the *History, etc., of the Prebendal Church, etc., of Thame* (Oxon.) by the late Rev. F. G. Lee (1883), are many quotations from the oldest known volume of Churchwardens' Accounts of that parish.¹⁴ Among them a bell-founder named Thomas Swadling is mentioned, who was employed there in 1450. No hint is given as to his locality, but if he was a veritable founder he was probably 'local.' Under 1465 'A man from Ewelme' (Oxon.) was perhaps a bell-hanger or carpenter, rather than a founder. Dr. Lee states that 'The Powells, or Ap Powells, of Buckingham, had been likewise employed at Thame, as early as the year 1503.' In the same accounts for 1548 'Richarde Hylton' purchased the great bell and three little hand-bells, but that is no reason why he need have been a bell-founder.

Beginning in December 1552, the name of John Appowell appears frequently in the Records of the Borough Court of Buckingham. In July 1556, he is first described therein as 'Bell-founder.'

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Wing (Buckinghamshire) for 1556, is:—

If payde for ou' coſt at buckyngam when we made bargayne for the bell	xxjd.
If payde for oure coſt at p ^r caſtyng of the bell	iiij ^s . jd.
If payd to the bell founder	iiij ^s . viij ^s . ij ^d .

Other items follow proving the existence of a bell-foundry in Buckingham at the above date,

¹² *Ch. Bells of Bucks.* 8 and 17.

¹³ MS. B.M. 5181, fol. 80, and three other copies, in one of which, No. 5867 (printed 1883), the tincture of the field is given as *Gules*.

¹⁴ This exceptionally interesting volume was presented to the library of the Bucks. Archit. and Arch. Soc., during the 'fifties of last century, but had disappeared. Long search ultimately resulted in discovering it at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to which it had been sold for £20! It was eventually recovered by the exertions of the late Messrs. J. Parker and E. J. Payne, and the present writer; but several years too late for references to be included in the *Ch. Bells of Bucks*.

but mentioning no name; but in the following year's account, 1557, comes:—

If payde to John appowell for the bell	iiij ^s . vj ^s . viij ^d .
---	---

According to the above Borough Records, he seems to have been continually before the court, sometimes as plaintiff, sometimes as defendant, in actions to recover very small debts.¹⁵ He was Bailiff of Buckingham in 1559–60.

In the Thame Churchwardens' Accounts for the year ending Ascensiontide, 1560, is:—

Ifm payd to John Appowell for Makynge of Certayne Iren about the bells	iiij ^d .
---	---------------------

and in the following year's account is:—

Itm p ^d to John Appowell for xv fmale barr ^e of Iren for the west wyndow in the Church.	iiij ^s . jd.
---	-------------------------

It seems very probable that the founder may have had a contemporary namesake, who was a blacksmith, and lived at Thame.

In the *Visitation of Buckinghamshire*, by William Harley in 1566, already referred to, John Appowell is mentioned among the 'Burgeſes and late Bayliffs.'

In the Thame Churchwardens' Accounts for the year ending Ascensiontide, 1567, is:—

Payd to John Appowell of Buck- ingham the bellfoundre for Caſtinge of the bell	xliij ^s . iiij ^d .
--	--

with confirmatory entries in the same and two following years.

In 1569 John Appowell served the office of Bailiff of Buckingham for the second time, and in 1572 he was churchwarden.

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Shillington, in Bedfordshire,¹⁶ for the year 1575, the foundry is proved to have been in existence:—

Payd when they went to buckyng- ham when they went w ^t the great bell	xxij ^d .
--	---------------------

and a few lines further on:—

[George Edwards] He laid forthe at buckingham when they went w ^t y ^e bell	ij ^s . iiij ^d .
---	---------------------------------------

with various other entries concerning the transaction, but no mention of the founder's name. John Appowell was Bailiff of Buckingham for the third time in the year beginning 1 May 1576. His death is recorded in the Buckingham Register, thus:—

1577 Johes Appowel g^{ro}s; et Ballivus Bucking
ſepultz o good friday bonus dies veneris.

¹⁵ Detailed in *Ch. Bells of Bucks.* 175 et seq.

¹⁶ North, *Ch. Bells of Beds.* 186.

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His second son George succeeded to the bell-founding business, but died in October of the following year (1578). He had married in February, and his young widow evidently only survived him a few days. The wills of both John and George are given *in extenso* in *Church Bells of Bucks.*, and many other details concerning the family, including mention of several persons of the same surname living at Thame, and glimpses of founders of the same (or very similar) name working in London. Probably two generations of John Appowell appear in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Lawrence's, Reading, from 1516, and one or two other unimportant points combine to make it likely that John Appowell came from Reading, and had learnt his trade at the old-established foundry there. No bells can be with certainty assigned to him, though it is probable that bells bearing a portion of the alphabet, or a string of letters of which the interpretation, if one existed, is lost, in one or other of two sets of lettering or a mixture of both, may be the produce of this foundry. They are at Croughton (Northamptonshire), Twyford, Ickford, Em-

was closed, or whether another Appowell or some one else whose name has not come to light carried it on during the next few years, is unknown; but before long two young men who had learnt the craft in the celebrated Leicester foundry settled at Buckingham, and soon got together a good business. On 7 February 1580 Thomas Newcombe II of the Leicester Foundry was buried at that town, leaving three sons and a daughter, and also an apprentice named Bartholomew Atton, 'Tanner and Bellfounder' (like his master), who was admitted to the Merchants' Guild of Leicester in 1582-3. Robert Newcombe, the eldest of Thomas's children, and Bartholomew Atton, evidently realizing that other members of the Newcombe family had the entire trade at Leicester, migrated to Buckingham as partners, and set up for themselves. The Wing Churchwardens' Accounts for 1586 show that a bell was cast for that parish at Buckingham, some time apparently between June and November 1585, but the name of the founder is not mentioned. At Passenham, Northamptonshire, but only 6½ miles from Buckingham, is a bell inscribed in the large florid letters associated



FIG. 1

mington (Oxfordshire), Hulcott, Bloxham (Oxfordshire), Little Brickhill, Tadley (Hampshire), Milcombe (Oxfordshire),¹⁶ and doubtfully a few others. One of the sets of lettering is no doubt much older than John Appowell, and the initials of the original owner are R.K.

The following 16th-century bells in neighbouring counties want founders, and are probably 'locals':—The treble at Finmere (Oxfordshire), 4 miles from Buckingham, and with the same lettering the treble at Midgham (Berkshire), 11 miles south-west of Reading; the saunce at Streatley (Berkshire), 10 miles from Reading; also the second at Aston Tirrold, and the third at Padworth; the last two (both in Berkshire) have the same lettering.

The oldest dated bell in Buckinghamshire is the single at Horsenden, bearing four illegible letters, ornamented, but apparently completely worn out (fig. 1), and the date 1582, in extremely distinct evenly-formed figures. It is probably of 'local' manufacture.

What happened to the Buckingham foundry on the death of George Appowell, whether it

subsequently with the Buckingham foundry exclusively:—

+ A + TRVSTY + FRENDE + YS + HARDE
+ TO + FYNDE + 1585 + + + + +

and at Hoggeston (about 9 miles from Buckingham) is a bell similarly inscribed, except that being smaller there was not room in a single line for the whole inscription, so the last word was omitted, the inscription ending with TO and the date, the latter for the same reason is stamped (as to its first three figures) above the final ornament, and the unit is indistinct, and may possibly be 3 instead of 5. This inscription points to the partnership, and the lettering came from Leicester, so there is no reason to doubt that these partners began work at Buckingham not later than 1585.

At Seaton, Rutland,¹⁷ is an undated bell inscribed in the same lettering, but all set backwards:—

+ RYECHARDE BENETLYE
BELLFOVNDER

¹⁷ North, *Ch. Bells of Rutland*, and his *Ch. Bells of Northants.*

¹⁶ Rubbing kindly lent by Mr. A. D. Tyssen, D.C.L.

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As this is in the neighbourhood of Leicester, and as the name appears in the registers of Leicester, but not in those of Buckingham, Richard Bentley was evidently founding at the former town, whether on his own account, or as an assistant. A Richard Bentley was married at All Saints' in that town in 1571, and four children of presumably the same Richard Bentley were christened there between 1577 and 1585.¹⁸

Further proof of the origin of Bartholomew Atton is afforded by two bells,¹⁹ one at Tredington, Worcestershire, inscribed in ornate capitals 1 in. high :—

+ BARTELMEW ATON 

preceded and followed by a cross and crown, which are known marks of the Newcombe Foundry; the other bell is at Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire, and is inscribed in the same lettering, with Thomas Newcombe's shield.

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Wing for the year ended 14 June 1590 is the earliest documentary evidence of Bartholomew Atton founding bells at Buckingham :—

pd vnto Bartholomewe Atton of Buck- yngam for the castyng of the second bell & puttyng in ij C weyght of new mettell more then the old bell weyghed	} xli. xijd.
---	--------------

As some of the entries referring to this transaction precede the charge for ringing on St. Hugh's Day, Atton must have been at work in Buckingham before November 1589. At Hardwick the tenor, dated 1590, is inscribed

ROBART NEWCOME MADE ME

with an ornate cross, and the shield (fig. 2); in the same year, the tenor at Loughton, and the treble at Stoke Hammond have the other



FIG. 2

¹⁸ In the *Trans. Leics. Archit. and Arch. Soc.* viii, 173 (1896), is recorded the will of a Richard Bentley, of Sharnford, 1582, who was therefore probably not the father of the above children.

¹⁹ *Ex inform.* Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A.

partner's name, which continues regularly from that year to appear on bells. Robert Newcombe was buried according to the Buckingham Parish Register on 2 February 1591-2.

In 1598 and two following years, Bartholomew's name appears several times among the lists of burgesses in the court rolls already mentioned. In 1605 he was Bailiff of Buckingham. A bell at Great Horwood dated that year is inscribed in lettering (together with an ornament) belonging to this foundry :—**BA RA. A** Robert Atton was chamberlain of the borough of Leicester in 1592-3, but judging by ascertained dates it seems likely that he was father to Bartholomew, and that Robert the bell-founder who appears from this date was a son of Bartholomew. The Baptismal Register of Buckingham is missing from May 1589 to March 1592-3, during which interval some of Bartholomew's children were probably born; and Robert may either have been among the number, or he may have been baptized before his parents left Leicester.

Two leaves²⁰ from the Churchwardens' Accounts of Woodford Halse, Northants, were found loose in an old book purchased at a sale at Byfield; one of them dated 1609-10 enumerates certain expenses of a deputation who personally attended the casting of a bell :—

Imprimis payed for the carrying of the Bell unto Buckingham	ixs.
It. payed for alle when the Bell ware a melting	viijd.
It. payed for alle when the Belle ware a running	vj d.
It. payed for the Berriying of the Bell- founder	xjs.
It. payed for ale when the Bell ware a taking up out of the mold	vj d.
It. payed Bell money unto the Bell- founders men	iijs. iiijd.
It. payed for a Band making that wee did take of the Bellfounder	vj d.
It. payed for the casting of the Bell	liijs. iiijd.
It. payed for mettill for the Bell	xlvijs. iijd.
It. payed for our charis in our diat in ling Bockingame	xiijs.

As the negative evidence of the Registers goes to show that no Buckingham bell-founder died just when the deputation from Woodford Halse were seeing their bell recast, it may be that 'burying of the bell-founder' is a slang term meaning a big drink on the occasion.²¹

²⁰ Transcribed in *Northants. N. and Q.* (vol. i, Northampton, 1886).

²¹ 'Burying a wife' is a feast given by an apprentice at the expiration of his articles (Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provl. Words*). In the above quotation 'carring' is not an accidental mis-spelling, but the Buckinghamshire pronunciation of the word to the present day (and no doubt the Bedfordshire as well); a 'Band' is of course a *Bond*, or Agreement; 'charis' probably means *charges*, or possibly *shares*; and 'ling' no doubt wants a mark of abbreviation, and means *leaving*.

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There are, however, certain changes in the lettering used on bells from this year, and the arabesque (fig. 3) makes its appearance; and the fact of Bartholomew's name appearing on a few bells of later date, may merely be an early instance of the common modern trade practice of retaining a man's name in the title of the firm for years after his death. This was almost certainly done in the case of Robert, a few years later.

A bell at Chellington, Bedfordshire, has :—

ROBERT □ ATTON □ MADE □ MEE □ 1611 □
W ATTON □

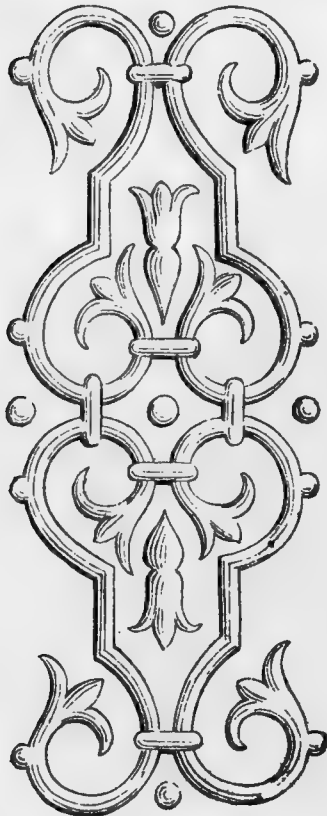


FIG. 3

This is the only bell known to bear the name²² of W. Atton, whose baptism seems to be recorded by the following entry in the Buckingham Register:—'1596 September Wm. filius Bartholomei Atton decimo die.'

He probably discarded bell-founding in favour of a draper's business, and served the office of Bailiff of Buckingham four times, dying in October 1655.

Of his two sons who survived infancy one was certainly, and the other with little doubt, a draper, neither having

any connexion with bell-founding.

Bartholomew's name is reported²³ on a bell at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, dated 1613; on one at Kidlington, Oxfordshire, dated 1621;²⁴ on one at Passenham, Northampton-

shire, dated 1624; and on one formerly at Blisworth, Northamptonshire, dated 1626. All of these (except perhaps the Kidlington bell), have also Robert's initials, who continued bell-founding until 1628, in which year the Buckingham Register records that he was buried on 6 May. Robert had a son and namesake, but the subsequent history of the business leaves hardly any doubt that the entry refers to the elder of the name.

Dated this year is the fourth bell at Grandborough, inscribed :—

ROBERT ATTON NATHANIEL BOLTTER

and ornamented by stamps already used by the Attons, and a new running pattern (fig. 4), which forms a connecting link between this foundry and the Bagleys, as mentioned a little further on.²⁵

There was formerly a similarly dated and inscribed bell at Harpole, Northamptonshire, but the devices are not recorded.²⁶

Bolter was evidently not a native of Buckingham. In the registers of All Saints', Leicester, is an entry of the burial of a William Bolther in 1594-5. Between 1654 and 1664 there was a Nathaniel Bolter at the Salisbury bell-foundry, and a Jonathan Bolter there in 1656.

A bell at Great Horwood and another at Tingewick, dated 1623, are inscribed in one of the Atton sets of letters, ornamented with one of their roses :—

PRAYSE YE THE LORDE ALWAYSSE

The same inscription, with the rose again, but wanting the last word, is on the third bell at Grandborough; and a bell at Edgcote, and another at Paulerspury, both in Northamptonshire, have the full inscription again, but the lettering and ornaments are not stated.²⁷ This inscription on five bells in the same year, and on no other known bell from this foundry, suggests that some one besides Robert Atton had a hand in their casting, neither his name or initials being on any of them. On the Great Horwood bell are, in addition, the initials



FIG. 4

²² Mr. North, in *Bells of Beds*, mentions a bell inscribed W. ATTON & SON. but this is shown in *Bells of Bucks* (p. 208) to be an absolute illusion.

²³ North, *Bells of Northants*.

²⁴ *Ex inform.* Mr. A. D. Tyssen, D.C.L.

²⁵ The saunce at Chipping Norton, Oxon. by R.P. 1624, has this running pattern (*Ex inform.* Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A.).

²⁶ North, *Bells of Northants*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

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(neither pair are the rector's):—**I B, G V, R B**. It certainly seems probable that the first and last pair belong to Jonathan and another Bolter. The initials **N B** appear on four bells at Salis-

foundry at Drayton Parslow, his native village, only a dozen miles from Buckingham, where we may conjecture he learnt the art. Richard was baptized in 1601-2; and there is a bell at



FIG. 5

bury, in conjunction with **W P** (William Purdue II, of Salisbury), in 1656, and on two bells at Great Durnford, Wiltshire, dated the following year.²⁸

The arabesque (fig. 5) is on a bell at Tingewick by Robert Atton in 1627.

In 1630, the Buckingham Register records the burial of Bartholomew Atton on 29 May, and it is most probable that this was the bell-founder from Leicester.

No bell is known to have been cast at this foundry between 1628 and 1631, in which year the treble at Loughton announces that **ROBERT ATTON MADE ME**, and the fourth at Olney, for the first and only time, gives his address:—**ROBERT ATTON OF BVCKINGHAM MADE ME**, and with other ornaments already used has a new shield charged with three bells (fig. 6).

1633 saw the founding of the last two bells at Buckingham, the treble at Ashendon bearing Robert's initials, and the tenor at Beachampton, inscribed like the Loughton bell of two years previously.

It is extremely likely that Henry Bagley I, who opened his foundry at Chalcombe in Northamptonshire, in or before 1632, learnt his business at the Buckingham foundry, and obtained thence the running pattern (fig. 4) noticed on the bell at Grandborough dated 1628, bearing Nathaniel Bolter's name. Mr. H. B. Walters has found a copy of the shield first used at Loughton in 1631 (fig. 6), having the initials **I M** added in the field on either side of the upper bell, used by a Worcester founder, John Martin (or possibly two of the same name), between the years 1644-93.²⁹

By 1636, Richard Chandler, son of Anthony Chandler a blacksmith, had established a bell-

Thornton, with nothing but the date 1635, which may be by him, although none of the figures certainly correspond with his known set. **RICHARD CHANDELER 1636** together with four little ornaments, was on bells at Grandborough (now melted), and Stewkley (Bucks), Nettleden (Herts. formerly Bucks.), and Milton Bryant (Beds.), the last only bearing two out of the four little ornaments. The Nettleden bell in addition has an interesting survival in the shape of the later of the two lion-head stamps which belonged to the Wokingham-Reading foundry, and was apparently last used not later than 1540. Only one other bell by Richard is known—the tenor at Cheddington dated 1638, where the name is inscribed twice over, and only two of the four little ornaments were used.

Richard Chandler died in June of that year,

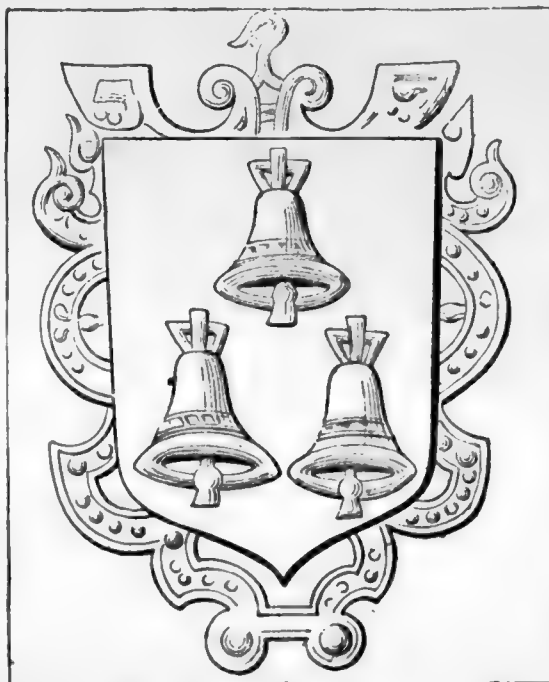


FIG. 6

²⁸ Lukis, *Ch. Bells*.

²⁹ 'The Ch. Bells of Worcs.' *Worcs. Dioc. Archit. and Arch. Soc. Rep.* 1901 (Reprint, p. 36), and 'Some Notes on Worcs. Bell-founders,' *Arch. Journ.* lxxiii, 193 (1906).

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and his will³⁰ was proved by his widow Bridget on the 22nd of the following November. His eldest son Anthony was baptized in August 1622, and was, therefore, probably not sixteen at the time of his father's death. Very likely he kept the smithy going with the help of a journeyman, but the bell-foundry appears to have ceased until 1650, when he cast the treble at Simpson (recently melted), which was quite a curiosity! It was hardly of greater diameter at the lip than at the shoulder, while the waist, about half-way between crown and lip, was of considerably less diameter. It was inscribed, as were most of his bells, **CHANDLER MADE ME** with no Christian name or initial, followed by the pattern (fig. 7). Orders at once came to him in steady succession.

Meanwhile there were certainly two Richard Chandlers connected with the business besides the first of the name who died in 1638 as above mentioned.

figures may have been pressed on the 'cope' in readiness for the new year (though then not beginning until 25 March) before his death. Two bells, however, respectively dated 1711 and 1715, inscribed actually on the waist, may be considered as antagonistic to the theory. A few bells dated 1651, 1654, and apparently others in 1684,³¹ on which the name appears as **CHANDELER** without Christian name, may also perhaps indicate his workmanship. However this may be with regard to Richard Chandler II, his nephew and namesake, Richard III, the eldest son of Anthony, who was baptized 15 December 1650, evidently became partner with his father on completing his twenty-first year, from which time Anthony distinguished the bells he cast by the addition of his Christian name. His will³² is dated 28 August 1679, and was proved on 21 April following, so an entry of burial of an Anthony on 1 September 1679 evidently refers to the founder, though three

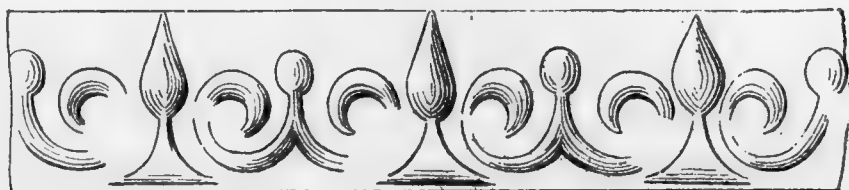


FIG. 7



FIG. 8

In 1675 the name of Richard Chandler begins again on bells, and this seems to have been Anthony's elder son, whom we may call Richard III. The second Richard seems to have been Anthony's younger brother, and never to have had the honour of inscribing his name on a bell, but his work is possibly recognizable by the expedient of the inscription (either the surname only, or with Richard prefixed) being placed on a few bells somewhat lower down than usual, generally on a line with, and taking the place of portions of, the 'rims'; so that it reads thus:—

==CHANDLER==MADE==ME==

He was buried 1 January 1704-5, and though the latest bell inscribed in that position (the tenor at Wavendon) is dated 1705, this does not necessarily invalidate the theory, as the

other Anthonies are recorded as buried subsequently at Drayton.

In 1681 Anthony's second son George began placing his name on bells. His baptism is recorded on 3 March 1654. After 1683 his name disappears for the long interval of nineteen years, unless Lipscomb³³ is correct in saying that he cast the former tenor at Wing in 1687, which was unfortunately exchanged in 1863. Beginning in 1683, while some bells bear Richard's name, numerous others bear merely the surname (as in Anthony's time), which Mr. Stahlschmidt³⁴ suggested represent the work of 'the firm' as opposed to a particular individual.

The pattern, fig. 8, was used by 'the firm' on the saunce at Beachampton in 1695, and by Richard at Bicester (Oxon.) in 1715.

³¹ *Cb. Bells of Northants.* at Stoke Bruerne.

³² Given at length, *Cb. Bells of Bucks.* 228.

³³ *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 527.

³⁴ *Bells of Herts.* 49.

³⁰ Given at length in *Cb. Bells of Bucks.*

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There is no evidence of a second George Chandler blossoming into a bell-founder by 1702, when the name reappears on bells: and it seems quite a reasonable conjecture that it was found that the two Richards (nephew and uncle) were sufficient to manage the bell-founding, and that George either devoted himself to the smithy, or may have migrated elsewhere in pursuit of work; and that some time after his uncle had passed his threescore and ten years it was found advisable to get the assistance of a younger man.

1723 is the latest date on which the name of Richard III appears on a bell, and the saunce at Emmington, in Oxfordshire, is inscribed in one of George's sets of lettering, so there is no question of its foundry: T. C. 1723. This must be attributed to Thomas, the younger brother of Richard III and George, who thus made his first and last appearance.

The third at Stone, by 'the firm,' in one of George's sets of lettering, in 1726, is the latest known bell bearing the name Chandler; Richard was buried on 27 April of that year, three years after the appearance of his last bell. George probably then left the village, as his burial does not appear in the register of his native parish, nor in that of the neighbouring parish of Stewkley, where several entries of this surname occur. Thomas (younger brother of Richard III and George), was buried in his native parish in 1732.

The Drayton Parslow foundry was continued by Edward Hall, who had in all probability been previously working there. He may have been the son of a Henry Hall of Stewkley, but nothing is known about his previous history. The burial of his wife Elizabeth is recorded on Christmas Day, 1733-4 according to one register, or 1734-5 according to another one; and on 30 April 1741 he married Mary the widowed daughter of Richard Chandler II. His business, owing no doubt to the gradual concentration of this trade in the large businesses of London and other centres, as roads improved, was evidently very small—less than one bell a year so far as is known; and at last comes the entry in the Drayton Parslow register (in the rector's handwriting):—

(Buried) Edward Hall poor old Bellfounder
Feb. 9 1755.

There was until recently at Hillesden a bell inscribed:—

W HALL MADE ME 1758

This is the last bell known to have been cast at this foundry. The individual is not mentioned in the register of the parish, but probably he was a son of Edward, born before his father's migration to the foundry.

The late Rev. T. A. Turner mentions³⁶ being

³⁶ *Records of Bucks.* iv, 125 (1872).

told by an old man named Baldwin that he in early life succeeded in the village smithy business a William Hall, who it was suggested was a grandson of Edward, but it seems as likely that he belonged to a generation later—that is a grandson of the founder William. Baldwin had met with various bits of bell-metal, metal castings, sand and other things, which William Hall had told him his grandfather used in the bell-foundry business.³⁶

The saunce at Westbury seems to be of the time of Edward III, and as Westbury is only 5 miles from Buckingham, this bell should apparently be added to the group above described.

The bell in the clock tower at Aylesbury is blank, but is undoubtedly an old bell, and is probably the bell mentioned in a report at the Record Office dated 1555 as having come from the house of Friars of Aylesbury, and was then used as the market bell of that town.³⁷ It is probably of 'local' origin.

The two bells at Ibstone are probably of the 18th century, and are more likely to be by an itinerant than by a strictly 'local' founder.

On the single bell at Fingest is *incised*:—

J. HOBBS LANE END 1830.

He was an iron-founder, and this appears to be his sole attempt at bell-casting. His son, Mr. Walter Hobbs, continued the iron-foundry until his death in 1902, when the business was purchased by Mr. Richard Smith, who afterwards closed the works, which, however, have now been re-opened.

The Fingest bell, no doubt from a want of technical knowledge having resulted in a wrong gradation in the various degrees of thickness, sounds at a distance as if it were cracked, but as one approaches it is found that the bell is quite sound, but is badly out of tune with itself. If the crooks used to form the core and cope are scientifically shaped, so as to ensure the correct thicknesses throughout the bell, it should give, when lightly struck, the key-note, third, fifth, and octave at the respective distances up the side; and when struck a full blow (as by the clapper) on the sound-bow, the common chord results; if therefore the thickness at any part is incorrect, the bell becomes out of tune with itself (and many bells are slightly so).

The saunce at Hardwick, besides the names of the churchwardens, bears:—

1850. S. SEYMOUR, AYLESBURY

He was an ironmonger in that town, and there can be little doubt that he did not cast it himself.

³⁶ *Ch. Bells of Bucks.* 237.

³⁷ *Ld. Rev. Rec.* bdie. 1392, file 10.

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IRON-FOUNDRIES, SHIPBUILDING AND RAILWAY WORKS

In 1772 Wyrardisbury mill was tenanted by Jukes Colson, who worked it as an iron mill, but five years later it had been turned into a copper mill by the Gnoll Company.¹ The mill was again sold in 1790, and was tenanted early in the 19th century by George and Thomas Glascott, who were brass-founders. They, however, closed their works in 1820, and the mill has since been converted into a paper-mill. A mill at Horton was also at one time used for iron works, but these were closed early in the 19th century.² In 1831 only eleven men were returned as being employed as iron-founders,³ either as masters or workmen, but thirty-four were employed at copper mills. In the middle of the 19th century several foundries were established. The Castle Iron Works were started at Buckingham in 1857, and were owned by a limited liability company, the shareholders being mostly local people,⁴ anxious to improve the trade of the town. The foundry was chiefly occupied in making steam-engines of various kinds. Certain road engines were made there which acquired a considerable amount of importance at the time. In 1858 a road locomotive was built for the Marquis of Stafford, which attained to the speed of twelve miles an hour, and a few years later the foundry produced a steam carriage for export to Belgium, which held three passengers as well as the stoker. It averaged ten miles an hour, but on good roads could attain to sixteen, and its inventor, Mr. Thomas Rickett, the manager of the Castle Iron Works, drove it in 1860 to Windsor, where it was inspected by Queen Victoria.⁵ Various machines for agricultural purposes were also made, a locomotive steam cultivator being exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society at Chester in 1858.

Another engineering business, known as the Watling Works, was started at Stony Stratford about the same time as the Castle Iron Works at Buckingham. The position of the little town on the Grand Junction Canal gave it better means of communication, and the business is still carried on at the present day.⁶ In 1845 the late Mr. Edward Hayes started the works for general engineering, but gradually the business has become confined to the building of steam

yachts, tugs and launches. These are exported to all parts of the world 'for steamers and machinery of various descriptions have been built for the British Admiralty, Crown Agents for the Colonies, the Board of Works, Trinity House Pilots, the Shah of Persia, the Sultan of Morocco,' besides various foreign governments and well-known shipping lines. 'During the late South African War a little steamer destined to work in connexion with the landing of troops and stores actually steamed from the place she was launched, the Old Stratford Wharf, which is a branch of the Watling Works, along the Grand Junction Canal to the Thames and thence to Delagoa Bay, South Africa.' In Stony Stratford it is not an unusual sight 'to see one of these steamers being drawn on large eight-wheel trolleys by a powerful traction engine' from the Watling Works, where they are built, to the wharf half a mile away, and often followed by its engine and boiler on separate trolleys. In 1861 a display was given at the works of a patent steam windlass for which Mr. Hayes had obtained high honours at an exhibition at Leeds, and the firm have since been equally successful at later exhibitions. The steamers originally built for the river-side work of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade came from the Watling Works, and the present Mr. Edward Hayes has taken out numerous patents for improving steamers, one of the most recent being 'for cheapening and facilitating the exportation of small steamers abroad, making it possible to erect steamers at the site of their work and where only unskilled native labour can be obtained.' Other iron and brass-foundries are worked at the present day at Maidenhead, Horton, Chalfont St. Giles, Looseley Row, Chesham, and Walton (Aylesbury).

At Slough there is also a large firm of manufacturing ironmongers and engineering contractors whose business was established in 1815.⁷

The Wolverton works, belonging to the London and North Western Railway, give employment to a large number of people in the neighbourhood and date from the earliest days of the railway.⁸ When it was opened in 1838 as the London and Birmingham Railway the works were started for building engines, and were purely locomotive works until 1865. At that time Wolverton Station was of great importance, all trains stopping there, and descriptions of its magnificence figure largely in accounts of the

¹ Gyll, *Hist. of Wyrardisbury*, 72.

² *Ibid.* 198.

³ *Pop. Ret.* (1831), i, 34.

⁴ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks*, 231-2.

⁵ *Illus. Lond. News*, 11 Feb. 1860, with illustration.

⁶ From information kindly supplied by Mr. Edward Hayes.

⁷ Letter from Messrs. Mark Duffield & Sons, Ltd. High Street, Slough.

⁸ *Description of the London and North Western Railway Company's Carriage Works at Wolverton*, 1907.

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county written in the middle of the 19th century. Around the station and works sprang up two new villages, New Bradwell and New Wolverton, inhabited entirely by the employees of the railway and tradesmen supplying their needs. In 1840 about four hundred hands were employed, but in the next twenty years the numbers had increased to between 2,300 and 2,400 and the factory contained brass and iron-foundries, shops for erecting, repairing, and fitting engines, and for making boilers, &c.⁹

In 1860, however, a change was decided upon resulting in the conversion of the Wolverton works into carriage works,¹⁰ and the removal of the engine factories to Crewe. The removal took place between 1865 and 1877 and since that time the works have grown beyond recognition, and contain shops for building carriages and all their accessories and also for repairing them, covering in all about eighty acres of land and employing about four thousand five hundred hands.

NEEDLE-MAKING

The village of Long Crendon was long celebrated for an extensive manufactory of needles. There is considerable doubt as to the date of the introduction of needle-making into England, the tradition being that an 'Indian' first brought the art to London about 1545, but that it died out with him.¹ It must, however, shortly have been revived, for it seems to have been brought to Long Crendon about 1560 by one Christopher Greening.² In some accounts, a Mr. Damer, a member of a Roman Catholic family, is said to have settled the Greening family in the village in 1650,³ but this is most probably merely a confusion in the date, since the Greenings had then lived there for nearly a hundred years.

A Christopher Greening lived at Long Crendon in 1558⁴; from 1556 to 1568 he was also churchwarden and drew up, with John Padnoll, the first parish register book preserved there.⁵ Another Christopher, the son of John Greening, was born in 1587,⁶ and against his name is a later marginal note saying, 'this man first brought out needle-making.'⁷ Probably he was the grandson of the first needle-maker, but having the same Christian name, later tradition confused the two Christopher Greenings.

Other accounts say that needles were made in the village before Greening's arrival, but that he was of some importance in the trade and hence its introduction was attributed to him.⁸

The chief family of needle-makers were the Shrimptons, many of whom lived in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe and were officers of the borough.⁹ In the 18th century the trade was flourishing. When a sufficient quantity of

needles had been made, a journey to London was undertaken by one of the more important manufacturers. He took from seven to ten days, going by the stage-coach from Oxford. The goods had been first conveyed to Tetsworth, where the coach was met and the needle-maker was accompanied by armed men for his protection. This was more especially needed on the return journey, when he bought back a considerable sum of money for the wages of the workmen. A stock of wire was also brought back, part payment for the needles often being made in wire, which was difficult to procure direct from Birmingham. In 1736, the needles were chiefly made in the living rooms of the workers, but later factories were built, one of which is still standing in the village of Long Crendon.¹⁰

At the beginning of the 19th century the chief manufacturers bore the names of Harris, Shrimpton and Johnson.¹¹ The processes employed were extremely primitive; everything was done by hand labour, no stamps were used, and the methods of pointing made that part of the trade at least very injurious to the health of needle-makers. The fame of Redditch needles was beginning to grow and the Long Crendon manufacturers felt the pressure of competition in the market. They seem to have taken no steps, however, to meet it or to improve their methods. They never employed the water-power at Notley Mill and were very late in introducing machinery of any kind. In some ways the position of Redditch gave it an advantage over Long Crendon, particularly from being near Birmingham, but the Shrimptons had many opportunities of improving their trade, of which they never took advantage. London merchants offered money so that new machinery might be set up and the workshops improved, but the Crendon manufacturers had been so long without encountering competition that they were utterly unprepared to meet the new conditions of the industry. They seem to

⁹ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 647.

¹⁰ *Carriage Works at Wolverton.*

¹ *Home Counties Mag.* vi, 184.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Chambers' Journ.* 17 May 1856.

⁴ *Lay Subs. R.* 185.

⁵ *Home Counties Mag.* vi, 185.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ W. Shrimpton, *Notes on a Decayed Needle-land,*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Home Counties Mag.* vi, 184.

¹¹ Shrimpton, *Notes on a Decayed Needle-land,* 14.

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have given far more attention to all the pastimes of the countryside, bull-baiting, cock-fighting and boxing, than to their business. Hence the Long Crendon needle-trade gradually died out and the trade in sewing needles was practically lost.

Several makers made a speciality of large needles, however; sail and packing and netting needles were made in considerable quantities, and a revival of the trade took place about 1848. A John Harris had set up for himself and was more energetic in business than others; machinery was also introduced by him and some of the Shrimptons. A London firm, Kirby Beard & Co., started a factory at Crendon, where they had long been customers of the needle-makers. The lack of railway communication, however, proved fatal to their undertaking, and in 1862 they

moved to Redditch, taking with them four-fifths of the needle-makers. Almost immediately afterwards the railway was opened to Thame, but it was too late to affect the manufacture at Long Crendon, and even the trade of large needles was obtained by the Redditch makers.

Emigration had, however, been going on slowly for many years; as early as 1824, Jonas Shrimpton journeyed to Alcester, Studley, and Redditch to observe the state of the manufacture there. He advised the Crendon makers to bestir themselves, but nothing, as has been said, was done, and some of the younger men migrated in the next few years. Even in 1861, while Kirby Beard & Co.'s factory was still open, the population of the village was declining, the cause being migration of the needle-makers to seek work in other parts of the country.¹²

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

A considerable amount of wool was grown in Buckinghamshire as early as the 13th century and consequently many men were engaged in the wool trade. The wool grown by the monks at Biddlesden, Ankerwyke, and Notley is mentioned by Pegolotti.¹ Buckingham was a staple town for wool in the time of Edward III, till the staple was removed to Calais. It was then amongst the towns which petitioned Parliament in 1525 for relief, their trade having been destroyed.^{1a} In the 17th century Buckingham still seems to have been a centre of the trade, and possessed both a wool hall and wool market, the profits belonging to Christ's Hospital, founded by Queen Elizabeth.² In 1731, these profits only amounted to £5 a year.³ A wool fair was also held at Great Marlow, but it fell into disuse in the first half of the 19th century.

Wool merchants in the 16th century were, however, sternly repressed, no individual being allowed to buy more wool than he could weave himself. In 1577 the 'broggers' of wool were bound over in £100 apiece, 'that neither they nor their heirs shall at any time hereafter buy or bargain any manner of wools that grow or hath grown within the county of Buckingham, but only such quantity of wools as they by themselves or their apprentices shall yearly make in his own mansion house.'⁴ The cloth trade never assumed very large proportions in the county, but a certain amount of weaving and fulling was done, presumably for local use.

Early in the 14th century the governing body of the borough of Wycombe tried to attract the trade to their town by remitting a tax on looms.⁵ The effort seems to have been successful, and the records of the borough contain many orders with regard to weaving, fulling and dyeing.⁶ These trades were gradually limited to the burgesses of the borough, foreigners being forbidden to carry them on without making a heavy payment. Even amongst the town craftsmen there were strict rules for their government.⁷ Besides apprenticeship rules, no one man might carry on more than one of the three trades at the same time.⁸ Early in the 17th century foreign craftsmen paid 6d. for every loom working, but how often the fine was to be paid was not specified. The increasing strictness of these orders was probably due to the failing condition of the cloth trade. In 1623 this was commented on by the Justices of the Peace and the Mayor of Wycombe⁹ and the poor in the town suffered a great deal of misery.

The fullers seem to have suffered even earlier from the loss of their trade. Various fulling mills are mentioned in accounts of the bailiffs of manors in the 14th and 15th centuries,¹⁰ but in the following century, for instance, at Taplow, when the mills were rebuilt in the reign of Henry VIII, certain old fulling-mill stock was found. Many years later a witness, in an inquisition taken in 1613 about these mills, suggested that the name of an eyot or island in the Thames called 'Tenter Eight' took its name from the

¹² *Pop. Ret.* 1861.

¹ Cunningham, *The Growth of Engl. Indus. and Commerce*, i, 629.

^{1a} Browne Willis, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Town, Hund. and Deanery of Buckingham* (1755), 46.

² *Ibid.* 86.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxv, 28.

⁵ Wycombe Borough Records.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, cxlii, 44.

¹⁰ Mins. Accts. bdle. 761, no. 4; bdle. 763, no. 9; bdle. 653, no. 10565; bdle. 654, no. 10577; bdle. 655, no. 10597.

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tentering of cloth.¹¹ Moreover, at Newport Pagnell a fulling-mill had existed at one time, but it had been converted into a grist mill before 1623. Weaving was still a trade of the town, since George Fynnall, a weaver, gave evidence about the mills at that date.¹² At High Wycombe a fulling-mill, known as Gosham's mill, was working at this time, and was in the hands of a family of the name of Raunce.¹³ Buckinghamshire sheep and rams were famous throughout the 17th century, but more for their size than their wool,¹⁴ and the local cloth trade seems to have gradually disappeared. Sacking was also manufactured in the 17th century. The paupers in the workhouse at Aylesbury¹⁵ were mainly employed in spinning hemp. Their yarn was either sold or sent to the weavers, and afterwards the overseers of the poor sold the manufactured article.¹⁶ Sacking was probably made throughout the 18th century, but in 1831,¹⁷ only forty men were employed in making mats and sacking.

Silk-weaving was carried on in Buckinghamshire for some years during the 19th century. A large mill was established at Tring in 1824 by Mr. William Kaye of Tring Park.¹⁸ It was first worked by Mr. Joseph Kaye, but he afterwards moved to Manchester. On his death the Lancashire factory was given up and his manager Robert Nixon was thus thrown out of employment. He determined to set up a silk-mill at Aylesbury in connexion with the Tring mill and further, made an agreement with the Aylesbury overseers, who were in great need of employment for the parish paupers in the workhouse. The numbers there were rapidly increasing, and the decline of the lace trade left the overseers with no means of giving them work. The latter undertook to build a silk factory on part of the workhouse

premises in Oxford Road, and to spend £200 on it, Nixon promising on his part not to employ any hands but paupers chargeable on Aylesbury parish. Forty looms were set up in 1830, but probably women were employed for the most part, since in 1831¹⁹ there were only 30 male silk weavers in the county. The mill afterwards passed into the hands of Messrs. Evans, who had for many years worked the Tring mill.²⁰ They first bought part of the workhouse premises in 1844, and in 1859, the original parish mill. Soon afterwards 200 hands, mostly girls, were employed, and steam-power had been introduced. In 1885 there were 70 steam looms at the Aylesbury mill. The actual weaving was the only process carried on there, none of the earlier processes being undertaken.

Branches of the Tring and Aylesbury mill were set up near the latter town. At Waddesdon a mill was established in 1843. It stood in the middle of the village, and in 1862 employed some 40 women, but only hand-loom were used. A smaller mill was also worked at Whitchurch.²¹

Silk was manufactured at Wyrardisbury mill²² about the time that the Aylesbury mill was established, while silk and shawl printing was carried on at the neighbouring town of Horton. The latter works were in the hands of Messrs. Tippetts & Co., who employed about 60 persons, but in 1859 a decline of trade made them close their works, and the buildings and stock were sold by auction.

Cotton mills also existed in Buckinghamshire at the close of the 18th century. At Iver and Taplow visitors were appointed by the justices of the peace in 1802 under an Act of 42 Geo III to inspect the cotton mills there.²³ At Amersham another cotton factory was working in 1825;²⁴ it employed many of the inhabitants but no cotton weavers are returned in the census of 1831.²⁵

¹¹ Exch. Dep. by Com. East. 10 Jas. I, no. 14.

¹² Exch. Spec. Com. no. 3596.

¹³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxxvi, no. 100.

¹⁴ Fuller, *Worthies of England* (ed. Nuttall), 193.

¹⁵ Aylesbury Overseers' Acct.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

¹⁸ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 624.

¹⁹ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.

²⁰ Gibbs, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 624.

²¹ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 429, 772.

²² Gyll, *Hist. of Wyrardisbury*, 72, 198.

²³ Quarter Sessions Records, 1802.

²⁴ Pinnock, *Hist. and Topog. of Engl.* i, 25.

²⁵ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 34.



FORESTRY

THE authentic history of the woods of Buckinghamshire¹ may be said to begin with the Domesday Survey, in which the general distribution of woods throughout the county is strikingly manifested. In this county the commissioners estimated the extent of the woodlands by certifying how many swine could be sustained on its acorns and beech mast, and it is quite obvious from these returns that considerable woods were to be found in every direction. Taking the larger woods, which were sufficiently extensive to support 500 swine or upwards, we find they run as follows:—Wendover, 2,000; Chesham, 1,600; Lillingstone, 1,200; Marlow and Princes Risborough, 1,000 each; Oakley, 806; Marsworth and Iver, 800 each; Taplow, 700; Chalfont St. Peter, Burnham, Farnham, and Chalfont St. Giles, 600 each; and Wraysbury, High Wycombe, Stoke Poges, Missenden, and Hampden, 500 each. These places are to be found north, south, east, and west, and in the centre of the county. The swine-feeding powers of the woods throughout Domesday are almost invariably expressed in round numbers. There is however a curious exception to the rule in this county. The woodland of Akeley is said to have found sustenance for 806 swine (*octingentis porcis et vj*); such an entry as this is a corroboration of the theory that the extant Domesday is a condensed summary of the actual returns, and that the original detailed return has in this case been accidentally retained.

There are two references to the royal forest of Bernwood. Brill (*Brunbelle*), on the confines of Oxfordshire, is named as a manor of King Edward's; under this manor £12 is entered as the annual issue of the forest. Oakley was in the same forest, and it is entered that the woodland would feed 200 swine, 'save that it is the king's park in which it lies.'

At Long Crendon, adjoining Oakley and Brill, Walter Giffard had a park for beasts of venery (*parcus bestiarum silvaticarum*), which is a truer forest translation than beasts of the chase.

¹ Camden considered that the very name Buckingham meant the beechen village, owing to the number and size of its beech trees, from *buccen* or *buccen*, derived from *bee*, a beech tree. Although this derivation has been doubted by Lysons and Lipscombe, its accuracy is still maintained by several modern etymologists.

The four beasts of venery, the hart, wolf, wild boar, and hare, were *sylvestres*, that is, they spent their days in the woods, and were taken by what was considered true hunting, being tracked or roused by the lymers and lymer hounds (corresponding to the modern tufters of the Devon and Somerset Staghounds), and afterwards pursued by the pack. The beasts of the chase were termed *campestres*, that is, they were found in the open country by day and therefore required none of the niceties of tracking and harbouring in thicket and coverts, but were roused straight away by the hounds; these were the fallow and roe deer, with the fox and martin.²

So far as Buckinghamshire was concerned with royal forests the position was distinctly peculiar. The shire had no large forest of its own entirely within its bounds, but it shared portions of four distinct forests with adjacent counties, namely Windsor, Whittlewood, Salcey, and Bernwood.

The smallest of these shares was that of Windsor in the south of the county. Parts of the parishes of Datchet, Langley Marish, Slough, and Eton, on the Bucks side of the Thames, immediately opposite Windsor and the present Home Park, were for many generations considered part of Windsor Forest. At the present day 293 acres of meadow and other land in Datchet, abutting on the Thames, are Crown lands, as well as upwards of 200 acres at Eton.

The forest of Whittlewood lay chiefly in Northamptonshire, but a considerable section overlapped into the north-western district of Buckinghamshire, including the parishes of Lillingstone Lovell, Lillingstone Dayrell, and parts of Biddlesden, Akeley, and Stowe. All that remained of Whittlewood Forest in this county in 1792 was 220 acres in Lillingstone Dayrell, which was included in Wakefield Walk. It was not until August 4, 1853, that the much-restricted area of old Whittlewood Forest ceased to exist. On that day *An Act for Disafforesting the Forest of Whittlewood* became law; the deer were destroyed or removed, and the forest officers discharged.

Salcey, another of the royal forests of Northamptonshire, in the south-east of that county,

² Cox, *Royal Forests*, 62-3. Manwood, so continuously cited by writers on old hunting, has strangely blundered in his misleading lists as to legal beasts of the forest and the chase.

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also protruded into Buckinghamshire, extending in old days over the whole of the parish of Hanslope as well as in the adjacent parts. Hanslope gave its name to one of the walks of this old forest. In 1825 *An Act for Dividing, Allotting and Inclosing the Forest of Salcey, in the Counties of Northampton and Buckingham*, was passed.

The fourth of the Buckinghamshire forests, that of Bernwood, was by far the most important so far as this county was concerned. Bernwood Forest stretched out far into Oxfordshire, embracing the subsidiary forest stretches of Shotover and Stowood, and approaching almost to the very walls of Oxford by way of Headington. But the larger section of Bernwood Forest as well as the centre of its government was always in Buckinghamshire. In that county the considerable projection, about the centre of the western border, which included the parishes of Boarstall, Brill, Oakley, Worminghall, Long Crendon, Ashendon, Chilton, Dorton, Ludgershall, and Wotton Underwood, were always within Bernwood Forest; whilst for a long time it extended much further north to the Claydons, as well as further to the centre or east. Its exact boundaries cannot readily be determined, they fluctuated much at different periods, some of the old perambulations are difficult to decipher, and the identification of several of the places named as bounds is peculiarly difficult.

The earlier Norman kings added largely to the area of Bernwood Forest on the Buckinghamshire side, until a considerable section of the county was subject to the severity of the forest laws. By the Forest Charter granted at the opening of the reign of Henry III, it was provided that all forests which Henry II had afforested should be viewed by good and lawful men, and that all that had been made forest, other than royal demesne, since his coronation, was forthwith to be disafforested. In accordance with this charter special perambulations were ordered to be made by not less than twelve knights elected for that purpose before March, 1224-5.

There seems to have been some special delay in the case of Buckinghamshire, or else disputes caused the perambulations to be ere long repeated; for there is a verdict of twenty-four knights extant of 1228 *de metis foreste in Com. Buc.* This perambulation, starting from a ford over the Thame, went as far north as Steeple Claydon, and much was stated to have never before been considered forest. On the back of this small document appear the names of the twenty-four knights, including Robert Fitzalan, Walter de Fulebrot, Ralph Fitzjohn and Ralph de Langport.⁴

There is also extant at the Record Office a

⁴ Misc. Chan. Forest Proc. bdle. 11, file 1, Nos. 14, 15. These documents are in part illegible.

perambulation of the year 1298, which was undertaken in the presence of John FitzNeal, the chief forester or warden, of four foresters, of four verderers, of two elected knights, and of two Crown commissioners. The following is a careful English rendering of this perambulation, but it is difficult to follow. The stream called the Yhyst may be identical with the one now called the Ray, which crossed into Oxfordshire to the west of Grendon Underwood:—

Imprimis to wit at a certain stream which is called Yhyst and therefrom going up towards Hethenaburgh and so to Stodfoldem and so from thence to Pedyngton [Piddington] moore and so stretching to a certain place called le Dedequene beyond the lord King's wood, [Kingswood] and so going up through Lotegershale [Ludgershall] Hay between the wood of the King's demesne and Lotegershele Wood as far as Colleputtes And so from thence to the Brechs and so from thence going down to the stream to Brechehurne And so to Coppedhegge and then proceeding outside the haye to Todeleshall corner And from thence between the King's wood and the wood of Richard Grenoile de Wotton to Siketon as far as Colhurch on the east And so proceeding by the aforesaid wood to Warboroughwell Books (?) And from thence to Tremeren and so to Wolvesthorpe and so to Dreyhurst And from thence through the stream to Phippenhoohurne and so to Aylyenewellesture and from thence to Whithorn and so across the Quareinte which is called Burnegrove to Brehull [Brill] forks And from thence to Morlesmede and so to Aysshegh without the mesuage of Walter de Byllyndon And so direct through Alkedonemersh to Apcrofte and thence by the Porteweie to Stamford And so between Wormenhal [Worminghall] Field to le Wykehouse And from thence to Gulpesmede And so by the ridge of Delefield to le Spanne And so to Stonyhurstend And so from thence to Honybrugge and from thence to Stonyhurstende and from thence to Hildesle and from thence to Ffoulesle and then to Okelyngoke through the stream to Waterfall in Smythedene And from thence to South Wellredy And thence to Southwell and thence to Halsadetonge and so to Gashale and then to Grymes dich and so to Stonycrouch and thence to Merlakebrugge And so always by the bounds in the counties of Bucks and Oxon to the aforesaid stream of Yhyst.⁵

It has been supposed that the name Bernwood had relation to Bernulph, the successor of Kenulph and grandson of King Offa, but this, as Lipscombe remarks, is mere conjecture. There is, however, no doubt that it was an extensive and well-wooded forest tract that pertained to the Saxon monarchy for a long time previous to the Norman Conquest. Brill, which was within the confines of Buckinghamshire, was a royal manor of importance in Saxon times, and said to have been an occasional residence of the Confessor. A royal precept of Henry I (1109-11) relative to the canons of Gloucester is dated from Brill.⁶

⁵ Exch. Accts. Forest Proc. K.R. bdle. 1, No. 8.

⁶ Royal Chart. Duchy of Lanc. No. 2.

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The place is mentioned in grants of Stephen and Matilda, and we know from charters that Henry II was sojourning here in 1160, 1162, and 1177. King John was at Brill on 23 October, 1205, and also kept the following Christmas at the same royal seat.⁷ Henry III stayed here in 1224 and on several occasions afterwards; and Edward I was at Brill yearly from 1273 to 1281, and again in 1293.⁸

The Pipe Rolls of 1169-70 record £31 4s. 3d. from the wastes, assarts, and pleas of the forest of Buckinghamshire, but in the following year only 57s. 10d. In 1172-3 the amount was 55s. 8d. Only a mark was entered for the forest in 1173-4 and 1174-5, and but half a mark in 1176-7.⁹ The very large amount entered in 1169-70 probably arose from the Pleas of the Forest before justices being held in that year.

In the first year of Richard I the sheriff of Buckinghamshire was indebted in the sum of 24s. 6d. for the wastes, assarts, pleas, and purprestures of the forest of Buckinghamshire. Mention is made at the same time of Ralph the forester.¹⁰

By the forest of Buckinghamshire, in these Pipe Roll entries, is evidently meant the Buckinghamshire division of Bernwood Forest, which was usually described in the thirteenth century as the forest of Brill.

In considering the question of the administration of the ancient royal forests of Buckinghamshire, however briefly, it seems essential to recollect that the use of the term 'forest' as applicable to a great wood is a comparatively modern custom. Such a use came into fairly general adoption in Elizabethan days, but originally and for several centuries the English word 'forest' meant a waste tract of country reserved for royal sport, and hence placed under special laws and restrictions. Within the forest of Bernwood or Brill there were many great woods and thickets of undergrowth, far more, doubtless, than would be formed on such forests as Dartmoor, Exmoor, or the High Peak, but there would certainly be a considerable share of open ground and heaths. Within this area, although there would be a good deal of private property, all such inclosures as were of sufficient height to exclude the deer, did they desire to enter, were forbidden, save under special licence. The owners of woods that were in private hands were bound to appoint woodwards, who were to a great extent foresters of the king, for they were sworn to arrest venison trespassers. Though the owners of such woods could usually take freely all wood they might require for their own use, they could not fell to any considerable

extent, or sell wood, or burn charcoal, or do anything that might be prejudicial to the king's deer, without a licence.

The administration of a forest was partly national and partly local. From time to time, often at prolonged intervals, forest justices of the crown came round to hold Pleas of the Forest for inquiring into privilege claims, for exacting fines for assarts and purprestures (the terms for illegal inclosures or encroachments), and for punishing trespasses against venison and vert. Vert was a term for which the English form of 'green hue' was occasionally used, implying all damage to trees, underwood, and forest herbage. Local courts were also held at regular and frequent intervals, when the minor vert offences were dealt with, including illicit agistment or feeding of cattle or pigs, and stray animals; and venison trespasses were enrolled, and the commitment of offenders to prison occasionally arranged. Over these local swainmote or attachment courts, the crown-appointed warden or chief forester presided, with the verderers (usually four in number) as assessors. These were men of position elected in the county court; they had no fees, but were entitled to certain perquisites both of vert and venison.

The foresters were those who had charge over different sections or walks of the forest, and it was their duty to present offenders at the courts, and also under certain circumstances they were expected instantly to arrest venison trespassers or hunters and to convey them to prison. The delinquents could, however, generally obtain liberty without much difficulty on sufficient bail from either the particular justice of the forest or direct from the crown. They were bound over to appear before the next eyre of the justices of Forest Pleas; but the delay was so great in holding these eyres that not a few offenders were usually dead before their case came to trial. By the Forest Charter no one could for any forest offence be imprisoned for more than a year and a day.¹¹

Robert de Drewes was entrusted with the charge of the royal manor of Brill, at pleasure, in 1217, together with the forest pertaining to the manor.¹²

When the great storm of 1222 occurred which devastated the woods throughout England and caused the usual customs as to windfallen timber in royal forests to be held in abeyance, instructions as to the disposal of the cablish were forwarded to the verderers and foresters of the

⁷ It seems best to give this summary of forest procedure to help towards the understanding of some of the extracts here cited; those who desire to gain a better understanding of the various processes and the intricacy of administration are referred to Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc.), or to the more popular Cox, *Royal Forests*.

¹¹ Pat. 2 Hen. III, m. 11.

⁸ Lipcombe, *Bucks*, i, 97-8.

⁹ Close and Pat. R. *passim*.

¹⁰ *Pipe R. Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.).

¹² *Magn. Rot. Pip.* 35, 37.

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forest of Brehull (Brill). The long list of forest officials to whom like communications were made does not include any other reference to Buckinghamshire.¹³

In 1219 the crown ordered general inquisitions to be held throughout England as to the assarts or inclosures that had been made within royal forests. These orders for Buckinghamshire were addressed to the sheriff, verderers, and foresters, who were to meet at Buckingham; the crown named four inquisitors, Simon de Litlington, Walter de la Haye, Miles Neirnut, and Richard de Stokes, and with them was associated Hugh de Baton as clerk.¹⁴

The sheriff of Buckinghamshire received the royal mandate, in 1229, to issue summons for a regard of the forests of the county, and to see to the election of regarders in the place of those who had died or were infirm, so that there might be the full complement of twelve in each regard. For the same year Brian de Insula was appointed justice of the forest for Buckinghamshire and several other shires.¹⁵

Another order for holding a regard was issued in 1235, to prepare for the coming of the justice of the forest. The foresters were to swear to bring twelve knights elected in their bailiwick to view every kind of trespass, as expressed in the chapters of the Regard.¹⁶

Ranulf Brito, in 1229, obtained letters patent authorizing him to hunt for life with his dogs the hare and the fox, without any interference whatsoever from foresters or their servants, through the whole royal forest in the bailiwick of Hugh de Neville, in the counties of Buckingham and Northampton.¹⁷

William son of Walter de Bruhull was pardoned by the king, in 1232, for the trespass of skinning a deer that he found dead in this forest; Peter de Rivallis received orders to release him from prison.¹⁸

In 1234 John de Neville, the bailiff of the forests between the bridges of Stamford and Oxford, was ordered by the king to kill, salt, and make bacon of the pannage pigs of Brill and other forests of Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, and to take ward of it for the king's use.¹⁹

Various royal gifts out of the forest of Brill are entered on the Close Rolls of Henry III. Thus in 1228 William de Wurdie, servant of Walter de Clifford, was permitted to take forty cartloads of dry brushwood out of the forest of

Brill, for Walter's hearth. In the same year King John's grant to the canons of Nutley to use two carts, at pleasure, fetching fuel wood from Bernwood Forest, was renewed by Henry III and again confirmed in 1230.²⁰ The Friars Minor of Oxford received a royal gift from this forest, in January, 1231, of thirteen leafless oaks.²¹ Later in the same year Walter de Clifford obtained a considerable gift of building timber from the same forest.²²

The brethren of the hospital of St. John-without-Oxford obtained five oaks from Brill Forest, together with another five from Shotover Forest, in February, 1232, for the building of their hospital, and in July of the same year ten tie-beams for the hospital chapel to be taken wherever they were most suitable from either of these forests.²³ In 1234 the abbot of Oseney was granted twenty oaks from Brill towards the building of his church, and the lepers of Wallingford an oak for making shingles to roof their chapel.²⁴

Peter de Rivallis, as warden of the forest, was ordered in 1233 to provide the honest men of Oxford with 100 Brill oaks, to be taken where they would be least missed, for building the turrets of the walls round the city of Oxford, and for making planks for the same.²⁵

In the following year there is a particularly interesting entry on the Close Rolls relative to the timber of this forest. John de Neville received the royal mandate to supply the sacrist of Abingdon Abbey with four oaks for making a certain cross.²⁶

Royal gifts of venison were not infrequent. In 1229 Hugh de Neville, forest justice, was ordered to allow Drogo de Trubleville a buck out of Brill Forest and like gifts to Philippa, the wife of William de Symilly, Drogo's niece, and to Thomas Basset.²⁷ In September of the same year, the king sent Alan de Neville and Roger de Stopham, with their running dogs, to hunt fallow deer in Brill Forest, and instructed John de la Hoes, the forester, to sanction them.²⁸ Later in the same year Thomas Basset received three does out of this forest, and Gilbert Marshall four does.²⁹ In 1230 a royal gift was made to Hugh de Plesset of two does,³⁰ and in 1231 two bucks were given to Robert de Curtenay.³¹ In the following year John the Fool and Philip his companion, royal huntsmen,

²⁰ Close, 12 Hen. III, m. 6.

²¹ Ibid. 15 Hen. III, m. 19.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. 16 Hen. III, mm. 14, 7.

²⁴ Ibid. 17 Hen. III, mm. 8, 7.

²⁵ Ibid. 17 Hen. III, m. 2.

²⁶ Ibid. 18 Hen. III, m. 10.

²⁷ Ibid. 13 Hen. III, mm. 10, 6.

²⁸ Ibid. m. 4.

²⁹ Ibid. 14 Hen. III, pt. i, mm. 23, 22.

³⁰ Ibid. m. 13.

³¹ Ibid. 15 Hen. III, m. 12.

¹³ Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 6.

¹⁴ Ibid. 3 Hen. III, m. 4 d.

¹⁵ Ibid. 13 Hen. III, m. 2, 9 d. As to regarders, and the full and independent reports they were expected to draw up every year, see Cox, *Royal Forests*, 10, 11, &c.

¹⁶ Pat. 19 Hen. III, m. 11 d.

¹⁷ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 20.

¹⁸ Ibid. 18 Hen. III, m. 3.

¹⁹ Ibid. 18 Hen. III, m. 4.

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were dispatched to Brill Forest to take with their dogs two or three red deer, against the coming of the king to Woodstock,³³ while in September, 1233, Roger de Quincy was granted ten live bucks and does from this forest towards stocking his park at Chinnor.³³

Pleas of the Forest for the county of Buckingham were held at Buckingham on Monday after the feast of St. Mark, 1255, before William le Bretun and three other justices. These pleas were partly concerned with trespasses committed in the small section of the Northamptonshire forest of Whittlewood that came over the border into Buckinghamshire, but more especially with the Buckinghamshire division of Bernwood Forest, usually known as the forest of Brill. Consequently the eyre had to be attended by both sets of forest ministers.³⁴

One of the cases of presentment from Whittlewood Forest involved the question of the cruel custom of expediting or lawing the dogs within a forest area, so as to hinder them from chasing the deer. By the forest law of Henry II this mutilation was only done to mastiffs, but it gradually came about that it was applied to all dogs. The Forest Charter laid down that a view of the lawing of dogs in the forest was to be held every third year, and a fine of 3s. paid for each found unlawed. This lawing consisted in cutting off the three claws of the forefoot, leaving only the ball. The right to have unlawed dogs within a forest was occasionally granted by the crown to persons of position. Thus, the bishop of London, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, and the canons of Waltham held grants exempting their house dogs in Essex Forest; whilst the earl of Arundel and other laymen had complete exemption. Two mastiffs belonging to Simon de Pateshull were found in a wood at Heyburne, belonging to Simon, worrying a brocket (a hart of the second year) which had been wounded in the right haunch. He was charged at the eyre not only with this offence, but with the unlawed condition of his mastiffs. Simon, however, was able to put in a chartered exemption from dog-lawing, but he was fined two marks for the conduct of his mastiffs.

Some of the cases considered at this eyre went back as far as 1248. Three delinquents were charged with having hunted in that year in the wood of Stockholt, in Whittlewood Forest, with bows and arrows, and with resisting the riding foresters who sought to attach them. In the same year, Alexander, chaplain of Wotton, and two men with him who escaped and whose names were unknown, committed a forest offence in Bernwood. When the justices in eyre came round, seven years later, Alexander, who was on bail, was dead; a return had to be made of his chat-

tels, which were only worth 11s. 9d., with an unvalued burse containing relics. Amongst other interesting cases may be mentioned that of Hugh de Molond in 1249, who was found going out of the forest with a bow, which he handed to his brother Richard. The foresters found at his house a bow and four barbed arrows. Hugh and Richard were both imprisoned and bailed; the justices fined the former a mark and the latter half a mark.

At this Buckingham eyre it was stated that John Durant, woodward of Roger de Wotton of his wood of Stockholt, had been presented by his lord before Robert Basset, the steward of the forest; and afterwards presented by his lord before Edward de Bosco, forest justice, at Selveston. William Curtis, woodward of Simon de Sancto Licio for his part of the wood of Westbury, had been presented by his lord before the forest steward, and afterwards presented and sworn before Hugh of Goldingham, the forest justice. Walter de Clanfield, woodward of James le Savage for his part of the wood of Westbury, had also been presented and sworn in like manner.³⁵

In 1266 an inquisition was held at Hartley, in Bernwood Forest, as to the bailiwick of John, the son of Neal, which he held in that forest by hereditary right (forester in fee of Boarstall), as the king wished to be certified as to his rights and customs and services. The jury testified that he held by hereditary right the bailiwick from Stonyford as far as a certain water called the Burne, running between Steeple Claydon and Padbury; that he had rights of cheminage or way-leave, of after-pannage, of all rents, of dead woods and of the loppings and roots of all trees given or sold or taken for his own use by the king. Two other rights are sufficiently interesting to be set forth as Englished by Mr. Turner:—

He has and he ought of hereditary right to have throughout the aforesaid bailiwick trees felled by the wind, which is called cablish, and that in the form underwritten, to wit, that if the wind fells ten trees in one night and one day, the lord king will have them all; but if the wind fells less than ten trees in one night and one day, the aforesaid John will have them all.

Also this same John has of right all attachments and issues of attachments made of small thorns, to wit, of such a thorn as cannot be perforated by an auger (*tarrera*) which is called 'Restnauegar.'

The meaning of this last clause is that the undergrowth of small thorns was John's perquisite, and that the question of what was small and what was large was tested by whether the thorn stem was sufficiently large to be pierced by a standard auger.

The last clause of the verdict of this inquest was to the effect that John had to guard this

³³ Close, 16 Hen. III, mm. 15, 7, 6.

³⁴ Ibid. 17 Hen. III, mm. 11, 9, 3.

³⁵ Exch. Accts. Forest Proc. T.R. 251.

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forest bailiwick (that is to find and pay the under-forester) in return for these privileges and also to make an annual payment to the king of 40s.³⁶

In 1280 there was an inquisition as to a night trespass in Bernwood Forest, Buckinghamshire, when the foresters took and imprisoned a company of thirteen. The foresters swore that one of the number, Robert Cripelard, was engaged in placing a snare, formed of a single cord; but the jury held that Robert was not culpable.³⁷

In connexion with the Forest Pleas for Buckinghamshire, lists were drawn up in 1286 and 1287 of quittance of the common summons. Among those whose presence at the eyres was thus excused by the crown, although free tenants or holding privileges within the royal forests of the county, were the abbess of Godstow, the abbess of Barking, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the priors of Merton and La Grave, the abbot of Oseney, the prior general of St. John of Jerusalem, the master of the hospital of St. John-without-Oxford, and the earls of Cornwall, Hereford, and Surrey.³⁸

The prison for trespassers in the whole forest of Bernwood was at Brill. In February, 1277, John Fitzneal, the warden of the forest, was ordered to deliver Peter le Provost and his son John, imprisoned at Brill for forest trespass, in bail to twelve men pledged to deliver him before the justices of Forest Pleas when next they came to those parts. In the following May the same warden received a like mandate from the crown to release in a similar manner Hugh Magot and his son Humphrey from imprisonment at Brill.³⁹

In 1292 Elias de Hauvill, steward of Bernwood Forest, received the crown mandate to release on bail, from the prison at Brill, William de Boyton and seven others, all confined there for forest trespasses.⁴⁰

In the same year Aumary de St. Amando, king's yeoman, obtained licence by letters patent to hunt the fox, hare, badger, and cat, with his own dogs, throughout the forests of Buckinghamshire, except during the fence month, so that he did not take great game or course in warrens.⁴¹

Occasionally in the forests of this county, as elsewhere, trespassers obtained immediate pardon from the crown. Thus, in 1294, the justices next in eyre for Forest Pleas in the county of Buckingham received royal orders not to molest James de la Plaunche for the trespass he was said to have committed in taking harts and hinds, as well as bucks and does, in the Buckinghamshire portion of Salcey Forest without the king's licence, as the king had pardoned him the

trespass. A like letter was directed to the justices next in eyre for the county of Northampton.⁴²

In October 1297 the sheriff of Buckinghamshire received the king's mandate to the effect that he desired the late king's Forest Charter to be observed inviolable in all its articles, and he had therefore appointed Adam Gurdon and William de Mortuo Mari, together with two of the most discreet of the knights of the county, to cause a perambulation to be made, in the presence of the foresters and verderers, to confirm the perambulations of the late reign which had not been disputed. The sheriff was ordered to summon all the knights of the county to meet Adam and William, and from their number to appoint two successors.⁴³

When the perambulation of Whittlewood Forest was shortly afterwards undertaken, Roger le Brabazon and Ralph de Hengham took a sore (a buck of the fourth year) and three does in the Buckinghamshire part of the forest. Letters close were, however, addressed by the crown to the justices next in eyre for Pleas of the Forest, both of the counties of Buckingham and Northampton, ordering them not to molest or aggrieve Roger and Ralph, as they and the others assigned by the king to make the perambulation took them by his licence in the course of making the perambulation.⁴⁴

Soon after the accession of Edward III, the sheriff of Buckinghamshire was ordered to take anew in his county court the oaths of the verderers of Bernwood Forest, who had been elected in the late king's lifetime, to inquire into their qualifications and to cause others to be elected in the place of those who might be insufficiently qualified.⁴⁵

An inquisition was held at Brill in 1363, before William of Wykeham,⁴⁶ as to the pasture rights of the tenants of Brill, Boarstall, and Oakley, when it was held that they had rights of depasturing their cattle through the whole forest, save in the haye (or park) of Ixhull, without molestation except in the fence month. In the following year an inquisition was held at Headington, before Peter Atte Wood, deputy of William of Wykeham, as to the condition of the whole forest of Bernwood.⁴⁷

There is an original inquisition as to the state of the Buckinghamshire division of Bernwood Forest at the Public Record Office, held in the year 1377, with the rows of small imitative seals

³⁶ Inq. p.m. 50 Hen. III, No. 25.

³⁷ Misc. Chan. Forest Proc. bdle. 11, file 3 (22).

³⁸ Close, 14 Edw. I, m. 8 d.; 15 Edw. I, m. 5 d.

³⁹ Ibid. 5 Edw. I, mm. 11, 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 20 Edw. I, m. 9.

⁴¹ Pat. 20 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁴² Close, 22 Edw. I, m. 9.

⁴³ Ibid. 25 Edw. I, m. 4 d.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 28 Edw. I, m. 4.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 2 Edw. III, m. 27.

⁴⁶ This was the great William of Wykeham, who became bishop of Winchester in 1367. His appointment as warden of Bernwood Forest is not named by any of his biographers.

⁴⁷ Kennet, *Paroch. Antiq.* ii, 146.

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of the jury still pendent on tags of the parchment. But there was nothing to report of any moment, and it is a mere formal return, seven lines in length.⁴⁸

In July, 1489, Forest Pleas were held at Buckingham before Sir John Ratcliff and Sir Reginald Gray. There were ninety-seven presentments, and fines were inflicted varying from half a mark to 100s. The offences included the killing of several fallow deer, and in two cases of red deer, also of wholesale game hunting with bows and arrows and cross-bows (*balistis ac quarellis*) by a large company chiefly from Nottinghamshire and other counties. The vert presentments numbered 117, the fines varying from one to two shillings; in seven of these cases an alibi was established, and nine were excused fines on the score of poverty. William Rede was presented for having kept a coppice closed for seven years which ought to lie open, to the great hurt of the king's deer. Among those claiming chartered liberties in the Buckinghamshire forests were the abbots of Osney and Nutley, the prior of Frideswide, the prioress of Studley, and the provost of Oriel College.⁴⁹

The dissolution of the monasteries was, in Buckinghamshire as elsewhere, sadly disastrous to the woodlands of the county. In 1541, commissioners were appointed to regulate the sales of the coppices of Bundon and Echyllthorn at Horwood, in Whaddon Chase, late the property of St. Alban's Abbey. At the same time other commissioners were appointed for the sale of Honers Wood, late the property of Missenden Abbey.⁵⁰

The priory of Tickford, Newport Pagnel, was surrendered to Wolsey in 1525, but on the cardinal's fall came to the crown, when the lands surrounding the house were turned into a deer park.

A certificate was presented by Thomas Tavener and Robert King, 'presevators of the Queenes Majesties woods within her highness Parkes of Tyckford and Hanslopp,' as to the felling of woods and trespasses done in the years 1587-8. In January, 1587, there was a sale in Tickford Park of underwood, when six trees were taken out of the coppice, valued at £4, without the leave of the woodward or his deputy. George Annesley, the park keeper, was charged with selling forty loads of 'Browse wood' (winter food for deer) at 5d. a load, amounting to the sum of £10, and also with damaging the newly-cut coppice by turning into it horses and colts, and by mowing divers places, amounting to a loss valued at £13 6s. 8d. The preservators recommended that a sale should shortly be made, for the benefit of the crown, of two or three hundred trees, which could well

be spared in Newton Pagnel, the Mersh End, and Tickford.⁵¹

In the reign of James I Bernwood Forest, Shotover, and Stowood, were required to furnish timber for the Royal Navy, and a pretty quarrel arose between the shipwrights sent to the forest and the keepers and other officials as to the proper ownership of certain perquisites, the chips 'which fall out to be made in the squaring and sising of the tymber.' These the representatives of the Navy claimed as 'a fee and dutie ever belonging to them in all places where they have been ymployed in like servuice and never challenged from them untill nowe.' The keepers, always keen on making a profit from the sale of wood, naturally took a different view, and the matter was referred to London. The authorities, favouring the claim of the shipwrights, Peter Pett⁵² and Daniel Duck, decided that they should not be robbed of what was certainly 'the proceed of theire owne worke and labour and yeeldyng no browse for the deere, to give colour of claime to the kepers,' with the result that a warrant to this effect was issued to John Denham, farmer of the forest of Bernwood.⁵³

A commission was issued in 1623 for the disafforesting of Bernwood. Sir John Dormer and the other commissioners allotted to every freeholder in the forest in the proportion of 10 acres for every 100 acres, as well as 230 acres for the poor of the district in the counties of Bucks and Oxon. But a dispute arose as to the proportions, and a jury was summoned in the following year to set out the allotments. A bill, however, was filed in chancery, and judgement was declared in 1632, whereby the forest tenants of the two counties obtained the allotment of 577½ acres, leaving 1,397½ acres to the crown.⁵⁴

Not only was the forest law in operation, in however modified a form, in Bernwood Forest proper until the end of the reign of James I, but occasional swainmote courts were held outside its boundaries, as, for example, in Whaddon Chase, as late as the reign of Henry VIII. The general history of this chase is indeed of considerable interest.

The entries in Domesday Book are decisive as to the well-wooded character of Whaddon and the neighbouring manors,⁵⁵ and at a very early period Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham,⁵⁶ granted to the priory of St. Faith at Longueville all Horwood, except the fee of Durand, with tithes of wood, pannage, fishpool, and all

⁴⁸ Forest Proc. K.R. bdle. 1, No. 9.

⁴⁹ Exch. Accts. Forest Proc. K.R. bdle. 1, No. 10.

⁵⁰ Accts. Exch. bdle. 149, Nos. 1, 2.

⁵¹ Ibid. bdle. 557, No. 13.

⁵² One of the famous family whose history is traced in the *Ancestor*, x, 147.

⁵³ S.P. Dom. Jas. I, lxxx, 54; cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Jas. I* (1611-18), pp. 85, 125.

⁵⁴ Lipscombe, *Bucks*, i, 53-4.

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks*, i. For the account of Whaddon Chase Mr. C. H. Vellacott is responsible.

⁵⁶ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 75.

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the profits of his wood at Whaddon. And these privileges and quittances in the wood of Whaddon, together with all the assarts of the monks in his wood of Horwood, were confirmed to them about a century later by William de Humetis,⁵⁷ Constable of Normandy, to whom the manor of Whaddon, detached from the honour of Giffard, had been granted. As part of the land of the Normans Whaddon came to the king's hands in the reign of King John, but was soon granted to William D'Albini.⁵⁸ On the accession of Henry III William Marshall for a time retained Whaddon, but it was ultimately restored on his death to the earl of Arundel, passed in natural course to his brother, Hugh D'Albini, and on his decease in 1241, since he was the last male heir of the grantee, again reverted to the crown.

The woodland and wild heath appendent to the manor of Whaddon were at this time part⁵⁹ of the royal forest of Buckinghamshire, which had been extended to cover nearly the whole of the county. In the year following the death of Hugh D'Albini the manor of Whaddon with its woodlands was granted to John Fitz Geoffrey, a son by his second wife of Geoffrey Fitz Peter, late earl of Essex.⁶⁰ The coveted game preserves were now vested in a subject, but as we learn from an argument⁶¹ in a lawsuit of the following reign certain incidents of forest law still remained :—

King Henry granted and gave it to us to hold it as a chase in the same manner as he held while it was a royal forest ; and we have three swainmotes yearly for searching and enquiring whether any one puts more beasts therein than he ought to put.

There is also ample evidence⁶² that the business of this court was by no means confined even at a very much later period to merely regulating the rights of common.

John Fitz John, son of the grantee of 1242, seems to have still further enlarged the borders of the chase by acquiring from the abbot of St. Albans his hunting-rights in Abbot's Wood in Little Horwood, under the reservation that the abbot should be free to hunt in this wood on four days in the year, namely, two at Holy Rood

Day, and two at Candlemas.⁶³ It is possible also that the woodland of Great Horwood granted to St. Faith's, Longueville, and attached to its cell, the alien priory of Newton Longville, were also claimed at this time by the lord of Whaddon as in some sort a parcel of the chase.⁶⁴

The importance of Whaddon as a hunting centre is borne out by certain of the tenures met with both on it and the adjacent manors. The custody of the chase of Whaddon was held in fee by the Giffard family. Early in the reign of Edward I Robert Giffard is returned⁶⁵ as holding 1½ virgates by petty serjeanty 'per quam custodit silvam domini,' paying 3d. a year and rendering certain customary services. He has also housbote and heybote in the lord's wood, and his beasts (*averia*) go with his lord's to pasture 'exceptis parco et prato non falcato.' Here we have perhaps the earliest mention of the lord's park as distinct from the chase generally. Again, in a deed⁶⁶ of 1318, we hear of John Giffard, keeper of the chase of Whaddon (*custodi chacie de Whaddon*), in connexion with a certain 'placea vasti infra chaciam' granted and leased to him by Robert de Montalt and the Lady Emma his wife, who held the chase in dower as the widow of Richard⁶⁷ Fitz John. The right of Giffard to inclose this land *saepibus et hais* is conceded by the prior of Snelshall, who probably had some claim to common therein. The custody of the chase remained with the Giffards till the second half of the fifteenth century, when an heiress carried it in marriage to Robert Pigott, who is said to have been a Yorkshireman and a follower of Queen Margaret.⁶⁸

Besides the keeper of the chase other tenants⁶⁹ held land in Whaddon by services in connexion with its woodland during the thirteenth century, while one tenement, which early in the reign of Edward I had escheated to Richard Fitz John, had formerly been enjoyed by Ralf le Appelgart by the service of holding a leash of greyhounds when the lord of Whaddon wished to hunt. Even Sir John Passelewe held half a virgate in

⁵⁷ *Hund. R.* ii, 338b.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Hund. R.* ii, 338, *liberam chaciam in Horewood*. In the late fifteenth century this claim was set up by the lord, but the swainmote juries denied it and asserted that the Prior's Wood (then belonging to New College) was purlieu.

⁵⁹ *Hund. R.* ii, 336b. This Robert Giffard was the son of Geoffrey. Both father and son witness a charter of Paul Peiuere to John, prior of Snelshall, and his monks, about the middle of the thirteenth century. B.M. Add. Chart. 53786.

⁶⁰ Cart. of Snelshall, B.M. Add. MSS. 37068, fol. 38 d.

⁶¹ Brother of John Fitz John. The reversion was vested in Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught. Cart. of Snelshall, ut sup. fol. 38 d.

⁶² Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks*, i, 405.

⁶³ Richard de Admodesham and Hamo le Blake.

⁶⁷ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 78.

⁶⁸ He was remembered there as having granted half a virgate in almoyn to the hermit of Codemor, *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 336b, and a meadow at Whaddon was known in 1318 as the 'Heremitesmede' (Cart. of Snelshall, B.M. Add. MSS. 37068, fol. 38 d.). In Tudor times one 'walk' or section of Whaddon Chase bore the name of Codemore Quarter.

⁶⁹ *Year Books of 21, 22 Edw. I* (Rolls Ser.), 622, et seq.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* ; cf. *Plac. De Quo Warr.* 94, 95.

⁷¹ *Year Books*, ut sup. ; cf. Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc.).

⁷² Ct. R. P.R.O. bdle. 155, No. 29.

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Mursley appurtenant to Whaddon by a similar service to be performed at Winslow bridge.⁷⁰

There seems to be evidence⁷¹ that John Fitz John and his brother and successor used their privileges of chase to the utmost, to the annoyance of their weaker neighbours. The men of Mursley hundred declared in 1276 that John FitzJohn 'appropriavit sibi liberas chacias,' which may suggest that he was claiming rights of chase in that part of Shenley known as Westbury, which in 1086 had belonged to Richard Engaine. Furthermore, it was subject of complaint that Robert Giffard, Peter the Forester, and Robert Stort, bailiffs of Lord John FitzJohn, had imprisoned William Popping and Richard le Noreys, servants of Thierry le Alemaund, apparently to extort money. At the very end of the century Richard FitzJohn was fighting a case in the courts arising out of his seizure of the beasts of Robert FitzNeal in the Abbot's Wood.⁷²

From that time until the fifteenth century, in the absence of the swainmote rolls, we have only occasional allusions to the chase of Whaddon, notices of the hereditary keepers the Giffards and other officers,⁷³ or warrants for the taking of deer⁷⁴ when the chase and park of Whaddon for any reason was in the king's hands.

Richard, duke of York, to whom Whaddon and its chase had come with the lands and titles of the earls of Ulster, fell at Wakefield in 1460. Cecily his widow survived him, and her dower in Whaddon was assured by letters patent from Henry VI, successively confirmed by her sons Edward IV and Richard III. She died seised of Whaddon in 1495, but already in the seventh year of his reign Henry VII had granted the reversion of the manor and chase to his queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV and granddaughter of the duchess dowager of York.

As already stated, the heiress of the Giffards had married a Mr. Pigott, a north countryman, and brought him the hereditary keepership of the chase, which descended to his son Thomas Pigott, afterwards serjeant-at-law. Mr. Pigott appears to have been keen in his maintenance of the rights of his office and the claims of his mistress in the chase, and met with considerable opposition from a gentleman of the neighbourhood, Thomas Stafford, Esq., of Tattenhoe. It is possible that during the early fifteenth century, and still more during the troubled times of the Wars of the Roses, the chase had not been strictly guarded, its exact bounds had become matter of dispute, inclosures and purprestures

had been made, and in consequence Mr. Pigott set himself to find a remedy.

However this may be, in the spring⁷⁵ of 1494 there was held at Whaddon, in the churchyard, a 'syttynge' or court of the forest,⁷⁶ under the presidency of Sir Rainold Bray, one of the justices of the forest south of Trent. Not only were 'the chief of the counsaile' with Sir Rainold, but the Buckinghamshire gentry mustered in force, 'both my Lorde Grey, Sir Thomas Grene and Mr. Emson and many mo.' And, proceeds the local account, 'all the olde men of the comon were then brought in that al that day by the mynde of Mr. Stafford and Mr. Pigot which stryved for the chace grownde and the purlews and for ingrement to be had there.' About the original chase of Whaddon proper there was no dispute. When its bounds had been recited, Sir Rainold Bray required of the jurors 'what more chace ground there was? To whom they answered and said, Thabbotes grownde is chace in a maner.' He then asked them 'What maner was that?' They answered, 'if the dutie be paid,' and this duty was 7 deer a year due to the abbot of St. Albans, part at midsummer on St. Alban's Day, and part at Christmas—possibly a commutation of the old reservation of four days' hunting a year. Its bounds were then set out.

After this Sir Rainold Bray demanded, 'What is there more of chace grownde?' and suggested that the Prior's Wood⁷⁷ should be included. But the jurors made answer and said 'they had nothing therewith to do,' and were similarly recalcitrant with regard to 'Nycols Wood' and 'Totnolbare.'⁷⁸ The justice then passed on to inquire of Abbots Mede and Pukpit Hill, and the reply that 'it is the demaine and belonging to Little Horwood' provoked the exclamation, 'Why, sires, will ye say that these be not chace growndes?' But the jury stubbornly adhered to their testimony. The only 'chace growndes' they knew were those which had been 'evermore usen.' Mr. Empson was then asked who owned the Prior's Wood. Mr. Pigott, however, answered, 'New College, Oxford.' But neither the master⁷⁹ nor his attorney

⁷⁰ *Invention of the Cross*, 9 Hen. VII.

⁷¹ For the popular account of this 'syttynge' see B.M. Add. MS. 37069, fol. 134^b et seq. A late and rather illegible copy of a swainmote roll for 9 Hen. VII, is extant, and this may be the official record of the court (B.M. Add. R. 53964). It contains a good deal of matter besides the recital of the bounds of the chase.

⁷² The wood formerly belonging to the alien priory of Newton Longville.

⁷³ i.e., Tattenhoe Bare. This was the site of the 'hog-sty' of Thomas Stafford, who apparently was regarded as the champion of popular rights.

⁷⁴ At a later court, about 1500, the abbot of St. Albans, New College, the prior of Snelshall, and Mr. Stafford were all represented by their attorneys. D. of Lanc. Forest Proc. bdle. 3, No. 24.

⁷⁰ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, ii, 336^b.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* i, 426.

⁷² *Year Books of 21-22 Edw. I*, ut sup.

⁷³ Nich. Knoll, late parker and surveyor of Whaddon Chase, Chan. Inq. p.m. 6 Ric. II (103)

⁷⁴ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. 8, m. 12. Edmund, E. of March, was at that time an infant.

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was present, and the justice decided 'We can do nothing to there grownde if they have no knowlege thereof; we sit here but as voyde for this mater.' As to the stubborn jury, he continued, 'I daresay these men ben good and true and a true verdyt they have brought, houbet they be not abull men to shew the kinge.' Therefore he ordered twelve neighbouring gentlemen to be 'paneld upon a quest,' who were to bring in their verdict by St. Bartholomew's Day next. According to the popular account we have been following, these gentlemen did not bring in their verdict nor were ever called so to do. 'So this matter standyth as it dyd before tyme which have ever be caled purlew grownde and it is no chace and never was.' The further business of this court as set out in what appears to be the official record⁸⁰ need not detain us further—details as to the deer, offences against customs of common, and such inclosures and purprestures as the flagrant instance of Mr. Stafford's 'Hoggesty.'

No other forest court seems to have been held in Whaddon for several years, but about 1500,⁸¹ and probably in the autumn, Mr. Pigott commanded 'another courte to be holden at Whaddon' and the old questions were, in part, thrashed out anew. He brought forward 'olde evidence,' and by reason thereof urged the jurors to declare Mursley Grove and Nicols Wood within the bounds of the chase. 'We never saw it,' they answered, 'ne yet our fathers before us, wherefore we will never gree thereto.' He then offered to ensure their legal immunity if they consented. Then made answer John Macke, the foreman of the quest, 'How will you bare us out if we fortune to be laid in prison?' and his fellows exclaimed 'all with hole voyce that they would never agree thereto but as there fathers dyd by olde tyme. Than he waxed angry and called them all churles and said, if he lyved, that he would quit them all there mede.'

Baffled on this point Mr. Pigott asked the the jurors whether they would direct that Mr. Stafford's hog-sty should be pulled down by a certain day. They answered all and said 'They would not meddle therewith; there they found it and there they would leave it.' This answer exhausted the hereditary keeper's patience. He ordered his clerk to take up the books and left the court-room. But when Mr. Pigott had reached the yard he turned again into the house and bade the steward 'to wryte at chace all that ever was within the bounds of the dicke,' and promised to bear him out. Further he ordered the steward

'lay £10 upon Mr. Stafforde's hed' that his hog-sty be pulled down by the Michaelmas following. Part of Mr. Stafford's offence, as appears from the presentments⁸² of the foresters in 14-15 Hen. VII, was his appointment of a swineherd who was not sworn 'to our Lord the King.' The hog-sty was situate at Tattenhoe Bare. He had also been guilty, during the years immediately preceding, of trespasses against the king's venison, having with others unknown slain a buck 'apud Snelleshale quarter' on 18 June, 12 Hen. VII, and similarly on 20 July, 14 Hen. VII, chased a doe at Salden Lays outside the bounds of the king's chase of Whaddon, but actually killed it at the Frith, which was within the bounds. Mr. Thomas Stafford was also a keen fox-hunter and 'usualiter de anno in annum' entered both park and chase in pursuit of his quarry. But it is clear that there was a considerable amount of poaching in the king's chase during the last years of the fifteenth century among the neighbouring residents, both high and low, from Marmaduke Constable, knight, who killed a 'pricket' at Westwood Hill, on 20 August, 13 Hen. VII, to Henry Chery of Fenny Stratford, yeoman, who on 26 August, two years later, entering the king's chase at the Frith, killed and carried away 'unam damam vocatam a tegge.' Besides the venison trespasses there were a number of interesting presentments as to common rights,⁸³ and a recital of the bounds of the chase proper which we can merely mention here.

So unsatisfactory had been Mr. Pigott's experience of courts in connexion with Whaddon chase,⁸⁴ that no other was held in his lifetime. He died a serjeant-at-law about 1520, leaving his second wife Elizabeth a widow. This redoubtable lady, who was the eldest coheiress⁸⁵ of John Iwardby of Great Missenden, had already been married to a Northamptonshire squire before her alliance with Mr. Thomas Pigott. On her second husband's death she found herself⁸⁶ in possession of the manor of Diddershall, which she had as her marriage-portion, and besides other property held the manor of Whaddon and the custody of the park and chase for the term of life with remainder to William Pigott her step-son. The timber and venison of the park and chase, with the exception of certain recognized perquisites, were apparently reserved to Queen Catherine, who had succeeded her mother-in-law in their enjoyment.

⁸⁰ D. of Lanc. Forest. Proc. (P.R.O.), bdle. 3, No. 19.

⁸¹ One complaint was that the warden of New College, Oxford, had inclosed the common at Prior's Wood to the extent of twenty acres.

⁸² None till 16 Hen. VIII, according to Add. MS. 37069. Possibly this is a scribe's mistake for 17 Hen. VIII.

⁸³ *Cal. Inq. p. m. Hen. VII.* Nos. 6 and 1080.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Rentals and Surveys* (P.R.O.), ptfo. 2, No. 7, and *Chan. Inq. p.m.* Ser. 2, 12 Hen. VIII, No. 1. Thomas Pygott.

⁸⁰ Assuming that the swainmote of 9 Hen. VII was the occasion of this 'Syttynge.' Unfortunately in Add. R. 53964, the portion of the date which would fix the exact month is illegible.

⁸¹ The popular account leaves the date vague. The time suggested is an inference from indications in D. of Lanc. Forest Proc., bdle. 3, No. 19, if, as is possible, the presentations there refer to this court.

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In spite of these reservations great waste was made in the woods after Serjeant Pigott's death, and it was probably on this account that a swainmote⁸⁷ was held at Whaddon just before Holy Rood Day, on 12 September, 17 Hen. VIII.

Thomas Wendilborough, the keeper of the park, deposed that a buck, a 'sore,' a 'sorell,' and certain 'rascalls' had died of murrain during the preceding year and 'are hanged upon the trees.' The two keepers of the chase, the keeper of the Prior's Wood, and the keeper of the Abbot's Wood also gave united testimony that a buck, a doe, and seven 'rascalls' had died of murrain in the chase during the same time, and their bodies were similarly exhibited. One poaching case in the queen's park was presented, Robert Spencer, gentleman, having been responsible for the death of a 'pricket' killed in the month of June previous to the holding of the court. Five persons were fined 2*d.* a piece for building and retaining hog-sties in the chase, while the keeper of the Abbot's Wood had made a 'park' within the chase and taken pannage and herbage in the wood aforesaid to the grave damage of the queen. In this last case the jury found that the queen had been wont time out of mind to have pannage and herbage, waif and stray, and all other liberties in the Abbot's Wood except such wood and underwood as was reserved for the Abbot's use. This matter was evidently regarded as of some importance and reserved for the consideration of the queen's councils. There had also been laxity as to the commoning of sheep,⁸⁸ and direction was given that the ancient customs relating thereto should be observed under a penalty of 4*od.* in each case of default. Furthermore, an entry as to common-rights relating to Newton Longville seems to indicate that in the abeyance of the regular swainmote these matters, as they affected the chase, were dealt with in the ordinary courts of the manor.

The most serious matter, however, which engaged the attention of this court was the waste of the vert both in the chase and park. The jury returned that since the death of Thomas Pigott 392 oaks and 18 ashes had been cut down, and more than 600 loads of underwood and 'top and lop' (*subbosci et rami*) carried off within the chase, as well as 137 oaks, 52 ashes, and 700 loads of underwood likewise wasted in the park. The underwood and 'top and lop' was valued at the rate of 6*d.* a load. Moreover, Mrs. Pigott had broken and destroyed the 'Capud Stagni vocatum le Newenton Pond-

hede' in the chase and taken out all the fish. The jury found that her late husband and his predecessors had always full fishing rights in the pool in question, but Mrs. Pigott, in utterly destroying the fish, had evidently exceeded her powers, and she was ordered to repair the pond-head and re-stock it.

A final presentment was made as to the parties responsible for the keeping up of the boundary or fence of the chase.⁸⁹

A year or more later we have further evidence of Mrs. Pigott's reckless proceedings in certain articles⁹⁰ exhibited against her 'for wastes and destruccions by her and her keepers done within the Queen's Chase and Park of Whaddon' from the time of her husband's death till Michaelmas, 18 Hen. VIII. The trees felled are there estimated at 600. Some of these were sold at 10*s.* a piece, others carried to Doddershall for the building of her new house there, while of four wood-sales in Nicols Wood and the sale of Lusshepytt and the Frith coppices she had rendered no account. The underwood felled was estimated as previously at 1,300 loads and much more, and the destruction had continued since the queen was last at Whaddon.⁹¹

The slaughter done amongst the queen's deer was even more serious. In one year only, from Holy Rood Day, 17 Hen. VIII, to the same date in the following year, more than sixty deer had been killed in the chase, and in the 'grece tyme' last past the keepers had killed at least twenty, which was a very grievous offence. Nine or ten fawns had been given to various persons, and the keeper of the park had sent to his 'fryndes dyverse dere in sakkys.' Indeed the 'said Elizabeth destroyed so largely the Quenys Grace' seid dere that sumtyme she fedd her houshold with them,' and venison, it was reported, was the chief victual of the keepers on the flesh days. What action was taken by the crown on these revelations does not appear, but there is some reason to believe that greater strictness was observed during the next few years in safeguarding the woodland and the venison at Whaddon.

⁸⁷ Quod prior de Snellyshale debet facere bundam de le Chace a Shepcotte Yate usque Angulum de le Oxlesse et ab Angulo de le Oxlesse usque Hacche Yate. Johannes Hampden miles debet facere a Hacche Yate usque clausum dicti prioris et a dicto clauso prior debet facere usque Totnolandend. Et villata de Totnolandende a dicto clauso usque Ryngforde Yate. Et a Ryngforde usque Crabtre Yate domina Regina debet facere. Et a Crabtre Yate usque Cakefote Yate Horwode Parva debet facere. Et a Cakefote Yate usque finem bosci de Horwode villata de Horwode Magna debet facere. Et a dicto fine bosci usque Oldefeld Corner villata de Sykylburgh debet facere. Et a Oldefelde Corner usque Lionelles Holles villata de Nasche debet facere.

⁸⁸ Forest Proc. K.R. bdle. 1, No. 11.

⁹¹ The date of this is not stated. It may have synchronized with the swainmote already referred to.

⁸⁷ Court Rolls (P.R.O.), bdle. 155, No. 29.

⁸⁸ This was a frequent bone of contention during the early seventeenth century in forests and chases; cf. *V.C.H. Essex*, ii; *V.C.H. Glouc.* ii, 'Forestry.' As regards Whaddon Chases especially, we know from other sources that 'Sheep were not to be allowed unfolded in the wood commons.' B.M. Add. MS. 37069, fol. 147.

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At the very close of her life Mrs. Pigott was engaged in litigation in the Court of Augmentations,⁹² and we hear incidentally that the king, being seised of the park and chase on the death of Queen Jane Seymour, had in July of his thirty-second year granted her a lease under certain conditions. In 1548 she made her will and shortly after died and was buried at Whaddon, Giffard's manor passing by sale after her death to the Greys of Wilton, and with it the hereditary custody of the park and chase and the keepership of the game.⁹³

The later history of the chase cannot be dealt with in detail here, but a few notes may be allowed as to the gradual deterioration of its woodland. It is doubtful whether any swainmote courts were held in the chase after the reign of Henry VIII, but under Elizabeth inquiries were made as to the state of the woodland. It was found by one of these that Woodpond Coppice, containing fifty acres, was sold by Mr. Sylvester Taverner,

sythe the begynning of the raigyn of Quyne Mary and also Nycolls Wood, containing 30 acres, was sold by one Vaghan sarvante to the olde Earl of Sussex and by William Cottesford and also they solde five score trees owte of the same wood imedyatly after the vnderwood was gone and every tree was worthe 20d. Also Mr. Hamden, Clarke of the Quen's Majestys Kytchen, had for the reparatyon of Kyrslloo 40 okes by the Quynes warrant dated the 19 Feb. 2 Eliz. Also he had 20 okes for Kyrslloo aforsayd by Quynes warrant 24 May 1560.

Other grants are mentioned, and as to apparently unauthorized waste,

the olde Lord Grey of Wylton sold 20 lodes of fyre wode yearlye for the space of 10 yeaes for 20s. by the yeaere. Also we fynde three rydynges made in the chase by Mr. Thomas Wake lyeftenaunt there conteynyn 3 acres,

and so the tale continues of the ill custody of the vert by its sworn guardians. It is noted that Woodpond Coppice 'being fyrewoode was 40 years' growth when it was fallen, Nycoll's Wood being fyrewood was 21 years' growth.' The other wood was partly 'firewood' and partly timber.⁹⁴ It must also be remembered that the recognized rights of commoners⁹⁵ and others entitled to perquisites were liable to serious abuse and no doubt contributed to the gradual deterioration of the chase at the time.

⁹² Aug. Proc. (P.R.O.), bdle. 14, No. 25.

⁹³ Add. MS. 37069, fol. 140, Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks*, iii, 498; F. of Fines, Bucks. Trin. 5 Edw. VI.

⁹⁴ Add. MS. 37069, fol. 144.

⁹⁵ 'Also the comyners that boundes upon the chassee do clayme and hath had tyme owte of mynde sufficient hedge boote owt of the Chassee to repayre the Chassee mownde, as oft as need dyd require,' while certain wood rights were claimed by Lord Grey, Mr. Percival Jefferson, the farmer of Snelshall, the 'baylye of Wynsloo' and others. Add. MS. 37069, fol. 144b.

Towards the end of the month of March, 1594, Sir John Fortescue wrote on behalf of the queen to Thomas Fortescue, His Majesty's Surveyor of Lands in Buckinghamshire, and to Thomas Stafford and Edward Walter, Her Majesty's Woodwards, that he was informed that a great deal of the paling and rails of Whaddon Park was blown down and utterly decayed. Repairs must be taken in hand lest 'her Majestie's deer breake forth to the decaie of the game there.' The timber necessary could be felled in the park itself, while the top and lop might be sold and the money applied to meet the necessary expenses.⁹⁶

In the autumn of the same year, after the death of Mr. John Savage, lieutenant of the chase, orders were ratified by the Lady Sybil Grey as to the perquisites of the officers. The lieutenant was to have one buck and one doe each year with all waifs and strays and the dead hedges of every coppice, beside all windfalls in the chase above a load, and six loads for fuel, while a certain number of loads of wood were to be allotted yearly to the other officers who were under the general charge of Mr. Underwood, apparently the senior keeper.⁹⁷ Fees of all the deer in the park were to belong to the keeper of the park only, but 'all the other keepers in the chace to haue all the fees of the deare killed every man alyke in his turne.' No browsewood should be sold except in one special case four loads a year, and it was further directed for the protection of the young trees that

no horse or geldyng be suffered to goe into any coppice there till it shall be 8 or 9 yeres growth without they be tied in any playne where no wood is growyng.

In the early years of the next reign considerable attention was directed to the woods and forests of the crown, and about 1608 a survey⁹⁸ was made of several extents of woodland in Buckinghamshire and along the Northampton border, including 'Whaddon Chase and Parke parcell of the Queenes Maiesties joynture and Abbottes woodes late the Lord Grayes not in her Maiesties joynture.' As a result of this survey 328 trees were sold for the sum of £517 7s. 4d. Of these the park furnished forty-two and Abbots Wood eighty-five, the rest belonging to the chase proper.⁹⁹

But the middle of the seventeenth century saw the most serious destruction of the timber in the

⁹⁶ Add. MS. 37069, fol. 199.

⁹⁷ The park-keeper was apparently Thomas Peers. There seem to have been four keepers in the chase, William Underwood, Richard Smyth, John Maynard, and John Brown, besides William Lorde, in charge of 'Shucklo Warren,' and John Cartwrich, the woodward.

⁹⁸ P.R.O. Exch. Spec. Com. 7107.

⁹⁹ For a later sale of dottard trees in the reign of James I see Egerton MS. 808, fol. 3 et seq.

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chase, which was at this time in the hands of the duke of Buckingham. In 1649 and 1651 Parliament¹⁰⁰ ordered that £3,000 should be raised by felling wood in Whaddon Chase to meet the expenses of the garrison of Windsor and for other purposes, and this was accordingly carried out, while the encumbered condition of the Villiers estates after the Civil War invited further waste, and Catherine, duchess of Buckingham, converted the park into pasture and tillage in the reign of Charles II.

A lamentable picture of the state of the woodlands¹⁰¹ is drawn at the end of the next century by the reporters to the Board of Agriculture.

Whaddon Chase was then divided into several coppices, covering about 22,000 acres, part of which was shut up for a certain number of years, usually nine, and then laid open to the deer as well as to the commoners for twelve years. The coppices produced large oak, ash, and other timber as well as underwood, 'but from the custom of the deer and the commoners' cattle being suffered to depasture thereon unlimitedly, the young timber is at this time totally destroyed.' The reporters proceed to point out that if the deer were confined to one spot and the chase and commons divided among the parties interested,

it would be a very important advantage gained to the proprietors, and a great national benefit, inasmuch as the growth of oak and other timber would be encouraged.

They further state that

large sticks have formerly been sold from this chase for upwards of ten pounds per tree; it is therefore the more to be deplored, that the young timber should be so continually destroyed, the land being so well adapted to its growth.

From a further report¹⁰² by the Rev. St. John Priest to the Board of Agriculture in 1813 we learn that the coppices were twenty-eight in number, of which twenty-one belonged to Mr. Selby of Winslow and the rest to New College. Besides the chase proper, he mentions certain 'busky-leys' which 'are somewhat of the same nature, except that they have not been the property of the Crown as Chaces have.' The recommendations made to the Board of Agriculture in 1794 did not bear immediate fruit, as the deer were still allowed to roam at large over the chase for between forty and fifty years longer before they were finally limited to the inclosure of the park.

The General View of the Agriculture of the County of Buckingham, drawn up in 1794, by Messrs. James and Malcolm, has already been

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. Comp. Gen. Proc.* 376, 484, 520, 556, and *S. P. Dom. Intert.* cxxx, 10, 52.

¹⁰¹ James and Malcolm, *Gen. View Agric. Bucks.* (1794), 42.

¹⁰² *Op. cit.* 26, 27.

referred to in connexion with Whaddon Chase. This comparatively brief reference to woods and woodlands stated, at the outset, that from Marlow to Fingest, and through that district bounded by the London and Oxford road on the south and the Thames on the north, one sixth part of the land was covered with beechwood, 'which may yield a profit of from 14s. to 20s. per acre per annum.' The woods required but little attention, as the old trees shed a sufficient quantity of seed to keep up a constant supply of young plants. In the parish of Wycombe there were 700 acres of common beech woodland. In the neighbourhood of Chesham, the large thriving beech woods were under good management. There were also particularly fine woods of beech growing upon the chalk in the parish of Amersham. Mention is made of the large amount of planting, chiefly with Scotch firs, which had recently been undertaken on the heaths in the parishes of Wavendon and Brickhill, which was in a very thriving state.

Mr. Priest, in the tenth chapter of his report of 1813, deals particularly with woods and plantations. It is there stated that the Whaddon coppices were sold as firewood and also for fences; the faggot wood at 24s. per hundred, viz. 120 faggots. The thorns were sold not only for fences but also to fill up underdrains, and for that purpose were carried many miles. At Hillesden Wood, seven or eight acres were felled once in twelve years, and at Emberton, where there were about eighty acres of wood, six were felled yearly. There were 140 acres of copse wood at Stoke Goldington. On many farms strips were set aside to grow fallows, ashes, and elms to serve as stuff for hurdles.

The Chiltern Hills, particularly at West Wycombe, are mentioned as abounding in low-growing junipers. Beech is named as by far the most abundant wood in the county, and in general use for the manufacture of chairs. Beech wood is sold at from 15d. to 17d. a foot. The beech wood was exceptionally beautiful at Shardlow, where Mr. Drake had one beech which was perfectly straight and 75 ft. in height up to the first bough. The girth, two feet from the ground, was 7 ft. 8 in., and it was estimated to contain 229 ft. of timber.

The timber of Ashridge Park is described as noteworthy, and the measurements are given of several oak and beech trees.

There are some interesting comments offered upon the growth of trees, owing to the difference of soil above and below the Icknield-way. The beech, ash, larch, and fir are stated not to flourish below the Icknield-way, whilst all other trees, such as oaks, elms, horse-chestnuts, and whitethorn were very promising. A remarkable old oak is named at Thornton, which was quite hollow and capable of containing seventeen persons; it had a girth at the roots of 45 ft.

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As to the numerous old-established private parks of Buckinghamshire, apart from royal forests, abounding in fine timber and well stocked with deer, much information has already been recorded of Ashridge Park (chiefly in Hertfordshire), of Fawley Court Park (partly in Oxfordshire), as well as of the historic parks of Biddlesden, Bulstrode, Claydon, Ditton, Doddershall, Hartwell, Langleigh, Stoke, Stowe, Thornton, Turville, Whaddon, and West Wycombe.¹⁰⁸

Langleigh Park, of 383 acres, is well timbered with oak; to the north of the park is a large tract of woodland, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by three-quarters of a mile broad, appropriately termed the Black Park, which is covered with Scotch firs; it was originally planted about the middle of the seventeenth century, but the greater part of it is self-sown.

There are several parks in the county which are not deer-stocked, but are quite noteworthy for their fine timber: three of the best examples are Butler's Court, Beaconsfield, of 400 acres; Gayhurst Park of 250 acres; and Hughenden Manor House of 140 acres.

The county affords instances of an exceptional number of fine avenues of diversified interest. To gain the noble park of Stowe from Buckingham, an avenue of trees two miles in length has to be traversed. Thornton Hall, with a park of 181 acres, has a good avenue of elms. At Taplow Court there is a long avenue of well-grown cedars of Lebanon. Wavendon House has a fine elm avenue, half-a-mile in length; whilst Wavendon Tower has an avenue of limes and horse-chestnuts. At Yewdon Manor, Hambleton, there is an ancient avenue of yews. A singularly fine yew hedge is also worth noting at Remnantz, Great Marlow. The somewhat wild avenue of beech and Spanish chestnuts at Great Hampden is of historic interest.

Some of the finest beech trees of the county are in the grounds of Hampden House; and excellent examples will also be found in the beautifully diversified grounds near Chesham. At Burnham Beeches, in the south of the county—a beautiful remnant of English woodland scenery, purchased by the corporation of the City of London, under the provisions of the Open Spaces Act of 1878—there are numbers of great mutilated, but picturesque beeches, pollarded in early days.

The ash is widely distributed throughout the county, but chiefly in the shape of hedgerow timber.

The woods of the north of the county are chiefly oak with an undergrowth in which the sloe largely predominates, and the crab-apple is not infrequent. There are large plantations of pine and larch at Brickhill. Throughout the Thames Valley wych elm as well as common elm is numerous, and frequently attains to a great size. In the south of the county the black poplar is fairly common. On the chalk, the yew, juniper and holly are frequent, though usually in stunted forms. The box flourishes and is probably indigenous on the northern chalk escarpment, especially in the neighbourhood of Ellesborough. The hornbeam is perhaps commoner in Buckinghamshire than in any other county, particularly on the eastern border; and the maple sometimes grows to a fair size, especially about Moulsoe.

The recent official agricultural returns testify in a remarkable manner to the steady growth of England's woodlands during the last quarter of a century, owing to the greater attention that has been given to the whole subject of arboriculture. During the ten years between 1895 and 1905 the total area of the woodlands of England and Wales has increased by 52,483 acres. Of this increase Buckinghamshire has had its full share. The woodland area of this county was 29,421 acres in 1888; 30,732 in 1891; 32,125 in 1895; and 34,548 in 1905. The return of 1905 divides the woodlands into three classes; (1) the coppice, under which head are included all that springs up again from the old stools after periodical felling; (2) the plantations, under which are reckoned all that has been planted or replanted within the last fifteen years; and (3) other woods. The Buckinghamshire total includes 4,586 acres of coppice and 1,322 acres of plantation.

The recent considerable increase in the woodland of this county is doubtless due, as elsewhere, to no small extent to what has been termed the luxurious value of forest trees and coverts on the larger estates; that is to say, to the beauty of woodland landscape and to planting as an assistance in the maintenance of game. But, at the same time, some portion of the Buckinghamshire increase is doubtless due to the commercial value of beechwood in general turnery, and more especially in the manufacture of chairs.

¹⁰⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 172-5.

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INTRODUCTION

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE is for historical purposes a single-school county. The Grammar School of the Royal College of the Blessed Mary of Eton by Windsor bulks as largely in the sphere of records in the past as it does in the world of education to-day. The other grammar schools of the county have been deprived, by the carelessness, or worse, of their parents and guardians, of all their early history, as in later times they were of their proper status, until restored by the Endowed Schools Acts and the Charity Commissioners. It is incredible that in a county like Buckinghamshire grammar schools should begin in the year 1440. But this date, the date of the first foundation of Eton College, is in the present state of knowledge the earliest to which we can definitely assign any educational foundation in the county. It cannot really be the case that Buckingham, or High, otherwise Chepping, Wycombe, or Newport Pagnell, or Aylesbury, were without grammar schools till the middle of the 16th century. But as things stand, though it may be suspected, it cannot be proved that they did possess them.¹ The only grammar school besides Eton which can be proved to have existed in the county before the Reformation is one, long extinct, at Thornton. This was founded by one of two brothers who both bore the same name, that of John Barton. The elder was a successful lawyer and Recorder of London. Presumably he had come from Buckingham, which county he represented in Parliament in 1397, as by his will, 5 June 1431,² he directed his body to be buried in St. Peter's Church in St. Rombald's aisle, and gave 40s. to the Hospital of St. Thomas Becket, called of Acon, London, to pray for his soul, and all his lands to his brother, John Barton, junior, on condition of maintaining a chantry chaplain for his and his parents' souls, to be appointed by the master of the aforesaid hospital. These

¹ While this was passing through the press, the proof as to Buckingham School has been found. In a rental of John Barton (probably the elder of the two mentioned below) of his lands in Buckingham at Micheldmas, 1423, the first item is: 'Of the school-master (*de magistro scholarum*) 40d.' at each of the four terms of the year, or 13s. 4d. a year (B.M. Laned. Chart. 572).

² Browne Willis, *Hist. Bucks.* 54.

lands appear to have included the manor of Thornton, conveyed to the two Bartons and others in 1414.³ John Barton, junior, also founded, or refounded, a chantry, which had originally been founded in 1344 by his predecessor in title, John le Chastillon, with licence from the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Buckinghamshire was, the chantry chapel being the chancel of the church. Barton directed this,⁴ by his will in 1443, to be rebuilt, and there he and his wife still lie in effigy on an altar tomb. The new foundation was either not completed at the time, or else, being founded under licence from Henry VI, it was thought prudent to re-found it, under a licence from Edward IV. He on 8 July 1468⁵ granted the necessary permission, at the request of Thomas Littleton, 'Littleton on tenures,' Lord Chief Justice, and other feoffees for Isabel the widow of John Barton, who had become Isabel Shottesbrook, to Robert Ingilton, who had bought from them the manor of Thornton. In consequence the Chantry Commissioners of Henry VIII⁶ reported it as—

Barton's Chauntrye, founded by Roberte Ingleton, to the intente to fynde a prieste for euer. And that the said prieste shalle gyve yearly to 6 poore folkes contynually 6d. the weke for euery of theyme. And to gyve for the lyuerey of 6 poore children euerye yeare to euerye of theyme 4s. And also the said prieste to teache the children of the said towne. The said chauntrye . . . is obserued accordynge to the foundacyone. . . . And so is verye necessarye. . . . Yerly value £21 11s. 6d. [Outgoings] 59s. 5½d., and so Remayneth for the accustomed paymentes as is before mencyoned, viz. for the priestes salary, £9 12s. 0½d.; in almesse to 6 poore folkes, £7 16s.; and to 6 poore childeren, 24s.; in all, £18 12s. 0½d. William Abbotte, Incumbent there.

There was besides 'a mansyone house,' but this had for 14 or 15 years been in the hands of Humfray Tirrell, whose family had succeeded the successors of the Bartons.

The Chantry Certificate of Edward VI⁸ gave the additional information that Sir William Abbot, the chantry priest, now 'of the age of 60 years, having none other promociion, but onelie that,

³ Ibid. 295.

⁴ Part of his will is given in Browne Willis, *op. cit.* 301.

⁵ Pat. 8 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁶ Chant. Cert. 4, no. 10; printed in A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reform.* 14.

⁸ Ibid. 15.

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whoo hath doune heretofore, and yett doth, teach a Free Schole of grammer according to the Foundation of the same.' The pension certificate founded on it gave the net income of the incumbent as £10 8s. 0½d. A note adds: '*Continuatur the schole quousque.*'⁷ Accordingly, by a warrant signed 20 July 1548 by Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway, the two officers of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of the Crown accruing from the dissolutions of monasteries and chantries, appointed to make provision for the continuance of the schools and payments to poor people, the school and the alms were continued. 'Forasmuche as it appearith by the certificate of the particular surveyer of landes of the said courte in the saide countie that a grammer schole hath been contynuallie kept in Thornteton . . . with the revenues of the late chauntry of our ladye there. . . Wee therefore . . . haue assigned and appoynted that the saide grammer schole shall contynewe, and that William Abbot, scholemaster there, shall haue and enjoye the rome of scholemaster there, and shall have for his wages yerelie £10 8s. 0½d.' The receiver of the Crown rents in the courts was required to pay the income accordingly.

It is clear, therefore, that this foundation, three years later than that of Eton, was a small Eton with such difference in size as was proportionate to the riches of a recorder as compared with the resources of a monarch. But all the essential items were the same—the masses for the founder's soul, the grammar school, free like that of Eton for all children of the town or oppidans, without payment of fees, the special provision of scholars on the foundation, and the almsfolk. Only whereas at Eton the masses were to be said by a provost and 10 fellows and 10 chaplains, and quite independent of the master who taught the school, at Thornteton the chaplain and the master were one person; and the 70 scholars at Eton, boarded and lodged as well as clothed were represented by 6 who only received their livery, i.e. clothes; and the 13 almsfolk, lodged, clothed, and boarded with stipends of £3 os. 8d. a year, were represented only by 6 almsfolk paid 6d. a week, or less than 'a penny a day, because they can't run any faster.' To complete the resemblance, the foundation was remade in the reign of Edward IV; and as at Eton King Edward was substituted as founder for King Henry, so the Edwardian lord of the manor, Ingleton, was credited with Barton's foundation.

The school was accordingly continued. The Augmentation Office Accounts show that William Abbot was duly paid his salary. The receiver

yearly accounts⁸ for '£7 16s. cash paid to the six poor, and in like cash (*denariis*) paid to William Abbot, schoolmaster of the school of letters (*iudimagistro ludi litterarii*) of Thornton, at £10 8s.'—the halfpenny was dropped—'so allowed to him by warrant of Walter Mildmaye and Robert Kylwey.' Two years later for the highly Latinized substitute for grammar school, *ludus litterarius*, the still more classically affected *palestra litteraria* is used in the receiver's entry. William Abbot was paid year by year all through the reigns of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and up to 1574. No doubt he then died, being, as he was 60 in 1548, no less than 86 years old. He was succeeded by John Kinge, who is called by the august title of 'schoolmaster of Our Lady the Queen at Thornteton.' He was paid for five years. Then came Anthony Gate, in whose time, in 1587, the older title of schoolmaster of the grammar school (*schole grammaticalis*) was revived, and the payment was said to be made out of the church of Penn by virtue of a warrant of William, Baron of Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, and of Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer. So some new proceedings had taken place in the Exchequer resulting in the payment now being charged on a particular piece of property, the rectory of Penn, instead of the Crown revenues of the county at large. Five years later the payment is entered as made to James Smith, 'schoolmaster of the grammar school of the town of Buckingham,' which looks as if there was an attempt to transfer the payment from the small village of Thornton, where no doubt the school languished, to the county town. But if so, the scheme was frustrated for a while; for next year the payment is again made to Anthony Gate, 'master at Thornton,' and so continues for four years more. But from 1597 the payment is made again to James Smith, 'schoolmaster of the grammar school of the town of Buckingham.' This continues to the end of Elizabeth's reign. Then it is made to Robert Tomlyns, also described as 'schoolmaster of the grammar school at the town of Buckingham,' and this is stated to be done under warrant of Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, and John Fortescue. So that again there must have been an order definitely transferring the school, or at least its endowment, from the small to the large place. Precedents for this were set in the days of Edward VI by the transfer of the endowment of St. Mary Weeke Grammar School, Cornwall, to Launceston, and in the days of Elizabeth by a decree of the Duchy Court of Lancaster consolidating five small neighbouring school endowments at Pontefract. These have been followed in our own time by the transfer of Hemsworth to Barnsley under the Endowed Schools Acts.

⁷ So in some cases, but it is generally abbreviated, and should perhaps be *continuetur*, 'let the school be continued.' It is not clear whether the notes on these certificates are a record of what had been done or orders to do something.

⁸ Land Rev. Rec. Acct. Ser. i, bdle. 84.

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By this process of absorption disappeared the only proved pre-Reformation endowment in Buckinghamshire; a striking result of the dealings of Edward VI with schools. For by robbing this school of its lands and substituting a fixed payment, he prevented the income growing with the growth of the riches of England; and in time, by the fall in the value of money, the endowment was reduced from a fair living to a miserable pittance. Buckingham, founded or refounded about 1540, Stony Stratford in 1609, Amersham in 1620, Marlow in 1628, Aylesbury about 1687, all suffered from the same misfortune of a fixed income or an endowment so limited as not to produce sufficient increment. Wycombe, founded in 1551, suffered from its endowment being mixed with that of the corporation. All were starved.

ETON COLLEGE

It is impossible to give, in the space allotted, a history of the greatest of the schools of the world. Eton is fortunate in possessing one of the earliest and one of the best of school historians in Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B., the virtual head of the Record Office under the humble title of Deputy Keeper of the Records. His history, the largest of school histories as befits the largest of schools, originally published in 1875, was characterized by such profound original research, and so skilful a use of the results of research, as to make it a model for all subsequent school historians to follow. New editions in 1889 and 1904 have brought it up to date and incorporated the results of later researchers, particularly those of Mr. John Willis Clark, Registrar of the University of Cambridge, in his monumental work on the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*. With true historical propriety, this includes Eton College, which owes its continued existence to having been regarded as an integral part of the University of Cambridge equally with its local sister, King's College, Cambridge. His researches into the history of the Eton buildings necessarily threw much light on the general history of the school. The smaller and more recent histories—Mr. W. Wasey Sterry's *Annals of Eton*, 1898, and Mr. Lionel Cust's *History of Eton College*, 1899—are, as regards all but the latest period, based almost entirely on Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte's great work, and do not profess to add anything about the earlier times from original research, though giving many interesting side-lights on the many-sided story of Eton's later history. There is not place, therefore, even if there were space here, for a new attempt at a complete history of Eton. But in so large a subject, which practically has only been handled by one pen, there is plenty of scope for new dis-

coveries and treatment, especially as regards the relations of Eton to the general lines of school development and the true history of education in England, which has been revolutionized since the *History of Eton* was written.

For this purpose the original authorities have been re-examined. As the result of examination naturally some mistakes have been found and are here corrected. It has not been thought necessary to draw attention in detail either to the mistakes or the fact of a correction being made. But wherever a date, name or fact differs from that given by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte in what may be called the authorized version of Eton history, it may be taken for granted that, unless otherwise stated, the 'revised version' here given is founded on the original audit rolls, or the audit books which superseded the rolls *temp.* Henry VIII. Some new documents have also been discovered even at Eton, and new facts brought to light. In particular, a considerable quantity of new material has been brought together about the personality and careers of the earlier masters and ushers, of which hitherto next to nothing was known, or attempted to be known. The result is that a mere dry catalogue of 'names and nothing more' with uncertain *circa* dates, has been converted into a supplement for a small *Dictionary of National Biography*. Further, the current idea that the pre-Reformation schools were staffed by obscure and unlearned clergy or monks (which last had nothing to do with teaching school) and that their history merits no attention, receives a new reversal. A large amount of new light has been thrown on the learning and curriculum of pre-Reformation Eton from Eton documents discovered embedded in the archives of other schools. Another result of the re-examination of the documents in the light of modern knowledge has been to show how much greater and more prolonged than was supposed has been the guidance and assistance which Eton received from Winchester. While the actual migration of half the college, fellows and boys, from Winchester to Eton, accepted by Maxwell Lyte from a Wykehamical source,¹ has already been shown from later Wykehamical authorities^{1a} to have been a gross exaggeration, the real transfusion of spirit and method is shown to be far greater and more continuous than was ever dreamed of. When we find that not only the first three provosts and the first two head masters, but also the first two ushers, and out of the first twenty-five head masters no less than twelve, and out of the ushers of the same period, so far as they can be traced, at least eight hailed from Winchester, we see that the influence of Winchester on the development of Eton

¹ Mackenzie Walcott, *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, 135.

^{1a} See below, p. 155.

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and the debt of Eton to Winchester is greater than that of any one great school has ever been to any other. The *filia pulchrior* on the banks of the Thames is in a far deeper sense a daughter of the *mater pulchra* on the banks of the Itchen than was imagined by those who on 19 October 1906 celebrated at New College the ancient *Amabilis Concordia* between the two colleges of Our Lady of Winchester and of Eton. Not only was the foundation of Eton conceived and executed by Wykehamists, but it was saved from destruction and practically refounded by Wykehamists, it was nursed by Wykehamists through all its earlier troubles, and for 100 years drew the majority and the most celebrated of its pastors and masters from the ranks of those who were sons of Wykeham in a double sense, as being both scholars of Winchester and fellows of New College.

First as to the original idea of Eton. We may put aside all that has been written about learning being in the lowest state of depression before its foundation, or of the school being part of a movement inaugurated by William of Wykeham to rescue learning from the monks, or to substitute the secular for the regular clergy as teachers. The monasteries never had been, as asserted, 'the principal seats of education in England'; the monks never had been the chief educators or teachers. The monasteries had at one time, and to some extent, been homes of learning, but only for the benefit of their own members, and they remained schools of history, as a pastime for the dreary hours of cloister life, till the middle of the 15th century. Public schools they never were. Even when, in succession to secular colleges, they governed public schools or maintained them, they never maintained them out of their own revenues, but out of revenues held in trust; and the schoolmasters were not monks but seculars, sometimes priests, sometimes laymen. Those who have read in former volumes of the *Victoria County History* the accounts of the grammar schools of Winchester and Durham, of St. Albans and Bury St. Edmunds, of Reading, Gloucester, and Bristol, of Derby, of Thetford and Dunwich, all connected with various orders of the regular clergy, will have seen that where the monks or the regular canons obtained control of the schools, it was in supersession of the secular clergy, and that even then the actual teachers in the grammar or public schools remained secular clerks, while those taught in them were always secular clerks. When we come to deal with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, it will be seen that they were purely a secular creation, as were the colleges in them. Though the new regular orders of the friars early pushed themselves into the universities, and though the secular colleges of Merton and Balliol were imitated by the monks in the regular colleges of Gloucester and

Durham, of St. Bernard and St. Mary, the universities and colleges themselves, like the cathedral and collegiate schools from which they sprang, remained essentially secular. A good deal of the illusion as to the schools being monastic is due to the confusion of the term monastic with the term ecclesiastic, of monks with clerics, and of the seculars, i.e. secular clergy, with the laity. Schools, colleges, and universities, were matters of ecclesiastical cognizance and subject to ecclesiastical law; they were created by clerics for clerics, and a layman by going to school became *pro tanto* a cleric, in days when the law, the treasury, the civil service, and diplomacy were merely branches of the clerical service. But to say that mediaeval schools were monastic because they were ecclesiastical, or to confound schoolmasters with monks, because they were clerics, is much like confusing the modern clerk with the modern cleric, or the modern learned practitioners of law and medicine with the modern clergy. When Eton was founded the monastic ideal had long been on the wane. Scarcely a single monastery had been founded in the previous 100 years, while many old ones, in the shape of alien priories, had been secularized or converted into ecclesiastical establishments.

The foundation of Eton College was no new departure. Eton furnished no new model in institutions, it inaugurated no new era in education, it marked no important phase in the history of learning. It was the expression of the enthusiasm of a pious youth who wore a crown, under the guidance of his ecclesiastical pastors and masters, to connect his own name with an everlasting monument of munificence. Its founder never claimed originality for his foundation. In the foundation charter of 11 October 1440,² Henry VI says as plainly as possible that he was imitating his ancestors' regard for the Church,

Whose royal devotion founded not only in this our Kingdom of England, but also in divers foreign regions, monasteries, churches and other pious places . . . we also who . . . have now taken into our hands the government of both our Kingdoms, have from the very beginning of our riper age carefully revolved in our mind how . . . or by what royal gift, according to the measure of our devotion and the example of our ancestors, we could do fitting honour to that Mistress and mother, to the pleasure of her great Spouse, and at length . . . it has become a fixed purpose in our heart to found a college . . . in the parish church of Eton by Windsor not far from our birth-place.

He, accordingly,

'to the praise honour and glory of the Crucified and the exaltation of the most glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, and the establishment of the most holy church,' founded 'a college . . . in and of the number of a Provost and 10 priests, 4 clerks, 6 chorister boys, there

² Pat. 19 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 20.

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daily to serve at divine worship, and 25 poor and needy (*pauperes et indigentes*) scholars to learn grammar there, and further of 25 poor and disabled men to pray for the souls of Henry V, Queen Katharine and all his forefathers, and all the faithful departed; also of a Master or Teacher (*Informator*) in grammar to teach the said needy scholars and all others whatsoever from any part of our realm of England coming to the said college freely (*gratis*), without exaction of money or anything else.'

When the foundation was completed and its objects were precisely stated, they were expressed in the very words of William of Wykeham in founding Winchester College, by saying that it was to be a seminary for the better education of an orthodox clergy.

The first charter was but a sketch. Under it the provost and the rest were to be appointed and removed according to statutes yet to be made, and were to dwell in a certain site, 300 ft. long by 260 ft. broad, next to Eton churchyard; the patronage of which had been recently bought by the king. The patent named Henry Sever as first provost, John Kette, clerk, William Haston and William Dene as first priest-fellows, Roger Flecknore, William Kente, John Halywyn and Henry Cokkes as first choristers, and William Stokkes and Richard Cokkes as the first 'needy scholars,' with two clerks and two almsmen. The master or informer in grammar was not named, probably because none had been appointed. The college was incorporated under the name of the 'Provost and King's College of the Blessed Mary of Eton by Windsor.' To that corporation the parish church was granted, with power to transmute it into a collegiate church and appropriate it to themselves, and with licence in mortmain to hold other property up to 1,000 marks, or £666 13s. 4d. a year.

Two days later, 13 October 1440, the commissioners of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose huge diocese Buckinghamshire then was, viz. William [Ayscough], Bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Bekynton and Richard Andrew, doctors of law, appointed 29 September, met the king's proctor William Lynde at Eton, 'erected' the parish church into a collegiate church and decreed that it should be appropriated to the college. On 20 October, with the consent of Bekynton, in whose jurisdiction, as Archdeacon of Buckingham, the church was, and of Kette, who was rector and resigned it, the commissioners admitted Provost Sever to the rectory on behalf of the college. The whole proceeding was recited and confirmed by Pope Eugenius IV at Florence 'at the King's humble supplication' on 28 February 1440-1. The same day another bull gave the king leave to provide and assign whatever dress he liked for the provost, master, and others, to grant the use of amices of grey, of vair or other furs, the distinctive dress of cathedral or secular canons, and to make statutes

about wearing them whether in church or elsewhere, while a third bull empowered the college to farm out its lands to laymen as well as ecclesiastics—the ordinary canon law forbidding ecclesiastical property being farmed out to any but ecclesiastics.

The first stone of a new church was laid by Henry VI himself at some date unknown, but before Passion Sunday, 2 April 1441,³ when he laid the first stone of the sister college, the King's College of St. Nicholas at Cambridge; the name of which was due to the king's birthday being 6 December, the day of St. Nicholas, and perhaps also to the chantry⁴ in Eton church with an altar in honour of this patron saint of schoolboys and learned clerks.

In all this there was nothing novel, nothing exceptional. It was simply the ordinary process of converting a parish church, the endowment of a single priest, into a collegiate church, to be the home of several priests, with the canonical free grammar school and an almshouse attached. There were scores of such colleges then existing scattered through the country. Many of them, like Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, dated from immemorial antiquity before the Conquest. But many of the older foundations had been converted, like St. Frideswide's, Oxford, and St. Paul's, Bedford, into monasteries. So at the time Eton was founded, probably the majority of these colleges were of later date than the middle of the 13th century. For ever since the monastic furore had abated, and the founding of friaries had ceased, and the reaction in favour of the secular clergy had set in, that is from the middle of the 13th century onwards, hardly a year had passed without some similar institution being founded. Walter of Merton in 1275 had taken a new departure in founding at Merton College a collegiate church in which education and not religious worship was the primary purpose. After that, education had tended to become more and more prominent in the new foundations. In 1382 William of Wykeham, in founding Winchester College, had taken a double new departure, first, in incorporating a collegiate church of schoolboys instead of

³ Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *Archit. Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* i, 321:

Unctum qui lapidem postquam ponebat in Eton
Hunc fixit clerum commemorando suum;
M Domini. e quater quadraginta monos patet annis,
Passio cum Domini concelebrata fuit
Annus erat decimus nonus, mensis sed Aprilis:
Hic flectente genu Rege secunda dies.

⁴ Lincoln Epis. Reg. Repingdon, fol. 251. In 1425, inhibition against the admission of anyone to chantry at altar of St. Nicholas in church of St. Mary Eton, pending a suit between Katherine widow of Sir Thomas Aylesbury and Sir Thomas Wauton, Sheriff of Bedfordshire and others. One wonders whether this chantry priest was not also a grammar school master.

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university students, and, secondly, in directly connecting this collegiate-church-school with a university students' collegiate church. He had also set, not the first example by any means—the example which may have been the first was set by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, in the foundation of Ottery St. Mary's College and Grammar School in 1332—but the first example on a large scale of finding ready provision for educational endowments in the purchase of alien priories. The direct model and mother of Eton was Winchester College, its grandmother was Merton College, but its ultimate model was to be found in the cathedral churches of York and London and of Winchester and Canterbury before these passed into the hands of the monks.

The alien priories, religious houses in England belonging to monasteries abroad, nearly all in France, had to pay in some cases their whole surplus net revenues, in others fixed pensions, to the mother houses abroad; and these revenues were naturally made the subject of taxation by the French kings, and so the revenues and resources of England were used against itself. In Wykeham's time these alien priories were only sequestered during the war, and he had to obtain papal bulls authorizing the foreign houses to sell, and he had to pay a good price for what he bought. Henry V confiscated them wholly to the Crown. It has been alleged by Anthony Wood that Henry V intended 'to have built a college in the castle of Oxford . . . and thereunto to have annexed all the alien priories in England.' This must be an egregious exaggeration. An endowment of that amount would have been overwhelming. The statement seems to be an enlargement of John Rows, the Warwick chronicler, who wrote in 1485 that Henry V 'intended to found a noble college at Oxford in which there should be deep research in the seven sciences,' the ordinance for which Rows himself in his youth had seen. But, considering that some fifty of the most splendid collegiate churches, colleges, and schools were richly endowed out of the alien priories, it is quite impossible that Henry V could ever have intended to bestow them all on one foundation. The story shows, however, how the foundation of colleges was in the air.

Henry VI succeeded to the throne at nine months old on 1 September 1422. So full were the Privy Council of the advantages of school education that three years later⁵ they directed that all the heirs of all the lords of the realm, at least of the rank of barons, holding in chief, who as minors were in the wardship of the Crown, should be sent up and kept about the person of the king and in his house at his expense, accompanied by at least one master. It is possible, when we remember how Richard

Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the king's tutor, travelled in Italy, and how Cardinal Beaufort, his uncle, was at home abroad, that the Privy Council were consciously imitating the famous *Giocosa* or *Home of Joy*, the palace school started by Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua in 1423, where he taught the children of the reigning Marquis Gonzaga and others, from the age of three to the age of twenty-three. Henry, poor child, was only two years old when the Lady Alice Boteler was appointed to teach him courtesy and good breeding and other things, with full 'leave to chastise us reasonably from time to time as the case may require,' and on 16 March 1426 her salary was increased by £40 a year, charged on the fee-farm of Great Yarmouth. On 1 June 1428,^{6a} i.e. as soon as he ceased at seven years old to be an infant and became a boy, the lady was superseded by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was to teach him 'bons moeurs, lettrure, langage, nurture et courtoisie, et autres vertus et enseignements,' or, as it was expressed also in English, 'shall do his devoir and diligence to teche the Kyng, and make hym to be taught, nurture, lettrure (literature), language, and other manere of cunnyng as his age shall suffre him to more comprehende, suche as it fitteth so greet a prince to be lerned of.' Needless to say that 'our reasonable chastisement as other princes of our realm and other are accustomed to be chastised . . . if we estrange ourselves from learning and commit faults,' was not forgotten. This Richard Beauchamp contemplated a 'regal college of Trinity' at Guy's Cliff, but he contented himself with a chantry of two priests. Henry Beaufort, Wykeham's successor at Winchester and Henry's favourite uncle, had re-endowed, and rebuilt on an ampler scale, the famous almshouse of St. Cross by Winchester. He had also assisted or authorized Winchester College to increase its endowment by the acquisition of the alien priory of Andover as early as 1413, though the college only entered into possession in 1437. The Earl of Suffolk who, after Duke Humphrey, was practically Prime Minister and was one of Henry's chief advisers and managers as regards buildings, himself founded at Ewelme in Oxfordshire in 1439 a hospital for 12 poor men with 2 priests to look after them, one a master and the other 'a well disposed man apt and able to teachyng, to teach and inform children in the faculty of gramer.' Thomas Kemp, Archbishop of York, in 1431 obtained licence in mortmain for a college at his native place Wye, in Kent, which included a grammar school. Above all, Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, the earliest successful product of Winchester and New College, for whom, as his baptizer, Henry VI had especial regard, founded a smaller

⁵ *Acts of P.C.* iii, 170, 28 June 1425.

^{6a} *Ibid.* 296.

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Winchester at his birthplace, Higham Ferrers, in 1422-5, a college of a master and 7 fellows, 'with masters in grammar and song for all coming there,' and an almshouse of 12 poor men, and endowed it with the alien priory of Mersea in Essex; while he also founded a smaller New College at Oxford in the college of All Souls in 1432, also partly endowed with alien priories bought from the Crown. But perhaps the most striking of the new cluster of educational foundations was that of William Byngham, rector of St. John Zachary, London, in the *Domus Dei* or God's house at Cambridge. In his petition in 1439 for licence in mortmain for the foundation of a college of a master and 24 scholars who were to be trained in grammar, he said that he had found all over the country grammar schools, formerly flourishing, now fallen into abeyance for lack of proper teachers. He therefore established this, the first training college on record in England, anticipating the secondary training colleges recently started by some 470 years. Grammar was to be taught, not only because, as in Wykeham's day, it was 'the key to the Scriptures, the gate to the liberal sciences, and to theology, mistress of them all,' but because 'it was necessary in dealing with law and other difficult matters of state, and also the means of mutual communication and conversation between us and strangers and foreigners.' The scholars when trained were to issue from the college to teach schools all over the country. This remarkable experiment came to an untimely end, at the hands of Henry himself, being removed to make way for King's College chapel, and eventually absorbed in Christ's College.

With these examples set him by those who had brought him up as a boy and guided him as a young man, Henry only followed the fashion in founding a school at Eton and a college in connexion with it at Cambridge. The particular form the two took, and the whole conception as well as execution of the design of Eton and King's, is due first and foremost to Archbishop Chicheley and next to the other Wykehamists who managed the domestic affairs of the kingdom at that time, Thomas Bekynton, William Say, Richard Andrews, and Andrew Hulse. The actual instrument was Bekynton. Admitted a scholar of Winchester in 1403 and of New College in 1405-6, he remained a law fellow of New College, student of civil and canon law and doctor of the same till 1420, when he became chancellor of the Protector, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and was made Archdeacon of Buckingham in 1422. In 1423 he was Dean of Arches and with his deputy, the celebrated writer on canon law, William Lyndwood, assisted in persecuting heretics. In 1432 he acted as ambassador to France. In that year Henry VI, then ten years old, appears as

founder of the University of Caen. In 1433 Bekynton was prolocutor of Convocation. As archdeacon of the county in which Eton was situate, as well as royal secretary, he took a leading part in the foundation of the college. The negotiations with the pope for the bulls connected with it were conducted by Andrew Hulse, royal proctor at the papal court, a scholar of Winchester 1407 and of New College 1414. Hulse was nominated by the king for the see of Coutances on two occasions, but the first nomination miscarried by the tardiness of the messenger, and the next was on false information of a vacancy which had not occurred, though for the greater part of a year Bekynton wrote to him as his venerable father as if he was actually bishop elect.⁶ So poor Hulse never attained any higher dignity than that of canon of Chichester and chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral. One at least of the messengers between them, John Burgh, was also a Wykehamist. Richard Andrew, Official of the court of Canterbury, Bekynton's colleague in the commission to appropriate Eton Church, and his subsequent successor as archdeacon and Privy Seal, was also a Wykehamist, and at this very time was the first warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

In October 1440 the king was only 18 years of age, and he speaks of the foundation as a 'sort of first-fruits of his taking the government on himself.' We may, therefore, surely credit the initiative in the foundation of Eton to Chicheley and Bekynton, just as we may credit to them the foundation of the university of Caen in 1432-7, and the university of Bordeaux in 1441, of which Henry was also the nominal founder.

The instructions to the English envoys at the Council of Basle found among Bekynton's letters were probably drawn up by him. One of them specially refers to the alien priories, apparently in contemplation of the use to which they were to be put in connexion with Eton and King's. If proposals were made for the repeal of any of the statutes of the realm, especially those concerning priories or possessions of aliens, the envoys were to say they had no instructions. They could, however, as from themselves, but not as ambassadors, nor as representing the king, say that 'according to the ancient laws of England, if anyone held property on conditions, and failed to fulfil the conditions, the donor could re-enter on the property, and the churches and monasteries of aliens failing to perform the conditions on which they were held, the gifts were *ipsa facto* revoked and granted to the Crown.' Yet Henry V had intended to grant them 'not to their former abuses, but to pious uses' and obtained

⁶ This seems to be the explanation of what puzzled the editor of Bekynton's correspondence, that he, the senior, addressed his junior, Hulse, as 'venerable father.'

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a bull from Martin V enabling him to do so, and also to compensate the former possessors, and had actually offered this compensation, and 'even now, if they made humble application to the king, they might receive it.' Needless to say they did not apply and did not get it. But the bulk of the property did revert to 'pious uses,' and Eton and King's represents a large slice of it. In 1437 Bekynton acted as king's secretary, and in 1439 was formally appointed to that office. In that year he accompanied Cardinal Beaufort on an embassy to France. Immediately after his return the foundation of Eton began. The first step was the purchase of the rectory of Eton in September 1440. Next month came, as we saw, the formal foundation charter and the conversion of the parish, into a collegiate church. So exact was the imitation of Wykeham's foundation that as he had made a fellow of Merton, then by far the greatest college in the university, the first warden of his college at Winchester, so resort was had to a fellow of the same college for the first provost of Eton. This was Henry Sever, fellow in 1419, and proctor of the university in 1427. Eton writers have been somewhat unkind to his memory, speaking of him as a person of no importance. But he was one of the great men of the day. A king's clerk, probably in Chancery, he already held a canonry in Bridgnorth collegiate church from 1435, the wardenship of Trinity College, or collegiate church of Stratford on Avon from 1436, and a canonry in the collegiate church of St. Stephen's, Westminster, from 1438. Like Wolsey afterwards, he was king's almoner. When he left the provostship in 1442 it was to become Chancellor of Oxford University, and in 1449 he was Chancellor of St. Paul's and Dean of Bridgnorth. In 1453 he became Warden of Merton, in which capacity his benefactions were so extensive that he was hailed as second founder. He died 6 July 1471 in possession of all these offices.

Sir Edward Creasy has been severely rebuked for calling him, in his *Memorials of Eminent Etonians*, 'Dean of Westminster,' when Westminster had an abbot, and no dean till a century later. But it was not uncommon to speak of the canons of the royal chapel or collegiate church of St. Stephen, which afterwards became the House of Commons, as canons of Westminster, and the term Dean of Westminster was therefore correct, if Sever had been dean, but the list of deans does not seem to include his name.

There seems to be no possibility of ascertaining when exactly the school itself began, and as only two scholars are named in the first charter of October 1440, it does not seem likely that the school was then opened; indeed, there were no endowments then given to support it, nor any buildings in which to hold it. The bull, in exact imitation of a similar one given to Win-

chester College, enabling the college to let its lands to laymen, was given before there were any lands to let. A large number of the papal bulls obtained by Wykeham for Winchester College related to the right of services in the college chapel, burial in its cloisters, a belfry and bells and retaining burial fees, &c., and were unnecessary for Eton, which, inheriting the rights of a parish church, numbered these among them. Winchester had the usual building bull; a bull in the same form which afterwards so exercised Luther, except that it granted only 100 days' relaxation of penance and an indulgence of 40 years, not perpetual indulgence, to those who visited the place and contributed to the buildings. On 28 May 1441 a similar bull was granted for those visiting Eton and contributing to Eton on the same terms as were given to those who on the day of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1 August, visited the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in Rome. It is a disadvantage of this legislation by reference that we do not know what those terms were. We soon find Bekynton writing to press for greater advantages, and on 9 May 1442 a 'plenary indulgence' was granted to those visiting Eton on the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) and contributing. The contributions were, however, to be divided between papal and royal objects, viz. three-fourths for a crusade against the Turks, one-fourth only to the king's college. Moreover it was limited to the king's life. So once again Bekynton had to ask for more, and on 11 May 1444 the bull was made perpetual. But the king's ideas continually enlarging, three years later a further bull, 25 January 1446-7, was obtained, giving seven years' and seven Lents' indulgence to those who visited Eton on any of the Virgin's feast days, and on St. Nicholas' Day (6 December) or the Translation of Edward the Confessor.

As soon as the king had got his bull for founding Eton, he founded his other college at Cambridge, of a rector and 12 scholars, by patent of 12 February 1440-1, incorporating them as 'the rector and scholars of the King's College of St. Nicholas of Cambridge,' with William Millington as first rector, and John Kyrkeby and William Haytcliff, who seem to have been all Yorkshiremen, as the first scholars or probationary fellows. There was at first no organic connexion between the two colleges, as there was between Winchester and New College; and if, as seems likely, the influence of Chicheley was at first the predominant influence in the foundation, it is possible that none was intended. While in both patents power was reserved to increase the numbers, no power was reserved to alter the foundation. Moreover, it is probable that at this time the prudence of his council prevailed, and Henry's advisers had no intention of letting him emulate the stupendous size of Wykeham's foundations with their 70 scholars each, but made him con-

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tent himself with the more modest proportions of 25 scholars at Eton and 12 at Cambridge.

Indeed, the earliest connexion of Eton with a university was with Oxford, for on 3 February 1441-2 the king granted the manor of 'Ponyngton' (Hants) parcel of the alien priory of Ogbourne to John Carpenter, master or warden of St. Anthony's Hospital, London, for the exhibition of five scholars at Oxford (each having 10d. a week until he took the degree of B.A.) who had received the rudiments of grammar at Eton, and were appointed according to the Eton statutes. So the earliest edition of these statutes provided for scholars to Oxford instead of to King's, Cambridge. This grant was apparently resumed at the beginning of the reign of Edward IV, and these Eton scholarships at Oxford then ceased.

On 5 March 1440-1 'the Kyng's College of oure Ladye of Eton besyde Wyndesore' was endowed by letters patent bestowing on it a great mass of property which had belonged to alien priories. A large part consisted only of annual pensions payable from English cells to their principal houses abroad. Thus the first item is an annual pension of 18 marks from the alien vicarage of Marton, the next are pensions of 40s. from Aveley Church, Essex, and from Fulbourn Church, Cambridgeshire, and the whole tithes of Bures St. Mary, Essex, all belonging to the alien priory of Panfield in Essex. Then came an annual tribute which the priory of Montacute was bound to pay the Crown for the ancient *apportus* (i.e. export) 'payable in time of peace to the head house of that priory in parts beyond the sea,' and a similar *apportus* of 20s. which the Prior of Goldcliff had to pay to his head house. Next followed three alien priories which were bodily transferred to the new college, viz. 'the alien priory and manor of Toftes,' Norfolk, of Sporle, Norfolk, and of Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire. Then came the manors of Blakenham, Suffolk, and Cottisford, Oxfordshire, part of the alien priory of Ogbourne (Okeburn), Hampshire; all the manors in Wiltshire belonging to the Dean of Mortain; and 13s. 4d. the *apportus* due from Thetford Priory to Cluny. There followed the rent of £8 13s. 4d. payable by Sir William, Lord of Lovell, kt., 'for the custody of the alien priory of Minster Lovell, with its appurtenances, granted to him for 18 years from the death of Jane, late Queen of England, and the reversion of the same priory when it falls in.' The rest of the items are similar, a large number consisting, at first, of the yearly rents only of alien priories, leased like that of Minster Lovell to the neighbouring landed proprietors for a term of years, the full benefit of which would only accrue to the college on the expiration of the leases. The actual rents accruing at once amounted to £513 2s. 1d., in addition to four whole priories, two manors, and some odd

lands given in immediate possession, worth perhaps between them another £100 a year. The total income was slightly larger than that on which Winchester College was started.

On Saturday, 31 July 1441,⁷ Henry VI went to Winchester College, where 'he was present at first vespers and next day at mass and second vespers and offered 13s. 4d.,' a mark of gold, the usual royal offering. The result of this week-end visit was momentous to Eton. For it resulted in the transfer in October or November 1441 of William Wayneflete, the then head master of Winchester, to Eton, and it was to Wayneflete rather than to Henry VI that Eton owed its final constitution, its preservation from destruction, and its restitution by Edward IV, and the completion of its buildings. It is by no means certain that Wayneflete went to Eton, as commonly stated, as the first head master. The evidence strongly suggests that he went, not as head master, but as provost. But a curious darkness overhangs the whole of Wayneflete's life until he became head master of Winchester. It is extremely doubtful, to say the least of it, whether he ever was, as has been asserted, a scholar at Winchester or of New College. His family name is said to have been Pattene, otherwise Barbour. No such name is found in the Scholars' Register at Winchester, unless he can be identified with William Pattene of Patney, Wiltshire, admitted in 1403. The identification is unlikely, as it would make him at least ninety-five years old when he died, and it would be very strange, as it is certain that Wainfleet in Lincolnshire was his birthplace, or at least his breeding-place, that he should have been Pattene of that ilk in Wiltshire. Nor is his name to be found in the records of New College as a scholar or fellow. It is a rather violent assumption that he was a commoner at either college. There are nearly complete lists of the commoners at Winchester to be deduced from the steward of hall's books, which show those dining in hall in each week, and neither Wayneflete, Barbour, nor Pattene, occurs among them. It is doubtful if there were any commoners at New College at the time. None appear in the hall books there, nor does Wayneflete's name appear in them. On the other hand it is certain that Wayneflete was at Oxford from a letter addressed about April 1447 to him by the university⁸ when Provost of Eton, in which they say, 'we believe that you have always before your eyes the great love by which you are bound to the mother who

⁷ Not 1440, as given in Chandler's *Life of Wayneflete* and Mackenzie Walcott's *William of Wykeham and His Colleges*, 136; Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, 192, and Maxwell Lyte's *Eton*, 5. The dates relating to the Eton foundation have been as much confused as those of Winchester, owing to its not being observed that the year of the king did not coincide with the year of our Lord.

⁸ *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 258.

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conceived you in her spiritual womb and brought you forth into the light of knowledge, and until you grew to the strength of manhood, in which you excel, nourished you with most precious meals, with the greatest favour and the alimony of all the sciences.' This almost looks as if Wayneflete had even spent his school days as well as his college days at Oxford. Wayneflete first appears in public records^{8a} on receiving letters of protection when sent in the train of Robert Fitz Hugh, D.D., Warden of the King's Hall at Cambridge, and John Bonner, Dec.D., and others, on an embassy to the pope at Rome, to explain why the force of 500 spears and 5,000 archers raised by Cardinal Beaufort for a crusade against the Hussites of Bohemia had been diverted to English purposes, viz. the 'necessarie eschuing' of the loss of France. The letters of protection are dated 15 July 1429, and describe Wayneflete as Bachelor of Laws. Next year there are entries in the Bursars' Roll at Winchester of '2s. 6d., for the expenses of Sir John Edmond riding to Oxford to inquire and communicate with divers people to get a Magister Informator,' and of '6s. for expenses of Sir Thomas Baylemond riding to Oxford in the month of June to provide an Informator, including 2s. for the hire of a horse for the purpose for 6 days.' For the quarter beginning 24 June 1430⁹ 'Mr. William Wanneflete' was paid 50s. as 'teacher of the scholars (*informator scolarium*).'¹⁰ So that he was imported direct from Oxford. He continued, under curious variants of name, Wanflet, Waneflett, Weyneflete, Wayneflete, to be paid as head master £10 a year for eleven and a quarter years, until Michaelmas 1441. From Michaelmas 1441 to 1442 the head master was Thomas Alwyn or Walwayn of Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, who, for five years, 24 June 1425 to 24 June 1430, had been Wayneflete's predecessor in the head-mastership. This looks as if the vacancy was suddenly created and resort was therefore had to an old and tried man to fill it. Wayneflete occurs several times in the Winchester Hall books as a guest at the high table in September and October 1441. He then seems to have gone to Eton, a year earlier than has been hitherto supposed.¹¹ If he went as head master, this also makes Eton School a year older than it has hitherto been credited with being. But the school did not begin probably till 1443. In 1441 there were no buildings, and apparently no site on which to erect buildings, to accommodate the boys or the masters.

^{8a} *Acts of P.C.* iii, 347.

⁹ Not in 1429 as Walcott, Kirby, and others.

¹⁰ Walcott's *Wm. of Wykeham and His Colleges*, 135; Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. of Eton* (1899), 17; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, &c., all put him down as going to Eton in 1442. Chandler's *Life of Wayneflete* on the other hand takes him there a year too early, in 1440.

The Eton College building accounts are happily extant. A wages book, headed 'Day book of the first year' (*Forale anno primo*), showing that it was started at the very beginning of the works, begins on 3 July 1441 and extends to 5 February 1441-2. The workmen¹¹ 'consisted mainly of labourers, of whom 32 were employed weekly until the middle of November. . . . The number of labourers may perhaps indicate the digging of foundations, which are specially mentioned in the next year.' There were a few masons and carpenters employed, but it is conjectured that they were employed on the old church, which was being enlarged and beautified. It is probable that the foundations dug in 1441-2 were those of the new collegiate church; for the rest of the site was not yet fully conveyed. On the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January) 1441-2¹² the first of a series of Private Acts of Parliament confirmed the grants already made by the king of the old parish church and of the endowment and the incorporation of the college. But it was not till six days later, by patent of 31 January 1441-2, that a further part of the site was acquired by the conveyance of Huntercomb's garden (Hundercombs gardyn), Rolf's shaw (Rolveshawe), and a tenement of Walter, while on 9 May 1442 the grant of the Kingsworth, which is identified as part of the playing fields, completed the site. These grants, with others of pardon for introducing papal bulls, of fairs and markets and exemption from divers royal and other liabilities and imposts, were confirmed by Private Act of Parliament 5 March 1445-6.¹⁴ On 16 April 1442 digging foundations was still the main work, payment being made for 31 loads of loam 'from the foundation of the college,' and on 22 July 1442 there were still 45 labourers digging foundations; though 53 free-masons, 15 rough masons, and 45 carpenters, also hard at work, show extensive buildings in progress. Apart from the church, however, the school and college buildings were wholly of brick with quoins and mullions of stone. It was not till April 1442 that ground was hired at Slough to make a brick kiln, nor till 28 May 1442 that the first instalment of bricks, 66,000, was delivered. In that year 463,600 bricks and in 1443-4 over a million bricks were taken; so that it is to the years 1442-4 that the building of the school and college must be attributed. Even if the school was begun first it could not conceivably have been ready for use before

¹¹ Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *Arch. Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* i, 380-5.

¹² The date is given in the second Act of Parliament passed 5 Mar. 1445-6; Heywood and Wright, *Statutes*, 415.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 414-59. Through the usual mistake of the year of the king they call this the Parliament of 1444.

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Michaelmas 1442, and was most probably not ready before Michaelmas 1443.

The register of Thomas Bekynton records that on Sunday, 13 October¹⁵ 1443, he was consecrated 'in the old collegiate church of Blessed Mary of Eton,' and 'afterwards he celebrated his first mass in pontificals, in the new church of the Blessed Mary there, not yet half built, under a tent at an altar erected directly above the spot where King Henry VI laid the first stone. And he held a feast in the new fabric of the college there on the north side, while the chambers were not yet partitioned underneath.' That is, the chapel was not half finished, and the chambers only had their walls up.

It is suggested by Mr. J. W. Clark that 'the north side and chambers' referred to were the school and chambers in the school yard which preceded the present Long Chamber and head master and usher's chambers and the old Lower School underneath it. But there is good reason to believe that they were not in the school yard till the 16th century, while there is positive evidence that the school was not finished two years later.

There is no documentary evidence of Waynefflete's ever being head master. The first mention of him in documents at Eton is as provost, on 2 May 1443, when he agreed with his friend Bekynton for the exemption of the college and parish from his archidiaconal authority, which is still vested in the provost; while by deed of 10 September 1443 £1 2s. 11d. a year, in lieu of the visitation fees, was settled on the arch-deaconry, payable out of the manor of Bledlow.

On 30 November 1443 Waynefflete, as provost, and William Lynde, a fellow and clerk of the works, contracted with Robert Wheteley, the chief carpenter, for all the carpentering work of ten chambers on the east side of the college, of the hall and cloisters, and for making seven turrets, showing that the east side, though more advanced than the north side, was not yet habitable. The public records bring Waynefflete's provostry back even further, for while the household accounts¹⁶ show Henry Sever as one of the royal chaplains receiving a gown from Christmas 1440, and at Whitsuntide 1442 receiving 4 casks of wine as provost, at Christmas 1442^{16a} Waynefflete received a livery, described next year as 5 yards of violet cloth as provost of Eton, while Sever continued to receive a gown as royal chaplain. This shows that Waynefflete became provost at some date between Whitsuntide and Christmas 1442, probably at Michaelmas, as Sever was made Chancellor of

Oxford towards the end of the year. This would leave less than a year for Waynefflete to be head master, if he ever was head master.

On 21 December 1443 Bishop Bekynton, with the Earl of Suffolk, as commissioners of the founder, formally gave statutes to the college and swore Waynefflete to them as provost, who in turn took the oaths of the other members of the college, namely 5 fellows, 2 clerks, 2 choristers, and 11 scholars. But it is specially recorded that, as the buildings were not finished, nor the full endowment received, the king dispensed the college temporarily from the observance of some of the statutes, viz. (1) as to keeping the intended full number of fellows, scholars, and poor; (2) the fellows being only 5, instead of 10, they were only to be bound to 5 masses a day instead of 10; (3) the scholars were not required to say the prayers and adorations set down for them till the morrow of the Epiphany, 'so that meanwhile they may be instructed and fully informed in them,' while (4) 'as neither church nor hall, towers, chambers, chests, common archives, keys, bursary, treasury, nor gates were yet fully built,' the statutes relating to these were suspended. At the same time a special statute provided that as John Clerk had given up a sufficiently fat living (*beneficio satis competenti*) to take a fellowship, he should be vice-provost not for a year only, as the statutes ordained, but for life. This first and perpetual vice-provost was another Wykehamist, a native of Newbury, scholar of Winchester 1406, of New College 1410; and the benefice he gave up was that of Adderbury, Oxfordshire, one of the richest New College livings. The proceedings were witnessed by Richard Andrew, LL.D., then King's Secretary; Walter Lyhert or Le Hart, Provost of Oriel, and William Say, another Wykehamist, then Dean of St. Paul's.

It has been constantly repeated that Waynefflete took with him to Eton half Winchester College, viz. 5 fellows and 35 scholars. It was reserved for Mr. Kirby,¹⁷ an Etonian, but Bursar of Winchester College, to show that this was almost certainly untrue, and quite certainly without authority. There are no such 'gaps in the [Winchester] Register which such a migration would make; only six scholars are recorded in the margin of the Register to have quitted Winchester for Eton. It is possible that the number of 35 may have been made up from the ranks of the commoners and day-boys, but no evidence exists as to this. Nor is it recorded of any fellow that he quitted it for Eton. Two old scholars exchanged fellowships of New College for fellowships of Eton College.' Even this reduced statement is not quite accurate. Only

¹⁵ *Bekynton's Correspondence* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. cxix. Not Nov. as Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 19. The day is specially said to have been the Translation of St. Edward (the Confessor).

¹⁶ Exch. K.R. Wardrobe Accts. 19-20 Hen. VI.

^{16a} Ibid. 21-2 Hen. VI.

¹⁷ Kirby, *Annals of Winchester Coll.* (1894), 199. In the last edition of Maxwell Lyte (1899), p. 17, Mr. Kirby's statement has been substituted for the older story.

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five scholars are in fact recorded as quitting Winchester for Eton. The sixth and senior Winchester scholar who went to Eton had been admitted at Winchester 1 February 1432-3, and had left the school for some unspecified time before going to Eton. 'Recessit ad obsequium primo, postea ad collegium de Eton.' He had presumably failed to get off to New College, and abandoned the path of learning for secular service of some kind, presumably with some magnate, but now returned to it, on prospect of a fellowship at King's College. Also, of the two fellows of New College mentioned by Mr. Kirby, neither went at or near the opening of Eton. One, Foster or Forster, went to Eton not in 1443 but in 1453, and not as fellow but as head master; the other, Morer, went up to New College as a scholar in 1443, and only became a fellow of Eton in 1465. So that neither of these can be reckoned in the migration. Nor is it at all probable that the number of 35 or anything like it was made up from commoners. As to commoners proper, commoners in college at Winchester were limited by statute to ten in number. The hall-books of the time, showing those who dined in hall every week, are extant. They show that there was no clear-out of commoners. Fauley, who appeared for the last time in hall in the second week in October 1441, when, by the way, Mr. William Waynesflete was dining as a guest, showing that he had not yet gone to Eton, though he had ceased to be head master of Winchester, may probably be identified with Richard Fauley of Dorsetshire, who was elected from Eton to King's on 26 September 1444 at the age of sixteen. Only one other commoner, Lysle, left during the same time. The possible migration of commoners in college is therefore limited to two, and is probably limited to one. There were, however, other commoners attending the school, living in St. Elizabeth's College, next door, and perhaps elsewhere, and there were probably oppidans or town boys attending as day-boys. Of these we have no record. It is not, however, very probable that any, and it is certain that not many, could have gone to the new school as scholars, since only 11 scholars in all were sworn to the statutes. They were Thomas Constantin; John Payn, a Londoner, of St. Alban's, Wood Street, who had been a Winchester scholar from 1438; Thomas Say, a relation of the Dean of St. Paul's; Thomas Seggefild; John Goldsmith, who went to King's next year; Edward Hancock, who also went to King's next year, whom one suspects of being a relative of Thomas Hancock of Pusey, Berkshire, a Winchester scholar in 1447; Richard Fauley, from Dorset, one of the 10 *filii nobilium*; William Stock from Warmington, Northamptonshire; John Plentie from Warwickshire; and John Brown from Berkshire, who went to King's in 1444; and William Wether, who is untraced. However,

it is really remarkable to find that in a 'tradition' of this sort there is so much substratum of fact, that it is true to the extent of about one-sixteenth; and that five scholars, one ex-scholar, and probably one commoner of Winchester did actually go to give Eton a start, and import Wykehamist traditions there. But of the six scholars who went in 1443, only three were ever more than colourably scholars at Eton. For three of them, John Langport, Richard Cove, and Robert Dummer, had already been admitted scholars of King's on 19 July 1443. This was under the second charter for that college, dated nine days before, 10 July 1443, which converted the rector, William Millington, into a provost,¹⁸ changed the name from St. Nicholas College to that of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, augmented its numbers from 12 to 70, and bound it to Eton as New College was bound to Winchester, so that only scholars of Eton were admissible to it. John Langport, who came from Twyford, now almost part of Winchester, had been at Winchester some eleven years. Robert Dummer,¹⁹ also a Hampshire boy, had been eight years at Winchester, and Richard Cove of Bromham, Wiltshire, had been there seven years. They were, therefore, Winchester 'thicks,' who, in default of being able to get off to New College, Oxford, were thought good enough for 'New College, Cambridge,' as it was often called. Langport became vice-provost of King's.²⁰ The two other Winchester scholars were John Payn above mentioned, and Richard Roche of Taunton, who must have been a boy of exceptional promise. Admitted to Winchester in 1439, he went to Eton on St. Margaret's Day, 20 July 1443, and was too young to be sworn to the statutes in December 1443, being only fifteen years old when admitted a scholar of King's, 26 September 1444. He afterwards became vice-provost of Eton.

The statutes cannot have been strictly observed at the first election to King's in July 1443, as the other two out of five elected were Master William Chedworth, M.A., already for 20 years fellow of Merton, Oxford, who three years afterwards became provost of King's, and then Bishop of Lincoln and the founder or endower of Cirencester Grammar School; and Thomas Rotherham,²¹ afterwards Lord Chancellor, Arch-

¹⁸ Mullinger, *Univ. of Camb.* i, 306. Mr. Mullinger says that William Millington was ejected because he objected to the exclusive connexion established with Eton by the statutes; but as this connexion is expressly stated in the charter in which he is named as first provost, the statement cannot be reconciled with the facts.

¹⁹ Misread into Dommetge by Kirby in *Annals*, and also in *Scholars*, 57; a mistake naturally followed by the Eton historian Mr. Wasey Sterry.

²⁰ B.M. Cole MSS. 5814-7, fol. 12.

²¹ See account of him under Rotherham College in A. F. Leach, *Early Yorks. Schools*, xxvii.

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bishop of York, and founder of a small Eton at Jesus College, Rotherham, in 1480, who was already more than 19 years old.

As only those above 15²³ had to swear to the statutes, it looks as if even in December 1443 the school was not filled up. The completion of the college was marked by the famous *Amicabilis concordia* or covenant of alliance between Wykeham's two colleges of the Virgin at Oxford and Winchester and the two royal colleges of the Virgin of Cambridge and Eton for mutual assistance, signed by their respective wardens and provosts 1 July 1444.

The first head master mentioned at Eton is William Westbury, in the Bursars' or Audit Roll of 1444-5, which is the earliest preserved. Now William Westbury was an old pupil of Wayne-flete's. He was in all probability son of William Westbury, serjeant-at-law, who appears in the Winchester Bursars' Roll for 1423-4 as receiving half a mark as leader of several counsel in an action about some Andover property of that college, and was a judge of the King's Bench in 1426. He came from Westbury, Wiltshire, where he endowed a chantry. The son is described as of Alresford, when admitted a 'poor and needy' scholar of Winchester in 1428-9. He went on to New College in 1433. The New College records report him as leaving his fellowship²³ 'in the month of May 1442, transferring himself to the King's service.' It can hardly be doubted that the royal service to which he was transferred was that of head master, and, it is contended, first head master of the royal college. The Audit Roll of 1444-5 shows indeed, by its beginning with 'arrears' or surplus received from the bursars of the preceding year, that it was not the first, though the small amount of the surplus, £3 3s. 2d., compared with one of £54 odd carried over to the next year, and other entries, make it probable that it was only the second roll; and that nothing like the full income had been received in 1443-4.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* avoids all difficulties as to the opening of Eton School and the first head master by the assertion that Wayne-flete was 'in the first charter of Eton, 11 October 1440, nominated a fellow and removed to Eton in 1442. A class-room was then open, but the pupils were lodged in private houses.' The first two statements are, as we have seen, wrong. Wayne-flete was not named in the charter of 1440, and he left Winchester in 1441. The last two statements may be true, but no authority for them now exists, nor is any cited.

²³ When the Winchester boys were sworn to their statutes in 1400, 36 out of 70 took the oath.

²⁴ The protocols of admission of fellows show that his successor was admitted 'in loco Willelmi Westbury transferentis se ad obsequium,' to which another hand has added 'regis.'

The statutes given to the two royal colleges in 1443 made them now like the two Wykehamical colleges. As the statutes, in words copied from those of Winchester, say: 'Though situate in different places, they come from one stem, and originally issue from one spring; they do not differ in substance, and so naturally do not produce different effects.' The statutes of Eton are in fact a mere transcript of those of Winchester, *mutatis mutandis*. Even the *mutanda* are limited to the narrowest possible changes, such as the substitution of Eton for Winchester, Cambridge for Oxford, and Henry VI for William of Wykeham, the very title of the Patron Saint, Our Lady of Eton, being closely adapted from Our Lady of Winchester. The adaptation of the statutes is much closer even than that made by Chicheley for his own college of All Souls, though that is close enough, or by Wayne-flete himself for Magdalen College.

The whole 45 statutes of Winchester, with the preamble, called in the Eton copy the *Mens et Intentio fundatoris*, and the solemn 'end and conclusion of all the statutes,' appear *verbatim et literatim*, for the most part, in the Eton statutes. These number 62, however, because the preamble and conclusion are numbered as statutes, and nine statutes were added for the almsmen, not included at Winchester, and destined quickly to disappear from Eton. Mr. Mullinger's remark in his *History of Cambridge University*, 'The Latinity . . . is more correct, and copious to a fault, and there is also to be noted an increased power of expression,' is not easy to understand. The expressions are identical, even to the anachronistic repetition in the King's College statutes of the Black Death and its successors in 1361 and 1368 as having caused a dearth of properly educated clerics, for which Chicheley in the statutes for All Souls substituted the more up-to-date cause of the wars between England and France. The corporate title bestowed on the college was markedly different. Instead of being 'the Warden and Scholars Clerks' (*scholares clerici*), it was the Provost and College (*Prepositus et Collegium*). The title of provost was substituted for warden, undoubtedly by way of distinction from Winchester. That title, and not rector or master, was no doubt chosen because the head of the college of St. Elizabeth, which stood next door to the college at Winchester and is now part of it, was called provost, as was also the head of King's Hall (Oriell) at Oxford, a post held by John Carpenter, who took some part in the foundation, and was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in Eton Chapel, and the head of Queen's College, founded next after Oriell. The corporate body was almost the same as at Winchester, being a provost and 70 scholars with 10 fellows and 16 choristers. But there were ten instead of only three hired chaplains, who from being *conductitii et*

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remotivi, hired and removable, instead of holding freehold offices, were and are called conducts, 10 chapel clerks instead of three, while 13 poor youths, scholars, and 13 almsmen had no precursor at Winchester. The increase of chaplains and clerks was to augment the splendour of the services. Of the 10 clerks four were to be honest men, of good conduct, skilled in reading, psalming and singing, skilled also in part-singing ('etiam cantu organico²⁴ peritiam habentes') with voices of equal power ('in vocibus similiter bene dispositi'), one of whom at least was to know how to improvise on the organ (*jubilare in organis*), and he alone of all the clerks of the college, if another could not be had, was allowed to be a married man. The organist in Italy is to this day often a layman, though a cleric is preferred. There was also to be a parish clerk who was able to teach the grammar scholars, and a vestry clerk, each of whom were to receive five marks extra. The tale of ten was made up of four gentlemen clerks (*clerici generosi*) who were to sit at the first dinner at a gentlemen's table ('in primis refectionibus ad aliquam mensam generosorum') with the chaplains, and were to be taught part-singing, their instructor having £6 and three others to have six marks. There were also added 13 poor youths, between 15 and 20 years old at the time of their admission, who were to be taken from the outside scholars (i.e. oppidans) of the college, who were to act as chamber-servants to the provost, fellows, and head master, and to ring the bells, but were also by the instruction of their masters and attendance in the grammar school to render themselves fit in learning to take holy orders, 'for which reason above all we have thought good that they should be admitted to our college royal.'

The school, the grammar school as it was called, though the main object of the college, only occupies six whole statutes and small portions of eight others, out of the total of sixty-two statutes. The bulk of these statutes was occupied with the duties of the warden, bursars, fellows, chaplains, and others, the conduct of the church services and the obits for the soul of the founder.

The provisions for the school differed little from those at Winchester. As there the master teacher (*Magister Informator*) was the second person in the college, sitting at the upper table in hall above the fellows (except the vice-provost,

²⁴ Not 'singing to the organ.' The organ was not used with the singing, but between the singing parts, till after the Reformation; it was played with the foot, and the great object was 'to make a joyful noise before the Lord' (*jubilare in organis*). On the other hand, the *organum*, still called in Spain *canto de organo*, an organ being always in the plural *organa*, is part-singing unaccompanied; cf. *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii. C. F. Abdy Williams in *Musical Times*, Feb. 1907.

who changed every year), and sitting according to his academical degree in the church; whence perhaps the custom of becoming D.D. or D.C.L., the latter more common in old days. His stipend was 24 marks or £16 a year, as against £10 for the fellows and £30 for the provost. His commons (stat. 15) were at the same rate as the fellows', viz., 20d. a week or £4 6s. 8d. a year; there being also allowance to the whole table of 1s. 1d. on twenty-five days for augmentation. His livery of cloth, which was to be black or dark grey, was 6 yds. at 3s. 4d. a yd., or £1. He might have one of the youths (*juvenes*) as servant (stat. 10), who was to be found commons and livery by the college, and to receive such wages as the master agreed on with him. The qualifications of the master were simply to be 'sufficiently learned in grammar, having experience of teaching,' with an addition not found in the Winchester statutes, a testimony to the growth of the University, and the increased supply of M.A.'s, that he shall be 'a master in arts, if such can be conveniently gotten, by no means married, or beneficed in any college, chapel or church with cure of souls within 7 miles of our college of Eton.' The usher (*hostiarius*), who, as at Winchester, was only to be 'sufficiently learned in grammar,' without previous experience in teaching, was to have the additional qualification of being unmarried, not in holy orders, 'a bachelor of arts if such can be conveniently had.' Master and usher were 'to assiduously instruct and teach the scholars of the said college in grammar, and attentively supervise their life and conduct; punishing the idlers and offenders without partiality, with this caution that in chastisement they no way exceed moderation'—a caution which favourably distinguished Wykeham from many previous and later school legislators, who were more anxious to get the boys well flogged than careful to prevent their being too much flogged. As at Winchester, both master and usher were strictly forbidden 'to presume to exact, ask or claim in any way anything from any of the scholars or their parents or friends for their labour about the said scholars bestowed or to be bestowed by reason or occasion of such instruction.' In other words, the school was a free grammar school.

The contemplated pay of the masters was decidedly on a higher scale than that laid down at Winchester. The provost had £30 instead of £20, the master 24 marks (£16) as against £10, and the usher 10 marks as against 5 marks (£6 13s. 4d. instead of £3 6s. 8d.). A similar rise took place in the salary fixed for St. Anthony's School, London, for which statutes were made by Waynesflete and Say in 1447. However, the loss of endowment under Edward IV prevented these figures being realized, and the salary of the head master of Eton was in practice only

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the same as at Winchester, £10. The allowances for commons were raised, as compared with Winchester, from 1s. in ordinary times and 1s. 6d. in time of scarcity, to 1s. 6d. in ordinary times and 2s. in times of scarcity. For some reason, however, the livery of cloth for gowns was reduced in amount, the master having 6 yards instead of 8, and the usher 5 yards, the same as at Winchester. They were obliged, however, only to keep their gowns for one year instead of five years, as at Winchester. A similar advance was noticeable in the arrangement as to chambers. While at Winchester the master and usher, and, if necessary, another priest, were to share a chamber, and the fellows were to sleep three in a room; at Eton each fellow and the head master were to have separate rooms, and the *hostiarius* and chaplains were to be two in a room.

Besides the master and usher provision was made for an assistant master, it being provided that the chapel clerk, who acted as parish clerk, should also be able to teach the grammarians. His pay was 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.), and his commons 14d. a week.

The provisions as to the scholars were in identical terms with those at Winchester; that is, they were to be 70 in number, poor and needy (*pauperes et indigentes*), between eight and twelve years old at the time of election, completely instructed in reading, plainsong, and grammar; with a proviso that anyone under seventeen might be elected if he showed promise of being sufficiently learned in grammar by the time he was eighteen. They were to be born in England, with preference for those coming from places and counties in which the college had property. But there were two additions not present in the Winchester statutes, viz. that 'regard was to be had to the choristers' of Eton and King's, 'whom on account of their labours and services rendered in the said royal colleges it is right should according to their merits be preferred to those who are on a par with them in the conditions and qualities abovementioned,' but 'no villein (*nativus*) or illegitimate' was to be admitted.

The provisions as to examination for college at Winchester had specially included 'other boys and the choristers of the chapel there' to be examined, and as a matter of fact, till the reign of Henry VIII at least, nearly all the choristers did get into college. In this respect, therefore, the definite preference given for choristers was only a legalization and extension of existing practice. Whether the exclusion of those who were unfree was also in accordance with practice at Winchester, and not a retrograde provision, is a moot point. When Wykeham first started his school, about 1370, and when he definitely endowed it in 1382, it is probable that no one would have thought the son of a slave or a bonds-

man eligible for a scholarship at Winchester any more than he ordinarily was for the priesthood, though it is to be observed that in 1312 a fellow of Merton, Master Walter of Merton in Oxford, received manumission from the Cathedral Priory of Durham.²⁶ But by the rejection of a Bill sent up by the Commons in 1392, excluding villeins' sons from schools, Richard II, or his advisers, threw the school doors open to them. As a sequel to the Peasants' Revolt, by the time of Henry VI the number of bondsmen was much reduced, so that exclusion of the unfree, while at all events not a liberal measure, was not so illiberal as it would have been in the 14th century. One danger in the selection of its scholars Eton escaped by having a royal founder; the absolute right of admission and the special privileges given to kin of the founder, which in the 17th century nearly ruined Winchester, were absent from the Eton statutes.

The electing body was the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as at Winchester; the provost of King's, with two fellows called posers (i.e. opposers or apposers), came to Eton between the translation of Thomas Becket (7 July) and the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), and with the provost and vice-provost and head master of Eton held a scrutiny to detect anything amiss in the conduct of the college, and then examined and elected the Eton boys to King's, and the choristers and others for admission to Eton, putting their names on a roll, those named being admitted in order as vacancies occurred.

The scholars of Eton were to dwell in the ground-floor chambers of the inner quadrangle with three prefects or prepositors in each chamber. It is a moot point with the Eton historians whether they ever did so, or whether Long Chamber, in which the whole 70 slept in one barrack-like room, was original or only an innovation, dating from the time when the west side of the inner quadrangle and Lupton's Tower was devoted to the provost by Provost Lupton at the end of the reign of Henry VII. It seems, however, wholly incredible that the statutes, which were altered from those of Winchester in every minute point in which circumstances were altered, would have been retained unaltered on so important a point of school life as the chambers, if so great an alteration had been made as to substitute one large chamber for six smaller ones. The words in the Winchester statutes as to chambers, directing the 'great house' below Hall to be used as a school—it is now Seventh Chamber—and the prohibition of wrestling, dancing, jumping, singing, and shouting in Hall, because it was over school, are omitted from the Eton statutes, because Hall at Eton was a separate

²⁶ *Reg. Palat. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), 97. As late as the days of Elizabeth a manumission is found of a fellow of Exeter College and his family.

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building outside the quadrangle, while the provision as to the master and usher having the north-west corner for their chamber was also omitted because they had separate chambers. The fact that the provisions as to the boys' chambers remained the same as at Winchester is conclusive proof that at first the masters and the boys were not in the outer but in the inner quadrangle, and lived not in one but in seven several chambers, the 16 choristers occupying one, and the 70 scholars the other six.

It should be observed that the cost of the commons of the scholars was raised from 8*d.* a week at Winchester to 1*s.* 3*d.* a week. As for livery, while at Winchester white, black, russet, and grey gowns were expressly prohibited, because of the black, white, russet, and grey monks, canons, and friars who swarmed there, at Eton the gowns were ordered to be black or dark grey, there being no regulars near for whom the scholars could be mistaken. At first the cloth for the gowns was bought at Winchester. Tunics worn under the gown are mentioned.

There is no direct evidence what the dress was like. A portrait in brass of John Stonor, of 29 August 1515,²⁶ at Wraysbury on the Thames, is now commonly cited as that of a scholar of Eton and as showing what the dress was then. But it is quite certain that the brass in question does not show the dress of an Eton scholar, and it is almost certain that the subject was not an Etonian at all. The Rev. Herbert Haines, second master of Gloucester Cathedral Grammar School, in his *Monumental Brasses*, published in 1861,²⁷ is responsible for saying, without giving any reason, 'It probably exhibits the dress of an Eton scholar.' Subsequent writers on brasses, including the latest,²⁸ have converted the 'probably' into a positive assertion that it is that of an Eton scholar. There is, however, no evidence to show that John or any other Stonor ever was an Eton scholar. His name is not in any Eton list yet known, published or otherwise. Even if he was, there is no reason except the somewhat small dimensions of the brass for supposing that the brass is that of a boy. It is now well established from the celebrated brasses at Salisbury and Winchester, once supposed to be those of boy-bishops, that the small size of a figure is no indication of the small size of the subject. Stonor's figure is certainly not that of a person *in statu pupillari*. It is clad in a long gown with a white fur border down the middle and at the bottom. By sumptuary laws, the latest of which, at Stonor's

date, was 1 Henry VIII, cap. 14 (1509-10), no schoolboy, certainly no *pauper et indigens scholaris*, would have been allowed to wear fur, which was restricted to the upper ranks of laymen and the upper orders of clerics and academics. Moreover the figure portrayed has on the head a hood close-fitting to the face, with liripips or streamers behind, and above it a round cap, also of fur or bound with fur, which are almost certainly the hood and cap (*pileum*) of a doctor of laws. Schoolboys went bareheaded, as was still the custom at Winchester 30 years ago in the college precinct, and at Christ's Hospital still. John Stonor's brass gives therefore no indication of the dress of a scholar of Eton.

In the absence of any other evidence we may therefore assume that the scholars of Eton were dressed like the scholars of Winchester, in a long gown with a low collar²⁹ buttoned at the neck, and closed in front and hanging down to the heels, which may be seen in the brass in Headbourne Worthy, Hants, of 'John Kent once scholar of the New college of Wynchestre and son of Simon Kent of Reading,' who died in 1434. The present gown at Winchester only differs from this in that the sleeve now does not go down to the wrist, but is cut short up at the elbow and puffed, and the gown is now worn open, except by a junior when speaking to a master, but when closed it is still held by only one button at the neck. At Eton the sign of superannuation used to be the cutting of the top button, letting the two sides of the gown fall open apart from each other. But the modern Eton gown is, as at Oxford, a garment not worn always, but only in school and chapel, and then donned over ordinary modern dress. It is strange to find that, in spite of the statutes, the colour of the gowns was in 1446-7³⁰ blue; in 1447-8 'mustre devillers,' which is striped blue and yellow; in 1458 partly plain, partly rayed (*stragulatam*). In 1567-8 russet was bought in London 'for schollars lyvyrye.'

Besides scholars there were from the first at Eton, as at Winchester, commoners in college (*commensales in collegio*). By an almost casual entry at the end of a statute forbidding strangers to be lodged in college, except (and that for two days at a time only) parents or friends of scholars, Wykeham said: 'We allow however that sons of noble and powerful persons, special friends of the college, may, to the number of ten, be instructed in grammar and educated in the

²⁶ The inscription is: 'Here lyeth John Stonor, the sone of Walter Stonor, squyer, that departed this world ye xxix day of August in yere of our lord mdcxv.'

²⁷ p. lxxxvi.

²⁸ Herbert Drewitt, *A Manual of Costume as illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (1906), 142.

²⁹ In A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.* this was misdescribed, from the drawing given of it in *Ann. of Winchester Coll.* as a high collar, the line of the chin being mistaken for part of the collar. The illustration in the article by him on 'Schools' in *V.C.H. Hants*, ii, 274, shows clearly the collar the same as in the present Winchester gowns.

³⁰ Eton Aud. R. 25 & 26 Hen. VI. This is the second extant roll.

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college without burden to the college ; so that it be without prejudice, damage, or scandal to the members of the college.' The same words were used at Eton, but the number was doubled, twenty *extranei commensales* or tabling strangers being admissible. 'Noble' of course had not the limited sense now given to it, but included all of gentle birth, squires and country gentlemen—in fact anyone who bore arms.

Lastly, over and above all these the school was open as a Free Grammar School to all coming to it from all parts of England. In this respect Eton was unlike Winchester and like the ordinary grammar school. At Winchester no provision was made for outsiders, probably because there was already an existing high school or city grammar school in the town, of immemorial antiquity, to which outsiders could go, and for trenching on the monopoly of which, by admitting scholars and gentlemen-commoners at all, Wykeham thought it necessary to get a papal bull. In point of fact, however, outsiders were admitted. For a rescript by Bishop Beaufort, Wykeham's successor in the see of Winchester, 10 April 1412, states the 'the master is continually instructing and educating in grammar 80 or 100 outsiders in our college, contrary to the pious intention of the founder,' and 'because one master is not enough to teach so large a number,' he forbade the warden 'to admit any outsider beyond the number limited by the statutes to be taught grammar in the college, or allow them to be admitted without your (the warden's) special licence.' This licence must, however, have been freely given. Extant accounts of the provost of St. Elizabeth's College, which stood where the warden's garden now is, show the admission in 1400 of commoners, and the next extant accounts in 1455 and 1460-4 show commoners of whom some are specifically stated to be attending school in 'New College,' as Winchester, like its sister college at Oxford, was then called. Wayneflete no doubt had himself taught these commoners at Winchester. Convinced, therefore, of the advantage of them, he ensured their admission at Eton, not at the mercy of the provost, but by adding to the master's salary and making it his duty to admit them free and giving the boys an absolute right to come. There was, however, at Eton no St. Elizabeth's College and no Sisters' Hospital, one on each side of the college, to board them under care, and no city to receive them into lodgings, but only a village with a few houses. Yet so important was the admission of outsiders deemed, that, by a patent of 20 June 1444, Henry VI forbade the providers of victuals for the king's household to take any property of the college or of the parishioners of Eton for the king's use, or to billet anyone in Eton against the will of the provost, and declared 'that all the inns (*hospitia*), houses, and mansions in the town and parish of

Eton shall be specially reserved for the boys and scholars coming together there for their education (*disciplina*) and others coming there for any reason connected with the college, at the discretion of the provost or his deputy, so that no one else shall lodge there either himself or anyone else without their leave.' So that the whole town of Eton was placed under the rule of the provost and reserved for the school. Moreover, on 12 March 1444-5 all lands and tenements in Eton were granted to the college, and to ensure a supply of provisions two fairs, one for three days after the Carnival, the other for four days after the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), were established. In the same spirit it is said²¹ that by patent 24 Henry VI the grammar school of the college was given a monopoly, and no other school was allowed in Eton or within 10 miles of it.

The absence of any indication whatever of the time-table or curriculum of the school in all the voluminous statutes might be thought strange were it not that a similar absence of detail is characteristic of school foundations in every age. Indeed, the latest formula of the Board of Education for school curriculum is merely to say that 'instruction shall be given in such subjects proper to be taught in a Public Secondary School as the governors in consultation with the head master may from time to time think fit.' The Eton curriculum was summed up in the one word 'grammar,' taught in a way to fit the scholars for the university. There is no specific evidence to show what grammar included or how it was taught at Eton for nearly a century after the foundation. But we know²² that grammar meant Latin grammar and the Latin classics, with composition both in Latin prose and Latin verse, and conversation carried on in the Latin tongue, both in and out of school. Besides this, the Eton statutes go in one respect into rather more detail than those of Winchester, in that they direct (stat. 14) that 'the master, or, in his absence, the usher, is to make a disputation in grammar, to be publicly held in the nave of the collegiate church or the cloister of the same, or other fit place, on the day of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, by some advanced scholar of the royal college in the presence of all the boys learning grammar and of all others coming there—he to be answered in the accustomed manner by another scholar.' This institution of a Speech Day was no doubt not a new thing in schools. The reference to its being held in the cloister shows that it was modelled at all events on Winchester practice,

²¹ B.M. Sloane MSS. 4840, fol. 313. I am bound to say that I have failed to find the patent in question.

²² e.g. by the regulations for Grammar Schools and Grammar Schoolmasters at Oxford in Oxford University Statutes.

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where in the summer the upper classes at least were held in cloisters, and the summer term was and is still called Cloister Time; while the disputation in grammar prevailed at Westminster election till half way through the 19th century. A curious 'Memorandum' on the Eton Election Roll for 1468,³³ that 'Kercy,' whose name appears in the body of the roll as Kersey, but without the usual details of age and place of birth, 'is not found in the examination papers,' appears to show that the examination was really competitive, and that written papers were set in it. The use of the word 'examinations,' not 'election,' and the plural number seems to negative the idea that the missing papers were merely this boy's application for election.

But as to what subjects the examination was in, besides Donatus or the *accidence* and plain chant, we are left to guess. But there can be little doubt that a very considerable amount of real classics was done. The now well-known letter of William Paston, written 23 February 1479, when an oppidan about nineteen years old, living in a dame's house—he calls her 'my hostess'—under the tuition of a fellow, Thomas Stevenson, concludes thus: 'And as for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.'

Quare³⁴ quo modo non valet hora valet mora?

Unde di[citur]

Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die possunt

Omnia suppleri, sed tamen illa mora.

And these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making.'

The false quantity in making the *e* in 'die' short is shocking to the modern classical scholar; but it must be remembered that Paston was only an oppidan, and was already spending his time attending weddings and falling in love with a young lady from London, to whom the bulk of the letter is devoted. The verses, however, on the monument of William Westbury, the first head master, who died in 1472, would perhaps be equally startling to the modern master:—

Nate Dei patris,³⁵ anime miserere Wilhelmi

Westburi cuius ossa sub hoc lapide

Condita sunt; natus erat et nutritus in Alford,

Wintonie juvenis grammaticam didicit.

Oxonie studuit, et in artibus ille magister

Etone pueros grammaticam docuit.

Inde theologus est hic functus Prepositura,

Tolle decem menses, lustra per integra sex.

³³ 'Memorandum, quod non inventus in papiris examinationum Kercy.'

³⁴ 'Why, when the hour does not avail, does delay avail?' This is the theme set by the master. The words 'on which it is said' usher in the boy's answer: 'You may see an example in a tree. Everything cannot be supplied in a day, but it is by waiting.'

³⁵ 'Son of God the Father, have mercy on the soul of William Westbury, whose bones are buried under this stone. He was born and bred at Alresford, at

The lengthening of the syllables marked was not done in the golden age of Latin elegiacs, though it is probable that in the third line *erat* had been misread for *fuit*. But hexameters and pentameters were a mere exotic in Latin. The authors on whom Westbury was brought up were probably largely the authors of the bronze age, or of even baser metal, the Christian poets of the 4th and 5th centuries, Sedulius and Juvenius and Prudentius, whom Colet even half a century later regarded as models of pure Latinity; and they exercised equal or even greater licence, even making the *o* of the ablative short, as if it was the modern Italian *o*. The practice in this respect of some ten centuries was probably nearer the real pronunciation than the narrower rules which prevailed in the single century of the golden age of Roman literature.

We may now revert to a regular chronological order of history. The evidence already given points to the school beginning, not in October 1442, when Wayneffete left Winchester, but at Midsummer 1443, when he was already provost. Even then it began with a very scanty number, which was increased at the election of 1444; but the full complement was not made up, as the Audit Roll of 1444-5 shows, till the election of 1445. That roll records the purchase of 370½ yds. of linen 'for sheets, shirts and other necessities for scholars and choristers,' out of which thirty pairs of sheets were made; while fifteen canvases were bought and a cart-load of straw to fill them, and 82 yds. of woollen cloth for blankets (*lodibus*), showing that the scholars did not, as has been alleged, lie in straw, but on straw mattresses with all the paraphernalia of modern beds. In that year, too, sixty-three gowns and hoods were made by two tailors, the cloth for which was bought at Winchester from Thomas Filde, draper, as it was every year till 1476, after which it was bought at St. Bartholomew's Fair, London. The record of the weekly commons shows a sudden increase from 46 in the third week, and 58 'scholars, choristers, and servants,' the latter meaning the 12 *pueri servientes*, in the twelfth week, to 84 in the thirteenth week. The cause of this accession of numbers is to be found in the first regular election of scholars on 26 September 1444.³⁶ Then seven scholars from Eton were elected to King's, headed by the ex-Winchester scholar, Richard Roche of Tawnton (Taunton in Somerset), who was only fifteen, while three others were nineteen, one eighteen, and Richard Fauley, the ex-Win-

chester as a youth he learnt grammar, he studied at Oxford, and as a master in arts taught boys grammar at Eton. Then, becoming a theologian (i.e. D.D.), he discharged the office of provost here for 6 whole lustra (30 years), less ten months.'

³⁶ This and the following rolls, the existence of which was previously unknown, were discovered by the writer in searching for the Audit Rolls.

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chester commoner, sixteen years old. Two came from Somerset, two from Dorset, one each from Hampshire, Berkshire, and Warwickshire. No fewer than 25 were elected to Eton. They were headed by Richard Denman from the county of Durham, who had already attained the extreme age allowed, of seventeen years, while a Yorkshire boy, John Freeman, was sixteen. On the other hand, one from Eton itself and one from London were only ten years old. The rest ranged from twelve to fifteen years of age. It would almost appear that the widest possible range was purposely taken, no county contributing more than two boys, except Yorkshire, which sent five; but of these one came from York and one from each of the three Ridings other than the West Riding, which sent two. Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Hertfordshire each contributed two scholars; while London, Cambridgeshire, Devonshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Surrey, Somerset, and Westmorland each contributed a single scion. The names of Yarborough (Yar brow) from Lincolnshire, Catesby from Northamptonshire, Bower from Yorkshire, Salkeld from Westmorland, and Dorman from Leicestershire, all county families—and no doubt to those having local knowledge many of the other names—show that the words *pauperes indigentes* by no means meant, as has sometimes been asserted, the 'poor and needy' in the sense in which it is used nowadays, in the Poor Law sense, but included the younger sons of the upper middle classes, 'those who without help could not keep their sons at the universities.' The next election roll forthcoming is that for 1446, and contains 35 names of those 'nominated to the college royal.' If they were all admitted, this year, when the school was built and the college practically finished, marks the final filling of the college to its full number. The age in this roll is much lower than that of previous elections, the eighteenth on the list being only eight, while the fourth and fifth were ten years old, and none of the first 18 were over fourteen years of age. No fewer than 6 of them were Londoners; the rest came from Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire. In the next extant roll, that for 1453, a distinction is drawn between those 'elected and admitted' (*assumptorum*) on 3 August, and those 'elected, nominated, and to be admitted' (*assumendorum*). The former list consisted of 15 names; the latter contained no fewer than 65, of whom not a tenth could have been actually admitted. The name of Nicholas Wallop of Farleigh, aged eleven, of the ancient Hampshire family now represented by the Earl of Portsmouth, shows what the status of the poor and indigent scholars was. Counties so distant as Cornwall and Derbyshire sent representatives.

In 1444-5 the college had got into working order, with William Westbury as head master and Thomas Chaunterie as first usher, while two clerks, Henry Sulby and Henry Warde, instructed in singing. The endowment was not yet completed, the total income of £946 8s. 5½d. being made up by three gifts 'of the most gracious Founder' of £120, of £18 provided by the provost, and another £18 the proceeds of the contributions at the Assumption of the Virgin; but as the staff of confessors, who with their servants occupied thirty beds, and the entertainment of strangers cost £29 19s. 3d., the bulls for the feast were a losing speculation. This year saw the erection of the school, 'a house and two chambers at the end of the same (the old church), inside the precinct of the college, to teach the grammar scholars in,'²⁷ at a cost of £71 16s. 9½d., or some £2,150 of our money. With its two classrooms it was 70 ft. long by 24 ft. broad, or about 5 ft. narrower, but 25 ft. longer, than the *magna domus* which formed the school at Winchester. The total area was 1,680 square ft. as against 1,350. At 12 square ft. each this gives room for 140 boys, which would leave room for only about 20 oppidans. But with the closer packing of those days, allowing 10 square ft. each, some 50 oppidans, making 190 in all, might have been admitted. However tight the packing, it could not in any case have been contemplated that oppidans should be in the majority, as against the 119 members of the college. The college precinct was completed by 'making gates in the paling round' it, i.e. the outer gate, at a cost of £8 18s. 2d. Next year the almshouse was built in the outer quadrangle, probably where Upper School now is; it was finished in the following year. The Old Hall mentioned in the accounts was also in 1445-6 in course of being superseded by the present hall, the chief mason going to consult the Marquis of Suffolk on its 'making' in November 1445-6. It was in use before Midsummer 1449, though it was not till 1450 that 'storied glass' (*vitri historialis*) was placed in its windows. In its dimensions, 82 ft. by 32 ft., it was distinctly intended to surpass that of Winchester, which was only some 63 ft. by 30 ft., though, oddly enough, it was smaller than that of New College, 87 ft. by 35 ft.

In 1446-7 the total number of 'scholars choristers and servitors' was raised from 86 to 106, the total possible being 109, viz. 70 scholars, 16 choristers, and 13 servitors. The usher had changed, William Child or Chylde, a

²⁷ Willis and Clark, op. cit. i, 403. 'In diversis custibus pro factura et nova constructione cuiusdam domus et duarum camerarum ad finem eiusdem infra precinctum dicti collegii pro scholaribus grammatice intus informandis.' This Mr. Clark translates 'to teach the scholars grammar in,' but the proper translation is as given in the text.

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Winchester scholar in 1437 and fellow of New College, having succeeded Chaunterie at or before Michaelmas 1446. The provost's pay was now increased to £75 a year by the addition of £25 a year instead of the rectory of Eton. The total income was £1,536, but as the roll is imperfect we do not know how much came from endowment or whether any of it came from gifts by the king. It is to be noted that on Maundy Thursday the 'Founder's alms' cost no less than £12 5s. 8d., some £370 in our money; among the items being 7 casks of red herrings and 400 white herrings, a dozen (? casks) of ale, while a penny each was given to no less than 1,000 poor, and 13, probably the almsmen, had 4d. apiece. No less than 5,600 wafers (*panibus*) were consumed in the church during the year, a number which in 1447-8 increased to 8,450. 80½ ells of Flanders and 43 ells of Brabant, with 38 ells of unnamed linen, were bought for table-cloths, and 28 ells of diaper for napkins for the hall, so that the 15th-century frequenters of halls lived in no less gentlemanly a way than their successors. An interesting item is '9 green boughs of "cero" for the adornment of the hall on St. John Baptist's (Midsummer) day'; on which day later rolls show that it was customary to set up a great candle in hall painted green and red, 'turmyntyne' and 'vermelon' being bought in 1449 for the feast, and in later years 'verdegris' and 'vermilion,' while 'talwode' was provided for a 'bonefyre' on the eve of the day, as also on the eves of St. Peter and St. Paul on 29 June and the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (Becket) on 7 July. For the boy bishop 1s. 6d. was expended on making his rochet (*in factura unius rochet ordinate pro episcopo Nicolaiensi*). That repaired in 1507-8 at a cost of 11d. (*pro reparatione le rochet pro episcopo puerorum*) was a later gift of Canon Denton, an old Etonian. The boy-bishop is called by the Elizabethan master, Malim, *episcopus Nihilensis*, which Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte has translated 'a bishop of nothingness' instead of 'a bishop Nicholas,' i.e. Santa Claus. The boy-bishop ceremonial, which appears to be a Christian adaptation of a custom at the Roman *Saturnalia* of the slave sitting in the place of the master and the master doing the duty of the servant, was expressly authorized at Eton by statute, with a curious and not easily explicable variation from the similar Winchester statute. Wykeham, after directing the fellows and chaplains to do duty on certain saints' days, said, 'We allow, however, that on the feast of Innocents the boys may say and celebrate vespers, matins, and other divine offices read or chanted after the use and custom of the church of Sarum.' The age seems to have grown more scrupulous in the interval; for Henry VI said, 'on which day (St. Nicholas, 6 December), and not by any means on the teast of the Holy

Innocents, we allow divine service, *except the sacred portions of the mass*, to be performed and said by a boy-bishop of the scholars, to be elected among them yearly for the purpose.' It is easy to see the objection of the pious king to the mummerly of the boy-bishop performing even the most sacred portions of the mass, but it is not easy to see why the performance was transferred to St. Nicholas's Day. Perhaps it was not horror at the indignity offered to the Holy Innocents, but for the greater dignity of his own birthday and patron saint that the change was made. It will be seen that Eton being in the diocese of Lincoln, whose chief saint was the boy Hugh, one of the numerous alleged blood-offerings of the Jews, the election was held on his day, 17 November, and the celebration on St. Nicholas's Day. Even in the reign of Elizabeth the day was kept with cakes and wine.

It is strange that there is no mention in the accounts of 1446-7 of the great event of the year, the passing of Provost Waynefflete to the throne of Winchester, though they do record a payment to the ex-usher, Mr. Thomas Chauntrie, and another, 'for their labours about the induction of the new Provost.' Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, died 11 April 1447, and Henry VI having written the same day to the conventual chapter of Winchester to elect William Waynefflete as his successor, he was duly elected on 13 April. By 6 May he was with the king at Winchester. In July he was consecrated in Eton Church, when his old college of Winchester gave him a horse at a cost of £6 13s. 4d., and the warden, sub-warden, and others rode over to Eton to present it, and gave 'the boys of the College royal of Eton 13s. 4d.,' or about 2½d. each. Even if multiplied by thirty times to get an approximate equivalent of the value, it is to be feared Eton boys would not be grateful for such a tip to-day.

The king seems now to have become excited about Winchester to a degree bordering on the insanity which afterwards overtook him. He seems to have thought there was some mystic quality in its very soil which produced its eminent scholars; as Winchester College records a 'tip' of 3s. 4d. to 'John Hayne, valet of the king's chamber, sent by the king to learn the character of the soil of the foundation of the college,'⁸⁸ while what must have been a huge slice

⁸⁸ Winchester Coll. Bursars' Roll, 26 & 27 Hen. VI. 'Joh. Hayne, valecto camere Domini Regis misso ad collegium per Dominum Regem pro noticia terre fundamenti collegii, cum 16d. solutis 5 laborantibus et fodientibus pro terra eiusdem fundamenti mittenda Domino Regi, 4s. 8d.' This expenditure, as well as that on 2 kids, 2 pheasants, 12 partridges (*parterychis*), 17 chickens, and 3 trouts (*truttis*) given the king, when he came in person, was amply repaid by the king's gift of a gold chalice and 'fiols,' £10 in gold, and 4s. 4d. for a pittance.

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of earth, as 5 labourers were paid 1s. 4d. or a day's wages each, for digging it up, was sent to him. He came in person to Winchester on 29 January 1447-8, when there was a great gathering of those interested in Eton, the two provosts and divers fellows of the two colleges meeting Bekynton, Say, Uvedale, the high sheriff, and other Wykehamists. He spent a month, later in the same year when Parliament was held there, paying frequent visits to the college, and gave them a tabernacle of gold for the high altar and 40s. for the scholars and £5 for the fellows and other things. The result was nearly fatal to Eton, for he seems to have now conceived the idea of rivalling and surpassing Wykeham not merely as school and college founder, but also as cathedral builder.

Up to this time, as is shown by the so-called 'will' of Henry VI, which was not a testament taking effect on death, but a declaration of uses or trusts of certain lands and revenues, chiefly derived from the Duchy of Lancaster, which he had vested in feoffees to carry out the works of his two colleges, he was merely desirous of outbidding William of Wykeham's colleges. 'I . . . have doo my will and myne entent to be written in maner that foloweth . . . I will pray and charge my feffees³⁹ that unto the tyme that the saide edificacions and other werkes . . . be fully perfourmed and accomplished in more notable wise than any of my said roiaume of England, they see that my same colleges . . . have . . . yerely £2,000 that is to say, Eton £1,000 and . . . Cambridge £1,000 . . . unto the ende of the terme of xx yeres.' The will and intent then sets out the dimensions. The choir (quere) of the church of Eton was to be 103 ft. long and 32 ft. broad and 80 ft. high, and the body or nave 104 ft. long and 32 ft. broad, with an aisle on each side 15 ft. broad. 'And so the said quere is lenger then the quere of Wynchestre college at Oxenford by 3 feet, brodder by 2 fete and the walls heyer by 20 fete, the pennacles lenger 10 fete.' He had ensured this by sending in 1442⁴⁰ Bekynton to New College with a 'squire of the lord king to measure the hall and the church.' In like manner the following year he had sent the Dean of St. Paul's to New College 'to see and hear divine service celebrated there and report on it to the lord king'; and the New College choir was sent to Osney Abbey, where the king stayed, to do service before him there. He was determined to eclipse it in that respect also.

To make a school chapel larger than the largest college chapel at Oxford then satisfied the king's

ambition. But his visit to Winchester later in the year seems to have developed megalomania. Henry now got from Oxford, as master of the works, Master Roger Keys, who, as second warden of All Souls' College, had overseen the completion of its buildings, and kept its extant and admirable accounts. On 26 January 1448-9 Keys was paid⁴¹ 19s. 9½d. for his expenses for nine days with four horses and three servants, 'sent by the lord king to Salisbury and Winchester, to make certain measurements there, viz. of the choirs and naves of the churches there.' The result was seen in three successive plans⁴² for completing the Eton buildings, culminating in 'The Kynge's owne avyse, as touchyng certayne dimensions also well of the Qwere as of the body of the churche, with the yles, of his college royall of oure blessed lady of Eton.' These plans increased the length of the choir from 103 ft. to 118 ft., and finally to 150 ft., and the breadth from 32 ft. to 35 ft. and finally 40 ft., whilst the nave was enlarged from 104 ft. to 119 ft. and then to 168 ft. long, with similar increases of breadth, the aisles being also increased in breadth from 15 ft. to 20 ft. each. Thus the whole length of the church was made 318 ft. instead of 207 ft., and the breadth 80 ft. 'And so the said quere schall be lenger than the quere of the Newe College at Oxford bi 47 fete, brodder bi 8 fete and the walles heyer by 20 fete And also heyer than the walles of seynt Stephen's Chapel at Westminster.' In fact the design of a school chapel was now enlarged into that of a first-class cathedral.

It is interesting to observe that there was a definite plan drawn out, and the actual architect was apparently found in London, as Roger Keys spent three weeks there negotiating for a new quarry at Hudleston in Yorkshire and 'to show the king the drawing made for the finishing of the building.'⁴³

To carry out this stupendous design, the whole of the just completed, or almost completed, chapel, for the roof and stalls had both been finished, even to the polishing of the latter with 'hownd fissch (? dog-fish) skyn,' had to be destroyed, and special directions were required to ensure that the very foundations themselves should not be removed, but only added to for the greater breadth contemplated. From the year 1448 to 1450 no less than £3,336 was spent on the works, or about £100,000, at a moderate computation, in our money. The Marquis of Suffolk, Wayne-flete, and the Bishop of Salisbury contributed about £700 (or £21,000) of this sum. But it was evidently more than the royal coffers could stand. In 1450 the impeachment of Suffolk was

³⁹ This spelling admirably preserves the proper pronunciation of the word 'feoffees,' not 'fee-of-fee' in three syllables.

⁴⁰ New Coll. Bursars' Roll, 21 & 22 Hen. VI. 'Pro j jentaculo dato armigero Domini Regis veniendo ad mensurandum aulam et ecclesiam, 23^d.'

⁴¹ Keys' accounts in Eton library.

⁴² Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* i, 365; Maxwell Lyte, *op. cit.*

⁴³ 'Ad ostendendum Domino Regi portraturam factam super conclusione edificii.'

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followed by his death and Jack Cade's rising. The effect was promptly seen in the works. In 1450-1, under a new master of the works, instead of eighty-four masons only twenty-two were employed; in 1452-3 the number rose to forty, but next year, the year of the first attack of Henry's insanity, they fell to twenty-two again.

From 1458 to 1460 no more than thirty-three workmen in all were employed. The great church was only built as far as the choir door, and then remained, and remains, unfinished.

On Wayneflete's promotion, John Clerk, the vice-provost, was made provost, being elected by the fellows 2 August 1447.^{43a} But he died in October of the same year, and William Westbury, the head master, succeeded him, being appointed by patent 8 December 1447. He was, oddly enough, for some 300 years, the only head master to become provost, though for the last 150 years the provost has been regarded as a retiring pension for the head master. Hitherto the provost had hired a house in London to live in during his frequent visits there in attendance on the king or for college business, paying in 1444-5 £5 for the year as rent to John Goffe, mercer, and afterwards £2 a year to the Abbot of Chertsey. By patent, 30 October 1448, the king conferred on the college for this purpose the Leper Hospital of St. James, now St. James's Palace. This hospital had an endowment of some hundreds of acres of land in Westminster and the suburbs; and though part was taken in exchange by Henry VIII when he made it a palace, the bulk was retained by the college, and part of it, some 140 acres, has just been sold for £80,000 for a garden city at Hampstead.

Westbury was succeeded as head master by Richard Hopton, a fellow of Oriel, and probably an Eton exhibitioner there. He did not take holy orders till four years later, 1 February 1451, on the title of the college. After six years he retired on an Eton fellowship, 2 March 1453. In May 1457 he supplicated as B.D. for a D.D. degree at Oxford. He gave up his fellowship in 1479, but was re-elected in 1486, and died and was buried in Eton Chapel 19 January 1496-7. Two lines of his epitaph⁴⁴ seem to claim that he was equally eminent in music as in grammar: 'He sweated to weave his true sons in the threads of grammar, and honey flowed in his deep notes.'

Mr. Thomas Forster, or Foster, scholar of Winchester 1434, and of New College 1439, succeeded Hopton as head master in May 1453. He had William Chapman as usher. In that year the endowment was further increased by the grant of Cowick Priory, and the last Act of Parlia-

ment obtained. New statutes seem to have been made that year, £1 being paid for writing the book of statutes and the correction of another book of statutes, the 'velom' for the book costing 6s. 8d., and its binding 1s. 8d. The queen sent two special messengers to the college to inform them of the birth of the prince, destined to prove fatal to the peace of the kingdom and the prosperity of the college. It was perhaps in commemoration of this event that the king gave an image of St. Nicholas to the college. In this year there first appear in the accounts considerable payments to the head master for the 'exhibition of the scholars' on certain feast days, £10 being spent for the purpose on St. John's day, at Christmas, £12 on 19 April, £6 in September, which was for a nutting expedition, and £11 on 8 November, which was apparently connected with the boy-bishop celebrations. Smaller sums were paid for the choristers on the same days. So that it was not all learning even in those laborious days.

By Michaelmas 1454 Clement Smythe of Southwark, scholar of Winchester 1439, scholar of New College 1444, and fellow 1446, had succeeded Forster in the head-mastership. He only took his M.A. degree after his election, on 20 April 1453, under a dispensation that Mr. Chyld, another fellow of New College, probably the ex-usher of Eton, might read for him, i.e. give the two years' lectures statutorily required of every new or regent master. Smythe was only twenty-seven years old at the time. But at Eton, as everywhere until the end of the 17th century, the schoolmasters were, when elected, almost invariably young men who had just taken their degrees, schools not being regarded as abiding places, but as stepping-stones to higher preferment. Clement Smythe had for usher Thomas Avery. Smythe held office for five years, in turn retiring on an Eton fellowship 15 February 1458, and acting as bursar in 1459-60.

In 1457 there came as master John Peyntour, the first Etonian to become head master of his old school. Of Daventry, Northants, he headed the roll to King's in 1448,⁴⁵ and is probably the same person who became B.A. at Oxford in 1455. A note in an old Eton list describes him as 'an excellent limner'; but it may be doubted whether that is not merely an inference from his name. It is not known whether he held office for ten years until Clement Smythe's return; or whether for a time, from 1463 to Lady Day 1467, the school did not absolutely cease during the storm which overtook Eton and the kingdom.

The reign of the royal founder came to an end with his defeat at the battle of Mortimer's

^{43a} B.M. Sloane MSS. 4840, fol. 228.

⁴⁴ *Grammaticis solidos filis intexere gnatos Sudavit; gravibus mella fluere notis.* Another possible interpretation, however, is that 'the honey of learning flowed by means of heavy blows,' and this is equally in accordance with Eton traditions.

⁴⁵ In *Alumni Eton*. 1447. But the years given in that book are mostly one year too early, through miscalculation of the year of our Lord from the year of the king.

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Cross. In the first flush of victory, on 27 February 1460-1, Edward, Duke of York and Earl of March and Ulster (Ulvestre), the day before his entry into London, as 'vray and just heire' of England, granted letters of protection to the 'Provoste and fellowship of the collage of Eton,' desiring everyone not to hurt, trouble or vex them—'neither them in their lyve loids goods or catalls, robbe despoyle ner vexe.' On 4 August 1461 Edward IV assumed the crown. By an Act of his first Parliament, 4 November 1461, all the grants of Henry VI, not expressly saved, were made void, and resumed into the king's hands. This of course did not dissolve the college, which, being an ecclesiastical establishment, created and confirmed under the supreme ecclesiastical power of the Pope, was not disestablished or dissoluble by the temporal act of king or Parliament. But the endowment was at Edward's mercy. It says much for Edward's policy, and indeed magnanimity, that he not only spared the college itself, though it was the favourite and most conspicuous work of the man who had killed his father and robbed him of his inheritance, but re-endowed it. By patent 23 February 1462,⁴⁶ he granted as from 14 March 1461 to Provost Westbury and the college, to pray for himself and Cicely his mother, and the soul of Richard Duke of York, the hospital of St. Peter, Windsor, apparently a new property not previously enjoyed by Eton; two manors of Ogbourne Priory; and the priories of Stratfield Saye, and of Cogges and Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire; Creeting, Suffolk, and Everdon, Northants, Docking and Sporle, Norfolk; Lyminster, Sussex; part of Ogbourne Priory; Clatford and Hullavington, Wiltshire; Piddlehinton, Dorset, and Stogursey (Stoke Courcy), Somerset; with certain *apportus* due to foreign monasteries. The bulk of the property, however, was granted away. Thus on 26 February 1462,⁴⁷ Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire, Charlton, Wiltshire, Povington, Dorset, Weedon Beck, Northants, and other Eton properties were granted to William Beaufitz for ten years, he accounting to the Exchequer for any surplus income over 1,000 marks a year. Some of these, e.g. Povington and Weedon Beck, were afterwards recovered. On 3 August following, perhaps to attract the support of the Church, which owed so much to the house of Lancaster, Edward actually set up again the alien priory of Deerhurst, granting it⁴⁸ with all its possessions, which Eton had enjoyed, to a monk of Westminster named Buckland, 'according to the original foundation and intention of Edward the Confessor.' But he was not to pay tribute to the foreign superior, the abbey of St. Denis, during war with France. Five years afterwards, on the allegation that

Buckland had wasted the property and only maintained out of it himself and one secular chaplain, the king by Act of Parliament 3 July 1467, took back the priory, and on 25 July⁴⁹ annexed it to Tewkesbury Abbey.

Meanwhile, incensed perhaps at the continued resistance of the Lancastrians, and determined to stamp out all the works of Henry, Edward represented to Pope Pius II that the Eton buildings were unfinished, and the college could not carry out its work. So the pope on 13 November 1463 issued a bull suppressing the college as a separate entity, and incorporating it with St. George's, Windsor. This 'Bull of Union,' as it has been called, provided that the site was not 'to revert to profane uses,' and that 'its accustomed charges were to be properly supported,'⁵⁰ while its members were to retain their rank and emoluments. It would not appear that the college or school ceased. It was, in fact, treated much as the Hospital of St. John at Basingstoke, when annexed to Merton by Walter Merton; or of St. Bartholomew, Oxford, when annexed to Oriel College by Edward III; or of St. James, London, when annexed to Eton itself. The effect was that the institution was not destroyed, but all its surplus revenues, after meeting the fixed charges, went to the absorbing college instead of to its own augmentation. The union so far took effect, as appears from entries in the audit rolls relating to the subsequent retransfer to Eton, that the bulk of the bells, plate, jewels, and ornaments of the chapel, even the very horses of the stable, were taken to Windsor. The Eton Audit Rolls ceased from 1461 to 1467. King's College, which as regards its building was in a much less advanced state than Eton, seems to have been suspended. The list of admissions of scholars at King's stops in 1459, and was not resumed till 1466, when only three scholars were elected. The school may have gone on in a truncated form; but whether there were any scholars in college, after those existing in 1463 had left, is doubtful. Clement Smythe seems to have found his position as fellow so precarious, that he returned to the teaching profession, becoming head master of Winchester at Michaelmas 1464, where he remained till Lady Day 1467, when he again became head master at Eton.

Provost Westbury wisely bowed to the storm at the time. But two years later, 13 July 1465,⁵¹

⁴⁶ Pat. 7 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 5.

⁴⁷ 'Congrue supportentur onera consueta.'

⁴⁸ Maxwell Lyte gives the date as 13 July 1463, and says that in his protest Westbury ignored the Bull of Union. If 1463 were the correct date, Westbury could hardly have done otherwise, as the bull was not issued till four months later. But in point of fact he did refer to what had been done two years before, in the words in which he protested against union by 'papal or any other authority.'

⁴⁹ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 24.

⁵⁰ Ibid. pt. iv, m. 22.

⁵¹ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 5.

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'fearing grave prejudice to himself and the college,' he protested before a public notary in St. Martins le Grand, London, in an appeal to the papal see: 'I never will consent to the transfer of any persons of Eton to St. George's, Windsor, or to its union or appropriation thereto, by apostolic or any other authority . . . and if I ever consented thereto—which I do not admit, but altogether deny—I did so, not by my own free will, but under fear such as may affect a man of reasonably firm mind.'

Eton school, if it had ever entirely ceased, was resumed either at Michaelmas 1466, or at the beginning of 1467,⁵³ as appears from an imperfect and undated account roll which has been hitherto unnoticed. It is rather difficult to make out exactly what period this roll covers, since dating from the first coming (*primo adventu*), it gives 17 weeks' commons without details. It then gives the third term with the usual details, but extends this term to 27 weeks, and then begins similar details for 'the first week of this year' and the rest of that term. This apparently refers to the Michaelmas term of 1467, which was the normal beginning of the college year. The income for the period to 31 December 1467 amounted to £321, but of this £13 was attributed to a legacy from John Bower, one of the earliest fellows, presumably for the *obit*, which was afterwards maintained in remembrance of him; and £2 10s. was for an old debt of Thomas Capron, paid by his wife. Apparently only the provost, a temporary head master, and half a dozen boys came at first, as the commons 'at their first coming' only amounted to 6s. 1d., and next week to 9s. 6d. By the end of the quarter beginning at Lady Day the weekly commons amounted to 40s. At the beginning of the third term, Midsummer Day, there were the provost, 2 fellows, the head master, usher, 1 chaplain, 6 clerks, and 20 'scholars, choristers, and servitors,' who gradually rose to 26. In the 16th week the number of the scholars suddenly rose to 43, and by the 27th week to 52, though how the term managed to have 27 weeks is a mystery. The rise in numbers was due to a new election held on 8 July 1467, the morrow of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (Becket), the earliest possible day according to the statutes. The election roll is extant. It contains 71 names, 7 of which are found on the roll for King's the following year, though only one had then attained the statutable age of 18, and one was no more than 15 years old, while 22 of them eventually went to King's, showing that there were large gaps to fill in that college also. Of those on the roll 17 came from London, 7 from Hampshire, 4 from Cambridgeshire, and the rest dispersedly from various counties. Two of those elected to King's

this year seem to have declined admission, and their places were taken by the two last on the roll, one of whom was twenty-two years old, and probably a scholar at the time of Henry VI, who had gone off elsewhere meanwhile. The huge roll of 71 must have been intended to supply a very large deficiency in the full numbers at Eton. All certainly were not admitted, as three or four are found at the top of the roll next year. But the majority must have been admitted. This large election was made in anticipation of the re-endowment of the college effected by letters patent ten days later, 17 July 1467,⁵⁴ the grant being in frankalmoign, i.e. by way of charity, to pray for the souls of King Edward IV and his queen, Edward thus being substituted as founder for Henry VI. The main items, apart from the *apportus* payable to alien houses, were the hospital of St. John the Baptist, Dorchester; the priories of Langford—'Hanglingford' it is usually called in the accounts—in Wiltshire; Brimpsfield, Gloucestershire; Modbury and Cowick, Devonshire; Blakenham, Suffolk; St. Helen's, Isle of Wight; most of the possessions of Ogbourne Priory, including Weedon Beck; and the reversion of St. James' Hospital, now St. James' Palace, 'by Westminster,' after the death of Roger Malmesbury, who on the resumption had been appointed warden. Povington Priory,⁵⁴ Dorset, was also included; but this, mysteriously enough, though granted 17 May 1474 to St. George's, Windsor, is found afterwards among the Eton possessions, and was eventually exchanged in the time of Edward VI for other property. It seems probable that the introduction into the statutes of the oaths of the fellows that they 'will not favour the damned opinions, errors, or heresies of John Wycliff, Reginald Pecok, or other heretic while he lives, on pain of perjury and expulsion *ipso facto*,' was effected at this time. For the persecution of poor Pecok was a Yorkist bid for the favour of the Church.

The head master shown in the roll of 1466-7 was Clement Smythe, who had returned from Winchester at the reduced pay of £10 a year, to which amount, the same as that of the head master of Winchester, instead of £16 as contemplated by Henry's statutes, the salary of the head master of Eton was permanently reduced until the reign of Elizabeth. Clement Smythe was paid for three terms only, showing that he came at Lady Day 1467. Some scholars accompanied or were found by the provost 'at his first advent,' and were taught by one Henry Grymston, who was paid 6s. 8d. *pro informacione puerorum*, and then by 'Sir' Walter Barbour. Richard Profett, the principal servant, who like the rest suffered a reduction of wages from £5 a year to £2, in the absence of fellows, was sent on estates busi-

⁵³ See Eton Audit Rolls.

⁵⁴ Pat. 7 Edw. IV, pt. iv, m. 13.

⁵⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 1.

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ness, and also 'to Cambridge in January for "Sir" Walter Barbour, at a cost of 14s. 8d.' Barbour filled up the rest of the first term till Clement Smythe's return. He then seems to have gone back to Cambridge to finish his course and take his M.A. degree, after which, in 1470, then described as *magister*, he succeeded Clement Smythe in the head-mastership. John Upnor came as *hostiarius* for two terms and five weeks, and was succeeded in the following year by Richard Hakier. By the end of the year three fellows had returned, Richard Hopton, the ex-head master, who was vice-provost, William Weye, and William Strete. John Boner had also returned, but only to die. Apparently five choristers came, their places being temporarily supplied by five boys who are called King's choristers, and had sheets, blankets, shoes, and surplices bought for them. The only element of the college which never reappeared was the almsfolk. They were finally dropped, and were never resumed for 400 years.

The cost of getting restitution was considerable. Apart from 'a fresh salmon given to the king at Windsor' at a cost of 10s., 6s. 8d. was paid for a letter addressed to the Bishop (*sic*) of York, George Neville, then Chancellor of England, for the restitution of the letters patent, 4s. 10d. for writing two bills in Parliament, 6s. 8d. to the king's attorney [general], Henry Sucell, 13s. 4d. to the king's secretary for two letters, and for two more under the Privy Seal 13s. 4d. The writing of letters patent cost 10s., their enrolment 6s. 8d.; two fines to the king for two grants cost £16 18s.; 5s. was paid to the valet of the wardrobe for taking down arras in St. George's College, Windsor; and a letter of Privy Seal to the Dean and Canons of the college of Windsor for restitution of goods cost 6s. 8d.; while the official of the king's antechamber was given 10s. For a licence in mortmain a fine of £8 was paid, apparently for the grant of Goldcliff Priory in Wales. Two letters to the pope cost only 10s.; copies of the provisions to be had and writing them cost 3s. 4d., and writing Pope Calixtus' bull 5s. Finally, the king's attorney, Henry Sucell, received £1 as a fee, and the solicitor, Richard Lovell, 13s. 4d.

So speedily, however, in spite of all, were the old customs renewed that the three bonfires ('benefyres') on Midsummer eve and the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul and of St. Thomas the Martyr were duly provided for. The celebration of the feast of the Assumption was, however, on a much reduced scale, only £4 odd being spent, instead of over £30; and the costs of the election were reduced to £2 2s. 9d. In subsequent years each item became fixed at £5 a year.

In 1468 the regular Audit Rolls recommenced, but the account for that year is made up from 1 January, instead of from Michaelmas. It

shows an income of £370 instead of close on £1,500 a year, as it was in 1458. No provost or fellow received any pay this year; though the provost was paid for this year in the following year, and for the rest of his life at the rate of £20 a year, instead of £75 which he had previously received. The fellows never again rose in number above seven, nor their salaries above £5. There were only three chaplains instead of 10, and four clerks instead of 10; while in the first week there were only 52 scholars, choristers, and servants in commons, instead of 109. In July the number went down to 22, but this seems to have been due to an outbreak of plague, their commons being paid to outsiders 'at the time of pest in the town.'

Wayneflete seems to have borne an important part in the resuscitation of Eton, as the accounts contain frequent entries of expenses of Provost Westbury on visits paid 'to the lord of Winchester,' which in January 1468-9 were for 'beginning the works of the church,' and 'for providing money for them.' Notwithstanding that Wayneflete was the principal overseer appointed by Henry's will, and was his chancellor up to the battle of Northampton, in spite of endeavours made to ruin him on charges of oppression of his tenants in Edward's first Parliament, he seems to have soon been admitted to favour. After the resuscitation of Eton he loyally carried out to the best of his power the trust reposed in him by Henry. No £1,000 a year was now forthcoming from the Crown revenues. So he had to do whatever was done at his own expense, though he was himself expending vast sums on the foundation of his own college of St. Mary Magdalen at Oxford. Edward IV so far interested himself as to allow the college, by privy seal of 21 March 1471-2, to take so much chalk and flint from Windsor Park 'as shalbe necessary for the ful bylding of the said churche.' Wayneflete's glazier provided the glass of the east and other windows, and Wayneflete contracted, 15 August 1475,⁴⁵ with a Southwark⁴⁶ carpenter, Walter Nichol, who for 100 marks was to make the stalls and rood loft 'for utter (i.e. west) parte . . . like to the Rode lofte late made in Bisshop Wykehams Collage at Winchestre, and the inner part . . . with the garnysshing of all the stalles . . . like to the rode loft and quere of the collage of Seint Thomas of Acres in London,' where is now the Mercers' Hall. On 8 January 1479⁴⁷ Wayneflete, also at his own expense, contracted for a supply of stone from Headington, near Oxford, for the 'werke he hath at Etone.' Abandoning the vast nave, he built the antechapel at the west

⁴⁵ Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* i, 596.

⁴⁶ The Bishop of Winchester's London house was then in Southwark, close to St. Mary Overy.

⁴⁷ Willis and Clark, *op. cit.* i, 410.

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end as it now stands, after the Wykehamical model as seen at New College, All Souls, and Magdalen Colleges. The church was finally finished (on this truncated scale) in 1487-8, with a series of elaborate paintings, still in part remaining behind the panelling, and discovered when the church was 'restored' in 1847. The Prince Consort, who superintended the work, would not allow the pictures to remain on view, as being 'papistical.' From the drawings given in Sir H. Maxwell Lyte's *History* they were very beautiful. They have been variously attributed to Italian and Flemish artists. But seeing that the only painter mentioned by name is William Baker, and that all the colours paid for are in the Bursars' Rolls expressly given in English as well as Latin (e.g. *colore viridi, anglice, vertagrece; colore fulvo, sc. oker; colore blodio, anglice, blew*), it is difficult to see why the 'anti-patriotic bias' which prevails in art has been allowed to deprive English workmen of the credit of the work. As Mr. J. W. Clark has pointed out that the subjects and treatment are very much the same as some paintings in the Lady chapel of Winchester Cathedral, and the subjects are taken from a book then newly published in England, Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, the ascription of the work to foreigners seems wholly unwarranted.

In 1469 the Audit Roll records only three quarters of a year from New Year's Day to Michaelmas, in order that the regular series from Michaelmas to Michaelmas might be resumed. During this time 'Sir' William Darker was paid 3s. 4d. for his expenses from Oxford for the office of usher, and at Michaelmas he succeeded Haker. Clement Smythe retired in February 1469-70 on a canonry at Windsor, which he afterwards exchanged for one at Warwick, where he died some twenty years later.

Though Eton recovered some of its possessions in 1467, it was some years before the annexation to Windsor was formally revoked. This was done by a decree of Cardinal Archbishop Bourchier, 30 August 1476, in virtue of a bull of Pope Paul II of 1470, which, on a petition from Edward IV, stating that he had been misinformed as to the unfinished state of the college, commissioned the archbishop to inquire into the matter, and, if satisfied, to revoke the former bull of union. Proceedings were begun on this bull in November and December 1470, during the restoration of Henry VI, which lasted from October to April 1470-1. A large sum, over £22, was spent on 'rewards to doctors in law, notaries, proctors, and clerks for expediting the Bull for the separation of our college of Eton from that of St. George's, Windsor.' The advantage taken of the restoration thus to hurry on the proceedings had no doubt an adverse effect on the mind of Edward IV, and was the cause of their being stopped, and of the commission re-

maining in abeyance for another six years. It is not perhaps guessing too much if we credit the final separation to the good offices of Thomas Rotherham, who, though only a nominal Etonian, admitted on one day to qualify him colourably for admission to King's the next, was a Kingsman of many years' standing, and in 1475 not only diocesan of Buckinghamshire as Bishop of Lincoln, but also Lord Chancellor.

Many payments are recorded in that year for gifts to divers of the council⁵⁸ for expediting the bull directed to the cardinal archbishop. The final item 'in part of the expenses of the counsel of the college riding into Kent to the Lord Cardinal to give sentence under the delegating bull' amounted to £4, while John Harper, valet of the Crown, was given 30s. for bringing the letters of privy seal for the restitution of the college goods, the Dean of Windsor being appeased with a trout, a pike, and wine at a cost of 5s.

The first head master after the restitution was Walter Barbour, coming in February 1470. Of him nothing has hitherto been known, except that he is entered in the Eton register as 'father of Walter the hermit,' a person who may have been well known then, but is unknown now. Barbour was perhaps a relation of William of Wayneffete, whose father is described in a deed⁵⁹ of his great-niece, Juliana Chirchestyle, as 'Richard Patyn alias dicti Barbour.' He was an Etonian, and on the roll for King's in 1458.⁶⁰

Barbour is recorded⁶¹ in 1473-4 as the medium of payment of 10d. 'for the binding of a school-book, viz. Ovid'; the first school-book mentioned in the Audit Rolls.

In 1471 the number of the scholars, &c., rose to 71. We are able to recover the names of a few of the scholars of this epoch, from the custom springing up of boarding the scholars out when they were ill, and entering the payments made for them on the Audit Roll. Among them was one John Gyott, who had necessities bought for him in 1469, and is described in 1475-6 as 'the King's scholar,' having been presumably nominated by the king, the first recorded instance of what grew to be a regular practice. Thus William Kidylton, who got off to King's in

⁵⁸ 'Diversis de consilio pro expedicione cuiusdam bulle.' This may mean 'to divers counsel.'

⁵⁹ 15 Dec. 1497; in Magd. Coll. Oxon. Reg. Admiss. (or C.), fol. 84b. Printed in *Macray's Reg.* (new ser.), ii, p. ix.

⁶⁰ *Alumni Eton.* gives it as 1457. But the dates of the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV in that work are wrong, through not observing that the roll being made up in July or the first half of August, the year of the king is for this purpose a year later in years of the Lord than that in which the year of the king began.

⁶¹ Aud. R. 14 & 15 Edw. IV, 'pro ligatura libri scole, viz. Ovidii.'

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1478, and a chorister, William Marchall, were in 1469-70 boarded for a time with Richard Bernyeat. In 1472, besides Capland, Ellysmere, Lute, Ralph Creke, no doubt a scion of the family of Creyke, in the East Riding, who to this day habitually bear the name of Ralph, all of whom afterwards appear on the rolls for King's, Philip Berte, no doubt of the family of the Earls of Abingdon, John Parker, Henry Reynold, Robert Colton, Hyll, and Forde are named. So in other years. A considerable addition to the *Alumni Etonenses* could be made from these entries.

Barbour's ushers were William Darker, January 1470-4; then Maurice Bye, at Michaelmas 1474; Henry Brydde or Byrd, an Etonian, who went to King's in 1470; and at Michaelmas 1475, Edward Huett.

Westbury died on 11 March 1477, devising to the college a house in Windsor. The fellows first elected as provost one of themselves, Thomas Barker,⁶² who was a Henrician fellow and for many years vice-provost; but the king having nominated Henry Bost, Barker resigned, fearing the king's anger equivalent to death, or, as his epitaph puts it, *cessit bonori Nolens; id meminit, mors indignatio regum*. Henry Bost was elected a fellow of Eton a few days before his election as provost, to qualify him according to the statutes. From this time forward, in spite of the statutes, the provostship of Eton was always treated as in the gift of the Crown, the appointee being colourably elected a fellow first. Bost was a distinguished person, being already master of King's Hall, a foundation of Edward III, now absorbed in Trinity College, Cambridge. He held office for twenty-five years, and is said in his epitaph to have got wealth for Eton through the influence of Edward's queen, Elizabeth:

*Illius auspiciis elemosyna conjugis uncti
Edwardi quarti larga fluebat opem.*

This statement disproves the 'tradition' that it was Jane Shore through whom the grants were obtained. This 'tradition' may be dismissed to the limbo of inventions with the similar ones which made William of Wykeham buy his pardon from Edward III through his mistress, Alice Perrers, and credits Chelsea Hospital to the intervention of Nell Gwyn. There seems to be no authority for the ascription of two pictures at Eton and King's respectively to Jane Shore. The queen's family, on the other hand, in the person of her brother Anthony, Lord Wodevill, and his relations, was specially commemorated by an *obit* in Eton Chapel for having procured a regrant of property in the city of London. The provost's salary was raised in 1482-3 from £20 to £30, though the fellows' and masters' salaries remained unchanged.

⁶² Maxwell Lyte, *op. cit.* 83.

The head masters of this era reigned by no means as long as the provosts. The next master, David Hawbroke or Haukbroke, c. 1479, was another Wykehamist, as he may be identified with David Haukbroke, who appears in the Bursars' Rolls of Winchester College as *hostiarius* or usher there, at first under Clement Smythe and then under his successor, from Lady Day 1464 to Michaelmas 1469. Whether in the interim he was teaching some other school does not appear. Several Audit Rolls are missing in the reign of Edward IV. In 1482-3 the usher was Thomas Fox, a Winchester scholar in 1473, succeeded at Midsummer by John Ashton. Hawbroke continued to Michaelmas 1483. From Michaelmas 1484 to 14 February 1485-6, Thomas Mache or Machy, unidentified, was master, with John Ashton as usher. Machy seems to have been dismissed and to have removed with himself a Virgil belonging to the school. At least the Audit Roll for the year records, 'paid to John Barston for redemption of a Virgil furtively taken away'; while neighbouring items are 'for a lock and 12 keys to the library door' and 'laid out on the officials of the Court of Arches for the matter of the College against Mr. Mache, and expenses of Mr. William Attwater (a fellow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln) to London for 4 days, 20s. 4d.' In Mache's successor, William Horman, head master from the middle of February 1485-6, Eton acquired from Winchester (scholar 1468) and New College (scholar 1 July 1475⁶⁴) a famous man. He remained a fellow of New College till his election at Eton, his place there being filled 2 February 1485.⁶⁵ He was head master of Eton for nine years, and then was promoted to the head-mastership of Winchester, which was evidently regarded as a higher place. He remained at Winchester from Lady Day 1495 to Michaelmas 1501, when he returned to Eton as a fellow. He was vice-provost for many years until his death 12 April 1535, when he was buried in the church. His fame has come down to our day in virtue of a school book called *Vulgaria*.⁶⁶ The frequent references to Greek, and especially to the performance of Greek plays, bears out Sir Thomas Pope's statement in 1556 that in his day Greek learning flourished at Eton. Horman's book involved him in a fierce controversy with Robert Whittington, a rival schoolmaster and school author, who called himself *Bossus*, to which he and Lily, the high master of St. Paul's, replied in a book entitled *Anti bossicon*. Horman's

⁶⁴ The scholars of New College up to 1854 were really fellows, though they were called scholars during their two years of probation.

⁶⁵ There is absolutely no foundation for the claim that he was a Cambridge man, made in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*.

⁶⁶ Leach, *Hist. Winch. Coll.* 227; Maxwell Lyte, *Eton*, 110-13.

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versatility is shown by his being also the author of two works on anatomy, so probably he had been one of the medical fellows of New College. He gave to Eton 12 of the 100 MSS. which the college now possesses.⁶⁷ Under Horman the ushers were Mr. Eryll, Christmas 1485-6 to Lady Day 1488; Thomas Lyrpyn, 1488 to Michaelmas 1489 and perhaps beyond; from Michaelmas 1492 to Midsummer 1493 Lane, then Grey for three terms. Eryll was Henry Earle, a Winchester scholar (1472) and fellow of New College (1481-5). In a letter⁶⁸ written at Winchester 17 October 1486, King Henry VII asked 'the Regentes of owre Universitie off Oxenforde' to 'dyspense with the regencie,' i.e. the 'contynuall abode there as necessary regent by an hole yere' of 'Maister Henry Erle, huisshe of the gramer scole withyn owre college of Eton, late commencyde in arte withyn owre Universitie' as 'the sayde maister Henry is necessary and behofull for the goode and formall contynuanee yn lerninge off such children and scholars which be att owre Exhibition yn owre sayde college, and yff he shulde be remeyvd and chaungyde ther tyme myght turne and slyde to dispendy.' Lyrpyn or Lyrpyn was from the same colleges, and in 1494 became a fellow of Winchester, where his effigy in brass may still be seen. He died 30 March 1509.

For Edward Powell, the next head master, 1494-6, recourse was again had to Oriel College, and he was very probably an old Etonian. Nothing seems to be known of his head-mastership at Eton; but in after days he became an eminent ecclesiastical lawyer, canon of Lincoln and Salisbury, rector of the college of St. Edmund there, and D.D.⁶⁹ He got some favour for writing in 1523 a defence of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther, whom he dubbed 'smoky friar and eminent Wickliffite'; but more disfavour for a tract against the divorce of Queen Catherine, and was executed 30 July 1540 as a traitor for denying the royal supremacy. His successor at Eton, Nicholas Bradbrigg or Bradbridge, came in July 1496, with Hafford, Haward, or Howard as usher, who gave place in 1498 to Such for half a year, followed by Clerke for half a year, and then by Barrett for two years. Haward was perhaps Philip Haward, who went to King's in 1493, and Barrett John Barrett, who went to King's in 1495. Bradbridge held for five years and left at Michaelmas 1501. Two or three years later he became head master of Chichester Grammar School. A canonry and prebend in the cathedral had been annexed to the head-mastership of this school by Bishop Story in 1497,⁷⁰ which caused it to be regarded at this time as promotion by the masters

both of Eton and Winchester. Of Robert Yong, who came as master at Michaelmas 1501, nothing is known. He only stayed for a year. John Smyth, who succeeded at Michaelmas 1502, may be identified with that one of the name who was third on the roll from Eton to King's in 1492; while John Vyse the usher was a scholar of Winchester (1495) and of New College (1497).⁷¹ The next usher, William Snelle, was a Reading boy, scholar of Winchester 1497, and fellow of New College 1505, 1s. 8d. being the cost of fetching him from Oxford. King Henry VII visited the college on 21 October with 'divers magnates' at a cost of £19 os. 9½d. John Smyth held office till Michaelmas 1507.

On 27 February 1504⁷² Roger Lupton was made provost by the king, after a colourable election as fellow. Lupton was one of the successful civil servants and ecclesiastical lawyers who obtained the chief preferments in the Church as their pay. He was a north countryman, born at Sedburgh⁷³ in Yorkshire, on the borders of Lancashire, in July 1456. At Cambridge he took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law in 1483, and was presented by Richard III to the rectory of Harlton in Cambridgeshire in 1484. As his favourite description of himself is 'Doctor of Canon' or 'of decrees,' it may be presumed that he duly took the degree of Doctor of Canon Law. In the interval of fifteen years which elapsed before he again received clerical preferment from the Crown he practised in the ecclesiastical courts. He was made a canon of Windsor 24 November 1500, and it is to this preferment he probably owed his election to Eton. In his long provostship of thirty-one years, no one, not even Waynflete, left so great a mark on the college. Its most striking and conspicuous portion, the great gateway tower of the inner quadrangle and the splendid range of buildings on either side of it, the provost's lodgings, which front the visitor on entrance, and form the western side of the quadrangle, together with the whole northern range of buildings in the outer court, Long Chamber, and the old school, now called the Lower School, on the left of the outer entrance, are his handiwork. He himself reposes under a stately monument in the beautiful little chantry chapel on the north side of the 'church,' in which are collected the monuments of the pre-Reformation provosts. Thus Lupton's Tower and Lupton's Chantry still perpetuate his name at Eton.

Long Chamber was the first of Lupton's works, and may have been built at his own cost,

⁶⁷ *Alumni Eton.* 6.

⁶⁸ Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 611. But *Alumni Eton.* gives his election as fellow on 22 Feb. 1503. There is something wrong about the dates. Cooper in *Athen. Cant.* probably gives the dates rightly, as fellow on 16 Feb. and provost 27 Feb. 1502-3.

⁶⁹ Leach, *Early Yorks. Schools*, ii, xli.

⁶⁷ Wasey Sterry, op. cit. 67.

⁶⁸ Anstey, *Epist. Acad.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), no. 334.

⁶⁹ Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* 53.

⁷⁰ *V.C.H. Sussex*, 'Schools,' ii, 404-5.

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as the only entries relating to it in the accounts are 'for cleaning the new chamber' in 1504-5, 'for a lamp for the new chamber of the college boys' in 1506-7,⁷⁴ and 'for a pair of hinges for the chamber of the Master Informator' in 1511-12. But the accounts for 1503-4 are missing and the expense of the building was probably entered in the rolls for that year. Payment was made of 20s. for 'old earnest-money'⁷⁵ at the time of building the new school, and for 'work on the roof of the Almshouse for 15 days and of the school (*gymnasio*) for 2 days' in 1514-15. Mr. J. W. Clark thinks this was not a new building, but a rebuilding. But the chief reasons assigned are that in 1469-70 there was a payment for twelve beds 'pro nova camera puerorum collegii.' This is no proof that the boys all slept in one chamber, but, on the contrary, suggests that they were divided into six separate chambers, with no more than 12 boys in each, and that a new chamber had for some reason been added; perhaps one of the extinct fellows' chambers. In 1470-1 tilers were paid for three weeks' work 'about the repairs of the hall, the scholars' chamber, and the new house by the pantry,' while another man was paid 'for clearing the underground vault and the boys' latrine.' This shows, Mr. Clark says, that 'the boys' latrine was by the sewer which still passes under the east of Long Chamber.' But he himself gives quotations which bring the sewer into connexion with the kitchen. The fact is, the open sewer probably then, as at St. Cross Hospital still, passed all round the buildings. The first entry quoted brings the boys' chamber in question into connexion with the hall and pantry, that is, with the west side of the inner quadrangle, and probably refers to the new chamber only. In the Audit Roll of 1475-6 is positive proof, which has been overlooked, that they were not all in one chamber. This is an entry of payment of 3d. to 'Mr. Walter Barbour (the schoolmaster) for a lock and key for the second chamber of the scholars'; while in another roll for the latter part of the same year 8d. was paid for a lock and key *camere puerorum*, which must be a different chamber and should be translated, not 'the,' but 'a' boys' chamber. So in 1498-9 a payment is made 'for repairs of the boys' chambers' (*cubiculum*). In 1506-7 10s. was paid to 'one cleaning the children's chambers' (*uni mundanti*

⁷⁴ Willis and Clark, op. cit. 417, 430. What Mr. Clark describes as 'the room or enclosure called the Gymnasium' is of course the school. Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 98, has by mistake transferred the entry about the new school to the earlier year 1506-7. From a reference to the 'great west gate by the kings highway next the Almshouse' in 1499-1500, and to the 'great west gate by the almshouse' in 1516-17, it is clear that the almshouse stood where Upper School now stands.

⁷⁵ *Pro antiquis arris*; but perhaps it means 'the old arras.'

cameras puerorum). In the same year mention is made of 'the chambers of commoners' (*cubiculis commensalium*). Provost Lupton, with the wealth of accumulated livings and canonries and lucrative legal and civil offices, such as the clerkship of the Hanaper, which he held in 1509, and the mastership in Chancery, bestowed on him in 1529, was not content with the four chambers formerly assigned to the provost. Wishing to extend and rebuild the provost's lodging on a magnificent scale, he had first to move the school and the masters' and scholars' chambers. So he rebuilt them anew on the ampler spaces of the outer court, now the schoolyard. That it was considered an improvement at the time is shown by Long Chamber, and not the smaller separate chambers of Winchester, having been adopted as the model at the re-foundation of Westminster by Queen Elizabeth, though a Winchester man was made the first head master. But in the long run it proved a mistake. The life in Long Chamber became that of a barracks and a bear-garden, with the consequence that college at Eton was never full and the scholarships went begging. Not till after the middle of the 19th century was civilization introduced by annexing the master's chambers at the east end and the usher's at the west end, and cutting Long Chamber up into separate cubicles.

As soon as the new school and chambers were finished in 1515-16 the 'old buildings' on the west side of the quadrangle were pulled down, and on 2 March 1517 'the first stone was layd yn the foundacyon off the west parte of the college, whereon ys buylded Mr. Provost's logyn the gate and the lyberary.' The Library is now Election Chamber (Clark), or Election Hall (Maxwell Lyte), and the whole range is now the Provost's lodging, though his front door is to be found in Weston's Yard. The Lupton Chantry was completed by 1515 and its chaplain endowed next year. Lupton's *obit* was kept from that time onwards, though he was still alive, on 11 January,⁷⁶ but was changed after his death to the day on which he died, 27 February. For presence at it the provost received 2s. 8d., the master 1s. 4d., the usher 8d., and the scholars and choristers 1d. each.

Besides extending the boys' quarters, and, we may suppose, enlarging the school, Lupton seems to be entitled to the credit of another most important innovation, the creation of Playing-fields, probably the first and certainly the best and most extensive enjoyed by any school. Thanks to the latest addition of the magnificent 'Agar's Plough,' this they still remain. It is certain that these Playing-fields have had no little share in making Eton what it is. Before this time it is probable, as will be shown later à propos of

⁷⁶ Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 105, probably through a misprint, says 21 Jan.

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'montem,' that the boys had no place for play in college, but, like Winchester, marched out two and two to the nearest hill, Salt Hill, to play there. The fellows had always enjoyed a garden, but the boys do not seem to have had any open space. In 1506-7 we come across for the first time a mention of Playing-fields by the college, 4*d.* being paid 'for clearing the drain in the boys' fields' (*in campis puerorum*); while in 1510-11 a shilling was paid 'for a padlock and key to the Playing-meadow close' (*pro sera pensili et clave ad clausuram prati lusorii*). In 1514-15 they appear in English under the name which they retained for three centuries, 'Playing-leas,' a term which is of course much more correct than the modern Playing-fields. The 'clockkeeper' was paid 'for tiling the *forica* at the playing-leys.' So in 1523-4 a shilling was paid to John Grome (the groom) for working 'in le plaign lees' in carrying out soil for three days. Frequent references occur after this to the Playing-leas or Playing-leasowe, which became an established institution.

Another institution which is perhaps also due to Lupton, at all events it makes its first appearance in his time, but is now extinct, though it has been preserved at Westminster, was that of a yearly play at Christmas.

Throughout the history of the college something in the nature of theatricals had always taken place in the boy-bishop ceremony; while mummers and strolling players had often performed in hall at Christmas under the name of minstrels (*ministrallis*), mimes (*mimis*), and actors (*bistrionibus*). Thus in 1482-3 1*s.* 8*d.* was paid to certain mimes dancing (*saltantibus*) before the provost and fellows on 2 January, and in 1505 'the king's players received' 2*s.* But in 1519 we find George the tailor receiving 6*s.* 10*d.* for ornaments for the play (*vestifici pro ornamento lusorio*), and in 1526-7 the *Informator* is paid 14*s.* 'for the apparatus of the players at Christmas,' and a regular stock of clothes appears to have been kept by the head master for the purpose, 8*s.* 9*d.* being paid him 'for repairs of the clothes of the players' in 1531-2,⁷⁷ and next year 5*s.* 2*d.* 'for the clothes for the use of the players on Christmas day,' which in the paper draft account, which has also been preserved for this year, appears as 'for clothes for the use of the plays' (*pro vestibus ad usum ludicrorum*). We shall see that Nicholas Udal took a troupe of boys to London to perform a play before Thomas Cromwell. Even in the Puritan days of Edward VI we find in 1549 '8*d.* for making 2 jerkins for players'; and in 1551 '6 lyncks for the comedy in the haull' cost 2*s.*, the comedy or Latin play being no doubt presented by the head master; while 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid 'to Mr. Ussher for an Interlude that was played in

the haull.' For in the statutes of Westminster School it was provided that the head master should present a Latin and the usher an English play. In Elizabeth's day the play flourished. Then in 1566-7 we find the entry: 'Spent at the play in candles 10 lb. 15*d.*, tenter hookes for the playe [no doubt to hang the curtains on] 18*d.*,' while 'Mr. Scholmasters charges about the playe last Christmas' were '20*s.*' A hundred years later, 1663-4, we find: 'Given to the scholars by consent for acting their comedies last year, £1.' When these plays ceased to be performed does not appear. In the 18th century plays were performed in Long Chamber, and also by oppidans, but were surreptitious and unauthorized, if not illegal.

Lupton held the provostship for some thirty years. In 1527 he founded^{77a} the free grammar school of Sedbergh, his native place, connecting it with St. John's College, Cambridge, by six scholarships, for which £600 was given to the college, and by vesting in the college the appointment of the master, adding in 1537 another £400 for two fellowships and two more scholarships. The school, recovered from the clutches of Edward VI through the fiery eloquence of Dr. Thomas Lever, President of St. John's, and re-endowed with the fragments of several chantries, attained great fame in the 17th century, and is now again so prosperous that it is sometimes called the Eton of the North.

In 1531 Lupton, as provost, had to carry out an exchange with Henry VIII, by which the college gave the king St. James's Hospital in the Field with 185½ acres belonging to it, 64 acres south and 94 acres north of the high road from Charing Cross to Eye (? Hay) Hill, and 12 acres at Knightsbridge. The college reserved the outlying lands of the hospital at Hampstead, the White Bear (Bere) in West Cheap, and a house in Westminster. The grant to the king was made on 24 December 1531. Two days after they received in exchange the manor of 'Bawdwyns' at Dartford in Kent, and the rectory of Newington, and lands at Chattisham, Suffolk, which had been possessions of monasteries suppressed by Wolsey and given to his college at Ipswich. So that once again Eton was endowed out of dissolved monasteries. The transaction has been misrepresented as a sort of robbery, and a rhyme, 'Henricus octavus took away more than he gave us,' is quoted as if it proved the case. The rhyme, however, is evidently modern, and only one of the usual libels on Henry VIII founded on ignorance and prejudice. The exchange was no robbery. The immediate result of it was to increase the income of the college by some £55 a year, equivalent to at least £1,100 a year to-day, while their only increased expense was for the rent of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for the provost's house near Westminster. Apparently the college

⁷⁷ Audit Bk. 21 & 22 Hen. VIII. The head master was Richard Cox.

^{77a} Leach, *Early Yorks. Schools*, ii, 289-335.

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no longer used the hospital as a provost's residence ; at least for the previous fifteen years it, or a great part of it, had been let to Mr. Peter Carmeliano at the very large rent of £5 a year, and afterwards to Archdeacon Magnus, who was much employed as ambassador to Scotland. They got nothing from the lands, which went to the maintenance of the sisters of the hospital. A 'robbery' was in a sense committed, in that Henry VIII suppressed the useless leper hospital to turn it into a palace. But Eton was *particeps criminis*, as it now derived rents from the lands of the hospital which had previously gone to support its inmates. The college paid the pension to one of the sisters, Anne or Agnes, but as that was only 13s. 4d. a year, the burden was not great. At that time no one could anticipate that 200 years afterwards the fields round the leper hospital would become valuable building land, seeing that even when Burlington House was built in the 18th century it was purposely built as at an *ultima Thule*, beyond which no houses could go. Moreover, as both the Dartford and the Hampstead land are now selling at building prices far higher than those which would have been reached by a sale of St. James's Street a century and a half ago, the present benefit is greater also.

Lupton resigned the provostry of Eton in 1535, retaining his canonry at Windsor, the rectories of Caistor, Brancepeth, Skipton, Hazleton, and the chapel of Ascot. In his latter days he was accused to Cromwell of divers ecclesiastical and moral offences, which he repudiated with scorn in a letter of 29 January 1540: 'I beg your favour. I have lived 83½ years and have been taken for an honest man, and now a sort of light men inform you to the contrary. But I will be reported by all the honest men of Eton and Windsor'; and again on 3 February: 'How can any man of my age offend in that thing which is laid to my charge? I will be judged by any 12 honest persons in Windsor and Eton.' On 23 February 1540 he made his will. Besides his *obits* at Eton and Sedbergh, he now provided for an *obit* at St. John's College, Cambridge. He gave £16 13s. 4d.

to be bestowed in ij dinners in Eton Hall, one at the day of my buriall, and another at my monthes mind. To buy blacke gownes for 20 poore men that bere torches at the day of my buriall, £10. Item to be distributed to Mr. Provost of Eton, the masters [i.e. fellows], scholemaster, preistes, clerkes, children [i.e. scholars], quiristers [choristers], officers of the college and children of the town at my day of buriall and monethes mynde in manner and forme followinge, £29 16s. 8d.; first to the Provost the day of my buryall 13s. 4d.; item, to 7 masters and the scolemaster 10s. a piece, £4; item to the chapleins and usher 3s. 4d. a piece, 33s. 4d.; item to 3 score and 10 children of the colledge and quiristers, 16d. a pece, £4 13s. 4d.; item, to a hundreth children of the town, 8d. a pece, £3 6s. 8d.

There were also to be forty 'straunge preists' to sing mass; and 'to poore folkes at Eton 4d. a pece, £10,' so that there were fifty of them. Similar gifts of half the amount were to be given at his month's mind. This is the first mention of oppidans in the English form of 'children of the town,' still in use at Westminster, and the first indication of any large number being at Eton. From no separate mention being made of 'commoners' in college, if they were not purposely ignored on account of their rank and riches, it follows that they must have been included in the 100 'town boys.'

On the retirement of John Smythe at Michaelmas 1507 John Goldyve, Etonian and Kingsman, came as head master. He seems, however, to have been fetched from Oxford, as Mr. Arderne's expenses to Oxford to inquire for a new 'Preceptor' were 3s. 2d.; and Thomas the butler rode there with letters for the said 'Preceptor,' and Mr. 'Gowldyffe' himself was paid 10s. for coming 'for the said office of Preceptor.' He retired in 1510, and in 1521 is found, like his predecessor Bradbridge, prebendary of Highley at Chichester and master of the grammar school there. Thomas Philips, master for a year in 1510-11, is probably the Thomas Phyllypps who took his M.A. degree at Oxford 1 February 1508-9 and afterwards supplanted for his B.C.L. 7 May 1524. In Thomas Erlyzman, who was fetched from Oxford and received 10s. for his expenses at his first coming at Michaelmas 1511, Winchester and New College again furnished a head master, who, like Clement Smythe and Horman, was promoted to the head-mastership of Winchester, viz. at Lady Day 1515, where he stayed for ten years. Robert Colyar, the *hostiarius* under him, gave place at Christmas 1512 to George Hals or Hale, who also was sought for at Oxford, and had a competitor, 'Sir' Risby, who received 5s. for coming for the office of *hostiarius*. After a year and a half Hale took the better-paid post of chantry chaplain of Provost Bost. John Holonde or Holland (King's 1506) succeeded and held for three or four years. But Michaelmas 1520 found Henry Halked,⁷⁸ head of the roll to King's in 1513, in his stead. In February 1521 he was followed by Thomas Pery, an Eton scholar, whose name is preserved as such, because he was ill in 1514-15. His successor, Robert Aldrich, or Aldryge, as he is generally spelt, was an Etonian and Kingsman, on the roll of 1507. He had at least one noble pupil in Richard Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who is commemorated by a brass in Eton Chapel. Aldrich is said to have taught 'according to the old Winchester system.' This is likely enough, but the passage in the life of Sir Thomas Smith on which this statement is based refers, not to

⁷⁸ He appears in *Alumni Eton.* as Halhead and Halstead.

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Eton, but to Saffron Walden School, at which Smith is said to have been educated. Aldrich left Eton after six years' teaching to go on an embassy to France and the pope. On Lupton's resignation in 1535 he was, in compliance with a royal mandate, elected provost, the first, and, for almost exactly 200 years, the only Etonian and Kingsman to become provost. Next year he was appointed to the bishopric of Carlisle, which he held with the provostry in breach of all custom, consecration to a bishopric vacating all other preferment. He was also almoner to Queen Jane (Seymour), and when she died solemnly received her body on its passage through Eton to Windsor. He was succeeded as master at Lady Day 1521 by yet another Wykehamist, Thomas White, scholar of Winchester 1508, of New College 1513 to 1520. The identity is made sure, in spite of the commonness of the name, by the protocol at New College, which states that his successor was appointed in place of him 'promoti ad informandum pueros Etone,' while Robert Walker's costs in riding to Oxford with letters for him were 2s. 1d. John Goldwyn⁷⁹ succeeded White at Lady Day 1525. His provenance has not been traced. As usher he had John Barons, who, having come in February 1524, stayed no less than four and a half years, to Midsummer 1528. Goldwyn enjoys the distinction of having had his timetable preserved, thus furnishing the first authentic information of the Eton curriculum. A free grammar school had been maintained at Cuckfield in Sussex from about 1504 by Edmund Flower, citizen and merchant tailor of London, which in 1521 he endowed by his will. The endowment, being worth only some £6 10s. a year, was augmented by William Spicer, rector of the neighbouring parish of Balcombe, with a new endowment, producing another £5 a year, and settled by a deed of 1 October 1528. This provided that the schoolmaster 'shall teach the scholars in the said school grammar after the form, order, and usage taught in the Grammar School at Eton near Windsor, from form to form, according to the acts and rules there made, kept, and used, and to keep the houres of learning in the said school.' Annexed to the deed was the oath of the master in seven items, the last binding him to teach 'after the form and usage taught in the Grammar School of Eton, the which form for this time is as it followeth.' The 'Form'⁸⁰ is fortunately preserved at Cuck-

field, though only in a copy, in 'the Vicar's Book,' an MS. written about 1626; it contains some evident mistakes arising from misreading of the originals. The mere fact that a tailor and a parson could endow a school to be carried on like Eton shows how little at this time the great and famous 'Public' schools differed from other grammar schools, to which the local gentry flocked, and where they enjoyed the same kind of teaching as the great schools and sometimes perhaps better teachers.

The 'Form' shows that there were six Forms, and below Form I 'the children first beginning the grammar.' These last were to 'read the accidence of Mr. Stanbridge,' a famous Wykehamist, first usher of Magdalen College School and afterwards master of Banbury School, which Bishop Oldham in 1515 made the model for Manchester Grammar School. After many centuries Stanbridge's grammar had superseded 'Old Donatus.' In this the boys were to be 'diligently exercised every working-day and upon . . . Saturday in the morning every one of them rehearse and render by heart all the lessons they have learned all the week before, and if Saturday be holyday, then the said render be made the working day before.'

It is ordained also that every working-day, Friday and Saturday except, one of the 8 parts of Reason [i.e. parts of speech], with the verb according to the same, that is to say, Nomen with Amo, Pronomen with Amor, and so forth, be said by heart by all the learners of the accidence, if they have learnt that part, and of all the First, Second, and Third Forms.

This was to be 'by and by after 6 of the clock' in summer and 7 in winter. 'After the part done the learners of the accidence shall labour their lessons, which lesson the Master shall hear more often or more seldom after his discretion and to the more profit of the scholars.'

Form I were to learn Stanbridge's English Rules called the 'Parvula.'

These rules shall be said by and by after the Part done, and upon repeating the rules the Master shall cause them to make small and easy Latins, proper and such as the children may understand and have a delight in.

Form II the same, 'except that the Master may by his discretion add more matter to the Latin for the Second Form.'

These Latins must be so given that the children may write⁸¹ them before breakfast. After their breakfast one of the next Form above, by the Master's assigning, shall read to them one Rule for the next day and in the Master's presence; upon which the scholars of this Form shall apply themselves to the understanding construing saying and answering to the parts of their Latins unto the dinner-hour [11 a.m.].

If the Master's discretion shall think the babies able easily to overcome it, he may give them also

⁷⁹ Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 105, quoting Strype's *Life of Sir T. Smith*, 6.

⁸⁰ Though printed in Carlisle's *End. Gram. Schools* (ii, 594) in 1818, it has escaped the notice of all the Eton historians, as the first authentic curriculum of Eton. Carlisle's copy contains several mistakes of his own in addition to those in the Vicar's Book. They are corrected in the abstract now given. Cf. *V.C.H. Suss.* ii, 417.

⁸¹ Not as in Carlisle, *End. Gram. Schools*, 'recite.'

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some Latin words from Stanbridge's Collection, or small and light matter in Latin to be rendered by the Babies by and by after one of the clock; which done, after a convenient pause, the said babies shall render their Latins by heart, construe them and answer to the part of them.

This applied to the first four days of the week. On Friday they were to say *Sum, es, fui*, or some other verb out of the rules. Then they were to be examined in the understanding of the rules learnt in the week and say them by heart in the afternoon.

If the Master⁸⁷ have time sufficient before the time of breakfast the Master, or some Scholar of an higher form in the presence of the Master, shall declare to them one little piece of the Pater Noster, or the Ave Maria, the Credo or the Treatise of the Manners called⁸⁸ *Quos decet in mensa*, or the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, or the Five Witts,⁸⁹ or some other proper saying in Latin meet for the Babies, and especially such as is meet for Christian People to learn, as the Articles of Our Belief or anything like.

On Saturday before breakfast Form I 'rendered' their 'one little piece' of religious instruction, 'construed it and answered to parts of it.' After breakfast they rendered their Latins learnt in the week. 'At afternoon they shall learn to write or read Legends, or the Psalter, to become more prompt in reading.' Not, be it observed, for the sake of religious instruction, but for the enunciation.

In the second form the scholars shall read the genders⁹⁰ of Whittington and after them done the Heteroclites of Whittington. These rules shall be said in the morning and by and by one lesson shall be read unto them for next day and they shall learn Latins with the First Form. After their breakfast a lecture of Cato after the new interpretation shall be read unto them, which they shall construe again at afternoon and answer to the parts of it, which done they shall say their Latins by heart, construe them and parse them. Upon Friday after breakfast they shall render their rules; and at afternoon . . . their constructions. On Saturday they shall say and render all things with the first form.

In the third form the rules shall be the Pretertenses⁹¹ and Supines of Whittington, and after these done the Defectives of the said Whittington. They shall have Latins. Their constructions shall be of Terence or of Erasmus's Similitudes or of his familiar communication called *Colloquia Erasmi*.

In the Fourth form they shall have for their Rules the Regiments of Whittington which he calleth Con-

cinnitates Grammatices. They shall have Latin constructions and other things except rules with the third form to the intent that the better learned may instruct the less learned.

In the Fifth Form they shall read the Versifying Rules. They shall have⁹² or Ovid's Epistles. In the stead of Latins they shall construe Virgil, Sallust or Horace or any other meet for them; and for their better exercise they shall make every week verses and epistles.

It is remarkable that the latest thing in classical schools to-day is to return to this practice of remitting verse-making and original Latin prose to Form V. Form VI 'have for their rules Copiam Erasmi,' i.e. Erasmus's book on copiousness of diction, 'wherein it is taught to make⁹³; all other things they shall read with the Fifth Form.'

In every Form

the Rules shall be said in the morning, and by and by more rules given unto them; after 9 of the clock the constructions shall be given them; after 1 of the clock the constructions shall be heard; about 3 of the clock the Latin shall be rendered.

The master may begin to hear the First Form if it pleaseth him, so that the tender babes and young scholars be not forslowd,⁹⁴ but ever taught plainly and substantially, soberly and discreetly entreated, and handled without rigour or hastiness in deed word and countenance. The Master also must attend that his scholars keep a due and whole pronunciation of their words without precipitation, and that they speak Latin in every place.

Considering the way that pronunciation and enunciation are now almost wholly neglected in schools, which to make up for the neglect have to start Debating Societies and Shakespeare Readings, and these only attended by a select few, it is by no means clear that we have not something to learn in the way of school teaching from the much decried scholars of pre-Reformation times.

Next comes the usual fulmination against holidays:

The Scholars shall have no Remedy but once a week, and that shall never be on the Friday; and also after 2 of the clock, because they may render most of their learning, or they depart the school, without⁹⁵ the assent of one of the Controllers.

The word 'remedy,' *remedium laboris*, for holiday is now confined to Winchester.

Lastly, to show that the imitation of Eton

⁸⁷ Not as in Carlisle, 'If they may have sufficient time before breakfast.'

⁸⁸ Not as in Carlisle, 'verses for the Mariners, called Quos dicet in mensa.'

⁸⁹ i.e. the five senses.

⁹⁰ Not as in Carlisle, 'gradus.'

⁹¹ *Sic.* It was no doubt Preterites in the original, but the copyist of 1626 could not read the writing of 100 years before.

⁹² This blank is a proof that the copyist of 1626 could not read the older writing properly.

⁹³ Again the copyist could not read the old writing.

⁹⁴ *Sic.* Not as in Carlisle, 'forestowed.' But it is possible that the 17th-century copyist has misread the word, as 'forslowd' does not seem to have much more meaning than 'forestowed.'

⁹⁵ Not as in Carlisle, 'with.'

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was not to be a mere demonstration at starting, it was provided

That these acts and orders do continue until such time as the Controlers be notified of others being taught in Eton more profitable to scholars; then it is lawful to the Controlers to add to the forms that be more profitable and to leave what are not profitable at their discretion.

In 1529⁹¹ came Richard Cox, the fourth Etonian and Kingsman to become master. Born at Whaddon, Buckinghamshire,⁹² he went from Eton to King's in 1519, taking his B.A. degree 1523-4. Wolsey made him a junior canon of his new Cardinal College at Oxford, so he took his M.A. degree there, 2 July 1526. He first appears in the Eton audit book as *Informator* for the year beginning Michaelmas 1529, with Edmund Janson or Jonson, a Winchester and New College man, who had come a term before, as *Hostiarius*; and he continued there till 1535. The ushers under him after Jonson were William Pury or Pery, Michaelmas 1532 to Midsummer 1533; and William Bagley, who had gone to King's in 1527, from Midsummer 1533. On retirement from the mastership Cox returned to Cambridge, and took his B.D. degree in 1535, and his D.D. in 1537. On 24 November 1540, he was made Archdeacon of Ely on the king's appointment. He was one of the commissioners for making statutes for the cathedrals of the new foundation established by Henry VIII, on the dissolution of the monastic chapters and monasteries, and was himself made a canon on the new foundation of Ely. He was designated Bishop of Southwell when that collegiate church was intended to be converted into a cathedral; but the execution of the intention was deferred for 335 years. On 8 January 1543-4 he became dean of the new Oxford cathedral at Oseney, and, when it was abolished, Dean of Christ Church, which he scandalized by introducing a wife. He was tutor and then almoner to Edward VI, first as prince then as king; Canon of Windsor 1548; Dean of Westminster 1549. On Mary's incoming he was sent to the Tower for treason, but let out, though deprived of all his preferments. He fled to Frankfort. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to become Bishop of Ely 29 July 1559, took an active part in the controversies of the reign, and died 22 July 1581. That he was a good Latin verse writer is shown by his correspondence with Walter Haddon, his pupil at Eton (on the roll for King's 1533), who had written from his sick bed:—

Vix caput attollens e lecto scribere carmen
Qui vult, is voluit scribere plura. Vale.

⁹¹ Not 1528, as Maxwell Lyte.

⁹² In Cooper, *Athen. Cant.*, he is absurdly guessed to have 'had his first education in the small Benedictine Priory of St. Leonard Snelshall, Whaddon,' as if Benedictine priories taught outsiders.

Dr. Cox to Walter Haddon his scholar:—

Te magis optarem saluum sine carmine, fili,
Quam sine te salvo carmina multa. Vale.

By a fortunate accident a curriculum of Eton during Cox's term of office has been preserved in the town records of Saffron Walden, in Essex. There had long been a grammar school there, the monopoly of which was asserted in 1423.⁹³ By deed 3 December 1517, John Leche, vicar of that place, possibly the Winchester scholar of that name in 1445, endowed the Trinity Gild, which he had assisted to found three years before, 'with land for a priest so that' when the gild 'be abill to make the seid service worth £10 a year . . . the seid preest shalbe a profound gramarion, to thintent that he may teche gramar within the towne of Waldeyn, after the fourme of the scole of Winchester or of Eton.' The endowment did not take effect till his sister, Dame Jane Bradbury, by deed of 18 May 1525, gave further endowment, and appointed William Dawson, clerk, 'approvyd as an able syngyng man and a profound gramarion, accordyng to the mynd of Master Leche' with proviso that every future master should be 'a suffycient grammarion to tech chyl dren grammer after the order and use of techyng grammer in the scolys of Wynchester and Eton.'

To ensure this someone at Walden obtained from the head masters of Winchester and Eton copies of their 'Order and Use,' and they were solemnly entered in the Mayor's book. They were printed by Thomas Wright, the celebrated antiquary,⁹⁴ in 1853, as 'Rules of the Free School of Saffron Walden,' and even Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte quotes them⁹⁵ as made for that school 'when Richard Cox an Etonian was master.' But it is clear that Cox was never master there, but being master at Eton in 1530 he furnished Dawson with a copy of the Eton 'use.' As the document is of the first importance in the history of English education, it is now given in full, as corrected from the original.

THIS YS THE ORDER OF THE SAME SCHOLE USYD BY
ME RICHARD COX, SCHOLEMASTER.

They come to schole at vj of the Clok in ye mornyng & they say Deus misereatur with a Colecte; at ix they say De profundis & go to brekefaste. With

⁹³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. 281.

⁹⁴ *Arch.* xxxiv, 37.

⁹⁵ *Hist. Eton Coll.* (2nd ed. 1899), 147. Thanks to Mr. Bryan Ackland, who enabled me to see the original, it was shown apropos of the Winchester 'order' that Richard Cox and John Twichener, misprinted Twithen by Wright, were the masters of Eton and Winchester respectively, who furnished the orders of their schools to Walden as model in 1530; *V.C.H. Hants*, ii, 298; and *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 21. In *Etoniana*, May 1907, a correct description of the document is given, but the document itself is reproduced with all its mistakes from *Archaeologia*.

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in a quarter of an howre cum ageyne & tary . . . xi & then to dyner, at v to soper afore an Antheme & De profundis.

Two Prepositores in every forme, whiche doth give in a schrowe the absents namys at any lecture & shewith when & at what tyme, both in the fore none for the tyme paste, & at v.

Also ij Prepositors in the body of the Chirche, ij in the qwere, ffor spekyng of Latyn in the thred forme & all other, every one a custos, & in every howse a monytor.

Whan they go home ij. and ij. in order, a monitor to se that they do soe tyll they come at there hostie dore.

Also prevy monytors how many the Mr wyllle. Prepositores in the feld whan they play, for fyghtyng, rent clothes, blew eyes, or sicke like.

Prepositores for yll kept hedys, unwasshid facys, fowle clothis & sich other.

Yff there be iiij or v in a howse, monytors for chydyng and for Latyn spekyng.

When any dothe come newe, the master doth inqre fro whens he comyth, what frendys he hathe whether there be any plage. No man gothe owte off the schole, nother home to his frends with owt the masters lycense. Yff there be any dullard the Mr gyvith his frends warnyng and puttyth hym away that he sclander not the Schole.

By me, Richard Cox, Scholem'.

As regards the curriculum it is interesting to note that when once change began in the schools it continued. Stanbridge's *Accidence* and *Parvula* still reigned in the lower forms. But, in the short interval which had elapsed since the Eton use was furnished to Cuckfield in 1524, for the higher grammar Whittington's grammar, in consequence perhaps of his quarrel with Horman, who was still a fellow and vice-provost of Eton, had been deposed in favour of Lily's grammar, which, afterwards as 'the king's grammar' and the 'Eton Latin Grammar' reigned as despotically in English schools as Donatus had done, with almost the authority of verbal inspiration, until 1850. The pseudo-Cato's *Moralia* was still the first Latin Book. Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Sallust, Horace, Cicero, were still the only books read by the higher forms. As the boys still began school with *Deus misereatur*, sang *De profundis* before breakfast, and sang it again with an anthem at 5 p.m., we can hardly say that the omission in the 'use' of any reference to the *Ave Maria* and the Seven Deadly Sins mentioned in the Cuckfield 'Form' is due to the spirit of Reformation. But the introduction of the Dutch Despauterius and the German Mosellanus points to the re-importation

—	Mondaye	Tewysdaye	Wedensdaye	Thursdays	Frydays	Saterdays
The ffyrst forme	Parte of Stanbrid ge accidence eve ry mornynge with the Second, thri d & fowrth forme Institutiones parvulorum Voca bula. And also Latynes	Idem	Idem	Idem	Quos decet in mensa at the after none & ren deryng of Rules	Quos decet in Mensa at the after none Render Latynys
The Seconde forme	ffabulae Aesopi, Genera Lillii Latynys fower tymys in the weke	Idem	Idem	Idem	Cato ; at the after none Render rulye	Cato and at the after none render Latynys and Vulgares
The thrid fforme	Terence Preterita Lillii Latynys	Idem	Idem	Idem	Most proper Hymmys And at the after none rendre rulye	Properest hymna And at the after none ren der Latynys And Vulgars
The fourthe forme	Terentius, Octo partes Lillii Latyns twice every weke	Idem	Idem	Idem	Vergilii buccolica in the mornynge at the after none render rulye	Vergilii buc olica at after none rendre Latynys & Vulgars
The ffyfthe forme	Wrytyng of a theme, Salus tius, Versifyng rulye drawne owte of despau terius other modus consc ribendi epis tolas	The same save they make verses	The same save they make nothyng	Epistole tullii makynge of epistles beside Salustius	Vergilii Encis in the mornynge at the after none rendering of rules lernyd the hole weke	Vergilii Encis repetyng of Latyns & Vulgars lernyd that weke
The syxte fforme & the Seventhe forme	Horatius or tullius, mosellany figures or Copia rerum et verborum of Erasmus	All lyke Monday save they make verses	Like as afore save they make nothyng	Epistole Tullii Making of Epits beside Horatius	Vergilii Encis in the mornynge At the after none lernyd of rules lernyd the hole weke	Vergilii Encis repetyng of Latyns & Vulgars lernyd all ye weke

Every quarter one fortentyght every forme rendryth all thyngs lernyd that quarter

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of Lollardism in the form of Lutheranism, which had already undermined Romanism in England. Despauterius, or Despautier, calls himself Nini-vita, and was master of the school of St. Ginnocus at Bergis or Bergen-op-Zoom; he published the first edition of his *Ars Epistolica* at Argentora (i.e. Strasburg) in 1512, and a second at Antwerp in 1529. The over-refining classification of the schoolmen still prevails in it, letters being divided into three classes—the descriptive, the political, and the familiar; while each letter is made to comprise a salutation, a statement, a petition, and a valediction, as if all letters were begging letters. Mosellanus, so called because born on the Moselle, was Peter Schade, a schoolmaster of Leipzig. His *Paedologia*, Latin dialogues between schoolboys and students on their work, their play, their poverty, and their religion, was written when, though only twenty-five years old, he had already been master of the school for eight years. They are extremely entertaining, and though only published in 1521, three years after Luther's theses, scoff at such ceremonials as that of Candlemas Day and the boy-bishop. On the former Valerius asks Nicholas: 'Why have you not a candle?' To which Nicholas answers: 'How could I, when I have not enough money to buy food? If I were at home my mother would have bought me these baubles soon enough!' Valerius: 'How dare you laugh at sacred things?' Nicholas: 'Why not? I shall not be a heretic even if I don't carry a candle . . . it would be more pleasing to Christ if the money wasted on candles were spent on poor relief.' As to the boy-bishop, 'What's the good of it'—says one boy; 'Why none, except that you get an uncommonly good dinner,' replies the other. Mosellanus's *Figurae* are terribly detailed excursions on the figures of speech written in Latin hexameters. The book begins:—

'Arte novata aliqua dicendi forma figura est.
Sunt ejus species metaplasmus, schema, tropusque;
Schemata dant species tibi lexeos et dianeas.'

Mosellanus goes on to express scorn for his predecessors who sacrificed metre to sense, but as he only avoided the fault by interlarding his discourse with Romanized Grecisms, of which, being a novelty, he was excessively proud, the learner might perhaps think that in the new writer he had fallen out of the frying pan into the fire. The use of the words *schema*, *lexeos*, and *dianeas* shows how Greek had already made its way in schools. It may be noted that Mosellanus's predecessor, as teacher of Greek at Leipzig, was an Englishman and an Etonian, Richard Crook.

The *Quos decet in mensa*, out of which the boys learnt at the same time manners, morals, and verse, was the work of Sulpicius, a grammar

schoolmaster at Rome in the 15th century. It got its name from its beginning:—

'Quos decet in mensa mores servare docemus,
Virtuti ut studeas litterulisque simul.'

Good manners for the table here we tell,
To make our scholars gentlemen as well.

In elegant elegiacs are set out all the good old nursery rules as to behaviour. Before meals you are to wash your hands and face and clean your teeth. At meals do not rush to your place; when you cough, spit or blow your nose, turn your head away. Don't put your elbows on the table, don't champ your jaws when eating, don't take large mouthfuls, don't bite your bread but cut it, don't gnaw your bones. Remember that you eat to live and do not live to eat ('Esse decet vivas, vivere non ut edas'). Did Sulpicius invent this famous epigram? In drinking, only lift the cup with one hand, unless it is of the kind that Theseus or Bel used to hurl at an enemy; don't look over it while you drink, don't swallow too fast, or drain the pot, or whistle in drinking. Wipe the cup. When you leave the table, bend your knee, join your hands and say '*Prosit*' for grace. There are other commonplaces of the manners that make man. There was nothing new in all this except the setting. It is found in Facetus, a pseudonym of Johannes de Garlandia, a 13th-century writer of a Latin-English vocabulary and a treatise on manners, a copy of which was presented by William of Wykeham to Winchester College. He is said to have been an Englishman, and his book was frequently printed in England from 1500 onwards. No doubt it, too, descended from immemorial antiquity.

Not the least interesting part of Richard Cox's memorandum is that setting out the disciplinary and domestic arrangements. Horman's *Vulgaria* showed that the prefect system, the system of self-government of boys by boys was in full operation, the prefects being called prepostors. There were two school prepostors; four prepostors of chapel, two in the choir, two in the body of the church; prepostors in the playing-fields, to put down fighting, tearing of clothes and giving of blue, or, as we say, black eyes; prepostors to look after dirty boys. Then there were two prepostors in each form to give in a scroll of those absent, and a *custos* in every form above the third to see that they talked nothing but Latin. There were separate houses, dames or 'hostise's' houses, to which the boys had to march two and two under a monitor; and in every house having more than four or five in it, a monitor to stop chiding or wrangling and to enforce talking Latin. Finally there were 'privy monitors,' a sort of *delatores* or spies, a most unpleasant institution in mediaeval schools, much attacked in Mosellanus's dialogues, to report secretly misbehaviour to the master. It would appear

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that the prepostors were not themselves to keep order or punish so much as to report delinquents to the master. That the reports were not without results we may gather from the character given of Cox by Walter Haddon, already mentioned,⁸⁶ in the conversation on flogging in schools reported by Roger Ascham, which was the occasion of his *Scholemaster*. The Secretary of State, Sir William Cecil, having expressed himself against flogging, Mr. Peters⁸⁷ had argued that it was both necessary and useful: 'the rod was the sword of justice of the school.' 'Then,' writes Ascham, 'Mr. Haddon was fullie of Mr. Peters' opinion and said "That the best schole master of our time was the greatest beater," and named the person. "Though," quoth I, "it was his good fortune to send from his schole unto the university one of the best scholers indeede of our time, yet wise men do thincke that that came so to pass, rather by the great towardnesse of the scholer than by the great beating of the master; and whether this be true or no, you yourselfe are best witness."' This 'best schole-master' and 'greatest beater' is commonly said to be Udal. But it is quite clear that Ascham was referring to Haddon himself, who was solely Cox's pupil. If Haddon had meant Udal, who was then dead, Ascham would not have hesitated to give his name; but Cox was still alive and a bishop, and therefore for obvious reasons the name was suppressed. The mistaken reference to Udal was originally made by James Bennett, 'master of the Boarding-School at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire,' in his edition of Ascham's *Works* in 1761,⁸⁸ and has been blindly repeated ever since. Udal, as will be seen, was no sparer of the rod. But Cox must have the credit, or otherwise, of being reputed by an old pupil the best schoolmaster and greatest beater of his age.

It is a grievous pity that Cox did not, as his Elizabethan successor Malim did, give a timetable of the year as well as the week, an account of the feasts and holidays as well as the work. In Malim's time many of the feasts, and the customs connected with them, which in Cox's time before the Reformation were still fresh, are recorded as obsolete or obsolescent. The net result was that hard as the whole-school-days were, each a ten-hours' day, there were only five or indeed four of them a week; and there were so many feasts that hardly a week could have passed without at least one whole or half holiday. For every greater feast day was a whole holiday, and on every eve of the 'greater doubles,' feast

days on which double rations were enjoyed, there was a partial holiday, no work being done after dinner at 11 a.m. Most of the greater doubles were the same everywhere, but certain of them varied with the diocese, the local saints enjoying special days. The greater doubles at Eton were 1 January, the Circumcision; 6 January, the Epiphany; 2 February, the Purification of the Virgin; 25 March, the Annunciation; then came Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi Day, i.e. Thursday after Whitsuntide; 24 June, Birth of St. John Baptist; 29 June, St. Peter and St. Paul; 1 August, St. Peter ad Vincula; 15 August, the Assumption of the Virgin; 8 September, the Nativity of the Virgin; 1 November, All Saints' Day; 30 November, St. Andrew's Day; Christmas Day, and the four following days, the last being the day of St. Thomas the Martyr. In Lincoln diocese there was also St. Hugh's Day, 17 November; and at schools St. Nicholas's Day, the boy-bishop's day. Again, Ash Wednesday was given up, not to lessons, but to confession to the fellows or conducts, each boy choosing his own confessor. On the *obit* of William Waynesflete, 13 January, every boy received 2d.; on 7 February, the *obit* of Provost Bost, there was a half holiday; on 27 February, the *obit* of Roger Lupton, every boy received 1d. and there was a holiday from dinner-time (11 a.m.); and on 26 May, the *obit* of Henry VI, every boy had 2d. In Malim's time apparently only one memorial day of Henry VI was observed, but previously, as at Winchester for Wykeham, an *obit* was kept each quarter. At Easter the school did not break up, though, to judge from Winchester, there were extensive *exeat*s for those who could go home. For all there was a ten-days' holiday (*cessatum a publicis studiis*) from Wednesday in 'Holy Week,' which, in Malim's account, means the week in which Good Friday falls, to the Monday after Easter, except that on 'work days' they had writing lessons beginning on Wednesday. Maundy Thursday was a holiday. Those who communicated sat at table by themselves, had a better dinner, and leave out afterwards to wander over the fields, only they were not to go into taverns or beer shops. On Good Friday, in Malim's day, there was a writing lesson before 9 a.m. and a sermon from the head master at 1 p.m. But these were post-Reformation observances. On Saturday before Easter Malim records that 'while the custom flourished' of the Easter Sepulchre, three or four of the eldest boys chosen by the master at the request of the sacrist watched round the sepulchre with wax lights and torches, 'lest the Jews should steal the Lord,' or, as he adds with a sceptical Protestant touch, 'more probably to prevent any damage from negligence in looking after the lights.' On May Day, St. Philip and St. James, those who wished got up at 4 a.m. to gather boughs of may; but with a curiously grandmotherly care, which shows a

⁸⁶ Haddon, scholar of Eton, fellow of King's, after being master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford, was now a master of the Court of Requests and Dean of Arches.

⁸⁷ Peters or Petre was a Secretary of State under Edward and Elizabeth.

⁸⁸ *The Engl. Works of Roger Ascham* (Lond. R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), 142 n.

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very different spirit from that commonly imputed to our scholastic ancestors, the licence was coupled with the proviso 'that they do not wet their feet.' The windows of Long Chamber were then hung with may and herbs. In writing verses at this time they might write English ones on 'the flowery sweetness of Spring time,' as long as they included something adapted from Virgil, Ovid, or Horace. 'St. John Lateran before the Latin gate,' 6 May, 'brings many advantages, for from now after dinner they had a siesta in school, until the prepostor of hall and the *ostiarius*⁹⁹ call out "Get up" (*Surgite*) at 3 p.m., when they have beavers or bever,' an interval for drinking beer, the equivalent of the modern afternoon tea. Malim recalls the line: 'Porta Latina pilam, pulvinar, pocula prestat,' i.e. 'St. John Lateran's day brings the cricket ball, the couch, the drink.'

Ascension Day began the summer holidays, which lasted till the day before Corpus Christi Day, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, anyone not present at evening chapel on that day being flogged. On St. John the Baptist's birthday, i.e. Midsummer Day, Malim records as extinct the custom, which flourished no doubt under Cox, for all the scholars to go after evening prayers to a bonfire, made in the open space at the east end of chapel, and then, after the choir had sung their anthems, to a bever. On the eve of that day the boys adorned their chambers with pictures and verses on the 'life and gests of the Forerunner,' which they wrote out with illuminations and stuck at the foot of their beds. As it was nearly nine before they went to bed, they were allowed to lie in bed till six on the feast itself instead of getting up at five. The same custom was observed on 29 June, St. Peter and St. Paul. The custom of the Eton and Winchester match being always held on one of those two feast days is perhaps ultimately due to this custom. On 7 July, the Translation of St. Thomas (Becket), there was also a bonfire, but no verses. The Feast of Relics in July was another whole play day. Election time began then, and there was a holiday if the provost or one of the posers sent his hood into hall. On 29 August the after-dinner siesta, and *merenda* or bevers, ceased. The Nativity of the Virgin, 8 September, was a great feast, on which day Long Chamber was swept. On a day in September, fixed by the master, on petition from the boys in Latin verses on the joys of harvest and the pains of the hard winter coming, the school went a-nutting, and presents of the spoil were given to the master and fellows. On All Souls Day (2 November) they still in Malim's time said prayers in memory of benefactors, and made vulguses (*vulgaria*) on

⁹⁹ 'Censor Aulae et Anagnostes.' I give the Winchester translation of 'Anagnostes.' The 'ostiarius' was the prefect 'in course' for the day, who sat near the door to supervise the going in and out of school. Maxwell Lyte leaves the word unexplained.

immortality—substitutes for the prolonged services and requiems of pre-Reformation days. 'On St. Hugh the bishop's day,' says Malim, 'there used at Eton to be an election of a bishop Nicholas (*episcopi Nihilensis*),¹⁰⁰ but the custom has fallen into abeyance. Formerly the boy-bishop was thought a noble person, and at his election a learned and laudable exercise was celebrated at Eton to give strength and agility to their wits.' At Eton, as at Winchester, the boy-bishop was directed by the statutes to perform divine service on St. Nicholas's Day, 6 December, and not on the usual day, that of the Holy Innocents. This was probably to avoid clashing with the established boy-bishop celebrations of the choristers of the cathedral and of St. George's respectively. At Eton, there being a chantry of St. Nicholas already existing before the college was founded, it is possible that the day was already in vogue for the boy-bishop. It is noteworthy how Eton, like other schools, as e.g. the Great Grammar School at Lincoln, had turned an idle mummery into a literary exercise, with verses in honour of the boy-bishops, St. Hugh and St. Nicholas, and also a sermon, much after the style of the *Terrae filius* address at Oxford, for him to preach. Originally mixed up with the boy-bishop was the custom that on St. Andrew's Day (30 November) the schoolmaster used to choose the best and most appropriate stage plays, i.e. plays of Terence or Plautus, 'which the boys perform sometimes in public during the Christmas holidays, not without the elegance of the games (sc. of Rome), before a popular audience.' 'Sometimes,' Malim adds, 'the master exhibits a story written in English (*Anglico sermone contextas fabulas*) with wit and humour.' Apparently in Malim's day the practice was already being attacked by Puritans, as he thought it necessary to put in the defence that 'The actor's art is one of no moment, but it cultivates, as nothing else can, the action and appropriate gestures and movements of the body necessary to orators.' So that already at Eton the object of the school had been developed from that of producing priests and parsons into that of educating prospective preachers, lawyers, and statesmen.

As we saw, plays were performed at Eton by or under Cox. In 1533 he wrote¹⁰¹ a copy of Latin verses for the coronation of Anne Boleyn. They do credit to his Latinity, but not to his poetical faculty, being a string of dreary platitudes and fulsome compliments on her beauty, modesty, ability, and the like. In spite of his successful career after leaving Eton, ending as it did in a bishopric, Cox is now forgotten, while his successor, less successful in the world, Nicholas Udal, has become a name of fame in all the classrooms, as 'the father of English comedy.'

¹⁰⁰ See *supra*, p. 164.

¹⁰¹ Harl. MS. 6148, fol. 117.

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in his play *Roister Doister*, which has been claimed as an Eton product. Unfortunately nearly every date connected with Udal's career has been wrongly given, and many wrong inferences have been consequently drawn. His name itself is a notable example of the vagaries of phonetic spelling. It was really Uvedale, Latinized by himself into Udallus, and then adopted by him in English as Udal. But being apparently pronounced Oovedale or Oodal it occurs as Woodal, Wodall, and in all the other possible variants of that form. He was one of the Uvedales of Hampshire, the family which became, by marriage with the heiress of the Scures in the latter part of the 14th century, Lords of Wickham. He was admitted scholar of Winchester in 1517,¹⁰⁹ and of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in June 1520,¹⁰⁰ under the name of Owdall. Anthony Wood asserted, and all other writers have followed him, that he went to Corpus at the age of fourteen. As a matter of fact, he was at least sixteen and a half at the time. The boy undergraduate is a somewhat mythical being. He was paid, as Wodall, as a lecturer at Corpus in 1526-8. With the famous antiquary, Leland, he produced 'dites and interludes'^{101a} to be performed in London on the occasion of Anne Boleyn's coronation, 31 May 1533. Leland's contributions are all in Latin; Udal's, which form the chief part, are mostly in English, the speeches being each spoken by a 'child,' 'at Cornhill beside Leadenhall,' 'at the Conduete in Cornhill,' and 'at the little Conduete in Cheepe.' Both the Latin and the English compositions are very much superior to Cox's effusion on the same occasion. It is very probably owing to the success of these verses that at Midsummer 1534 he became head master of Eton. In February 1533-4 he published *Floures for Latine Spekynges, selected and gathered out of Terence and the same translated into Englysshe*. Its colophon is *Londoni in aedibus Bertheleti mdxxxiii*, but the dedication 'to my most sweet flock of pupils' is dated¹⁰² 28 February 1533-4, 'from the monastery of the monks of the order of Augustine.' This is an ambiguous description; there were no monks of that order, and whether Austin friars or Augustinian canons were meant is open to doubt. The book was published with laudatory Latin verses by John Leland, the antiquary, who was then resident in London, and by Edmund

Jonson. Now the latter was a Winchester and Oxford contemporary of Udal's, a scholar of Winchester 1514 and of New College 1520. From 1528, and perhaps a year earlier, he was *Hostiarius* at Eton, a post which he left to become master of the school of St. Anthony's Hospital, then the most famous and flourishing school in London. Established, as we saw, at the same time and by the same Wykehamists who established Eton, the master's salary was £16 a year, with the same 'diet' or commons, livery, and other advantages as had been originally assigned to the master of Eton, before the reduction consequent on partial disendowment. So that St. Anthony's was probably the best scholastic appointment in the kingdom. Now St. Anthony's Hospital and School were in Threadneedle Street, close to Austin Friars. So it is highly probable that Udal was usher in St. Anthony's School under Jonson, who was two or three years his senior, and was living next door to the school in Austin Friars. At all events it is quite clear that the flock of pupils to whom the book was dedicated were not Eton scholars, as Udal was not then master of Eton. The suggestion in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that the book was dedicated to Eton boys in advance is unlikely, as in those days they seem never to have got their masters till the place was vacant or on the verge of vacancy. The audit book for 25 & 26 Henry VIII, i.e. Michaelmas 1533 to Michaelmas 1534, contains the earliest record of Mr. Nicholas Woddal, as he is called, being paid as *Informator* for the last quarter of that year, viz. from Midsummer to Michaelmas 1534. In later years he is called *Informator puerorum* ('of the children') or *ludi grammaticalis* or *schole grammaticalis* ('of the grammar school'). It is not until 1537-8 that he appears as Udal. Besides his salary of £10 and £1 for livery, Udal enjoyed the petty receipts (*minutis*) of 8s. 4d. for *obits*, 2s. 8d. for laundress, 2s. for candles for his chamber, and 23s. 4d. 'for ink, candles and other things given to the grammar school by Dr. Lupton, provost,' whose *obit*, as we have seen,¹⁰³ was already celebrated on 11 January. The boy-bishop celebration was duly kept, 2s. being given to the man who brought venison (*ferinam*) to the provost on St. Nicholas's feast (6 December) and 4d. being paid for 'a skin of parchment to write the names of the officers of the bishop on the feast of St. Hugh,' 17 November, i.e. of St. Hugh of Lincoln, the boy martyr, on whose day, as the school was in Lincoln diocese, instead of on 6 December, the boy-bishop seems to have been elected. At Christmas, too, there was a payment of 12s. for a boar and of 2s. 8d. 'for making the boar's head.' There was a play, 3s. being paid for the repair of the dresses of the players at Christmas,

¹⁰⁰ Kirby, *Winch. Scholars*, is misleading. The original entry runs, 'Nicholaus Owdall de Sowthampton in parochia Sancte Crucis, xij annorum in festo Nativitatis Domini preterito,' i.e. Christmas 1516. His name suggests that he was born on 6 Dec., Bishop Nicholas's Day.

¹⁰¹ Fowler, *Hist. C.C.C.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

^{101a} B.M. 18 A, lxiv.

¹⁰² 'Nicholas Udal suavissimo discipulorum gregi . . . ex coenobio monachorum ordinis Augustini pridie Kalendas Martias, post Natale Domini, 1534.'

¹⁰³ See *supra*, p. 173.

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and 1s. 4d. to a servant of the Dean of Windsor for bringing his master's clothes for the players. The payment for repair of the players' dresses recurs every year at this time, except in 1536. This is to be accounted for by the boys being away at 'Heggeley' (? Hedgerley), probably on account of the plague at Eton; for 6d. was paid for a hogshead—and 9d. for the bringing of it—'to carry drink to the boys at Heggeley,' while payments were made to Spensar, the costs for cleaning the boys' inn (*hospitium*) there, and 2s. for keys and locks for the doors, and 2s. 6d. was paid for bringing them, or some of them, to the college on election day. The same year cakes and ale (*caakys et al*) were provided for the Bishop of Lincoln, and the queen, Jane Seymour, paid a visit to the college, when not only were 'flyne cakes' provided, but sherry (*secke*) and claret (*clarett*) at 1s. 4d. a gallon each, and apples and pears to the extent of 2s. 2d. The king came on St. Bartholomew's Day (24 August), but seems to have preferred beer with his 'caks.' Udall has been credited with producing a play at Braintree while vicar there, recorded in the churchwardens' accounts for 1534 as a play of 'Placy Dacy alias St. Ewestacy' i.e. 'Placidus alias Sir Eustace.' But Udall did not become vicar of Braintree till 27 September 1538. On 1 October 1538¹⁰⁶ 'Nicholas Uvedale, professor of the liberal arts, *informator* and schoolmaster of Eton,' was licensed to hold the vicarage of Braintree, 'with other benefices,' without personal residence. So it is not very probable that he ever went to Braintree or produced any plays there.

In 1538, however, the accounts of Thomas Cromwell,¹⁰⁷ the Lord Privy Seal, include a payment for 'Woodall, the scholemaster of Eton, to playing before my lord, £5.' Presumably he brought a troupe of boys with him. In that year also he published a second edition of his *Flowers of Terence* for Eton boys.

The account of Thomas Tusser of his experience at the hands of Udall, though oft quoted, is too picturesque not to be quoted once more. Tusser began life as a chorister of St. Paul's.

From Powles I went to Aeton sent,
To learn straightwayes the Latin phrase;
Where fifty three stripes given to me at once I had;
For fault but small or none at all
It came to pass thus beat I was;
See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee to mee, poor lad.

If Cox was a greater beater than this he must have been great indeed. Udall's reign of the rod at Eton was brought to an abrupt conclusion by his being brought up before the Privy Council,¹⁰⁸ 14 March 1540-1, for 'being of counsel with' two of the boys, Thomas Cheney, a relation of the Lord Treasurer of the Household, and

Thomas Hoorde, for stealing some silver images and chapel ornaments. He then confessed to a much more scandalous offence with Cheney and was sent to the Marshalsea Prison. He tried, but failed, to get restored to Eton. Attempts have been made to whitewash him. But his own confession, and an abject letter of repentance and promises of amendment addressed probably to Wriothesley, a Hampshire man, and no doubt a family friend, cannot be got over. From the letter it would seem that he was a bad schoolmaster as well as an immoral one, since he puts forward amongst other things 'myn honest chaunge from vice to vertue, from prodigalitee to frugall lyving, from negligence of teachyng to assiduitee, from play to studie, from lightnes to gravitee.' Unfortunately the account for 1541-2 is missing. The last mention of Udall at Eton is in 1542-3, when, after the bursar had ridden up to London to the master (i.e. the provost) 'for the matter of Udall,' Udall was paid '53s. 4d. in full satisfaction of his salary in arrears and other things due to him while he was teaching the children'; but as on the other side of the account appears an item of '60s. received from Dr. Coxe for Udall's debts,' it would not appear that any money passed to Udall. He maintained himself by translating in 1542 Erasmus's *Apophthegms* into English and divers other works. He seems to have been made to resign his living at Braintree, a successor being appointed 14 December 1544. He purged himself, however, by composing the *Answer to the articles of the commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall* when they rose in rebellion, bloodily put down by the first lord of the house of Russell in the summer of 1549, against the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Udall, as an English author, evidently wrote¹⁰⁹ *con amore* against the Cornishmen, who, because 'certain of us understand no English, . . . utterly refusid this new English,' demanded the old service in Latin, and the calling in of the Bible and all other books of Scripture in English, 'for we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.' He was rewarded by being made a canon of Windsor, 14 December 1551. On 5 January 'after the common reckoning 1552' (i.e. 1551-2),¹¹⁰ he published a translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases* of the gospels, himself translating the first three, while St. John was being translated by the Princess Mary, till she fell sick and handed her work over to Dr. Malet. The work was done at the suggestion and expense of the Dowager Queen Katharine, in whose charge Mary was, and the connexion with Mary afterwards stood Udall in good stead

¹⁰⁶ Pocock, *Troubles of the Prayer Book of 1549* (Camden Soc. new ser. 37), 141, 193.

¹¹⁰ The publication of the second volume, done by Miles Coverdale, in June 1552, shows that the date, 'after the common reckoning January 1552,' was according to the modern use, i.e. 1551-2 not 1552-3.

¹⁰⁶ Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 17.

¹⁰⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 334.

¹⁰⁸ *Proc. P.C.* viii, 152.

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In June and September 1553¹¹¹ 'Mr. Nicholas Uvedale' was paid at the rate of £13 6s. 8d. a year as 'scolemaster to Mr. Edward Courtney, being within the Tower of London, by virtue of the Kings Majesty's Warrant.' At Queen Mary's entry into London he produced 'dities and interludes' for which he received her thanks. It was probably either on this occasion or at the Christmas following that the play of *Roister Doister* was produced. For it was in January 1553, i.e. 1554, that Thomas Wilson, master of St. Katharine's Hospital by the Tower, produced the third edition of *The Rule of Reason*, which contains, while the two earlier editions published in 1551 and 1552 respectively do not contain, a long quotation from *Roister Doister*. It gives under the heading of 'ambiguities,' as 'an example of such doubtful writing whiche, by reason of pointing, maie have double sense and contrarie meaning,' the letter 'taken out of an intrelude made by Nicholas Vdal,' which Ralph Roister procured a scrivener to compose for him, asking Christian Custance, the heroine, to marry him. Roister's emissary read it

Sweete mistresse, where as I love you nothing at all,
Regarding your substance and richnesse chiefe of all,

and so on ; whereas it was meant to read

Sweete mistresse, whereas I love you, (nothing at all
Regarding your substance and richnesse,) chiefe of all,
For your personage, beautie, demeanour and wit.

The play was entered at Stationers' Hall, when printed in 1566, and only one copy is known, which was given to Eton by an old Etonian in 1818. As the title-page is gone the only evidence of its authorship is Wilson's quotation. Wilson being an Etonian, it has been argued that his quotation was a reminiscence of his Eton days and that the play was written for and first performed by Eton boys. But the occurrence of the quotation first in the edition of 1554, and its absence in the previous editions of 1551 and 1552, coupled with the facts that there is nothing in the play to suggest any connexion with boys, that the scene is laid in London and among London citizens and is essentially a London play—points ignored by Maxwell Lyte (1899 edition) and the *Dictionary of National Biography*—appear to furnish an irresistible argument that *Roister Doister* first appeared in 1553, and therefore could not have been written at Eton or for Eton boys. On 6 March 1553-4 Udal was given by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the living of Calbourne in the Isle of Wight. It has hitherto been alleged¹¹² that in 1554 he was made head master of Westminster School, which, as is not generally known, was founded by Henry VIII as part of the foundation of the cathedral church of West-

minster, on the dissolution of the abbey in 1540; the only previous school in connexion with the abbey being an almonry or charity school in the subalmonry of the monastery for some 24 boys, which began with some two or three about 1356. It has been supposed that Udal was the last master of the Cathedral Grammar School, which he is alleged to have resigned and the school to have been suppressed on the re-erection of the abbey 7 September, and the return of monks to it 21 November 1556. It is, however, now certain¹¹³ that Udal was not master in 1554, and that he did not resign but died in office, and that the school was not suppressed in 1556. In the will of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, dated 8 November 1555,¹¹⁴ there is a bequest of 40 marks (£28 13s. 4d.) 'to Nicholas Udale, my scolemaister;' which is sufficient proof that Udal was not then at Westminster. In what sense he was Gardiner's schoolmaster it is difficult to guess. He was not head master or usher of Winchester College. The Winchester Almonry School, which corresponded to that of Westminster, came to an end with the dissolution of the monastery. The old High School, or City Grammar School, which, under the immediate control of the bishop, existed ages before Winchester College, last appeared as a going concern in the appointment of a master, who bore the same name as the present dean, in 1488,¹¹⁵ and the schoolhouse was let in 1529-30 at 5s. a year. It is just possible that Gardiner revived it and appointed Udal master. However that may be, the Act Book of the Westminster Chapter established by Henry VIII, among admissions of petty or minor canons, scholars and almsmen, contains the following entry:—'Scole-master. Mr. Udale was admitted to be scole-master 16 December anno 1555.' The entry is crossed out by a line drawn through it, probably as being considered out of place. The last chapter order is dated 6 March 1555-6, but leases were granted as late as 24 September 1556. The parish register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, contains under 'Burials in December anno Domini 1556,' '11 die Katherine Woddall.' '23 die Nicholas Yevedale.' Whether Katherine was Udal's wife, or some relation or not, it is certain that Nicholas Yevedale is Nicholas Uvedale or Udal. For in the one and only extant account of the cellarer of the revived monastery for the year ending Michaelmas 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, i.e. 1556, under 'fees and

¹¹² Mr. G. Russell Barker, who has for some years been accumulating materials for the history of Westminster School, first mentioned this. I am indebted to the dean, the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, for references and recourse to the abbey muniments which prove it.

¹¹³ P.C.C. 3 Noodes. Proved 25 Jan. 1557.

¹¹⁴ V.C.H. Hants, ii, 256.

¹¹¹ *Trevelyan Pap.* (Camden Soc. 84), ii, 31, 33.

¹¹² Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

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wages' is a payment of 'cash to Thomas Notte, usher (*hippodidasculo*) of the boys, £6 10s., and to the scholars called grammar children (*Scolasticis vocatis le Grammer children*), of £63 6s. 8d., showing that the school was still going on, but that Udal's place as head master had not been filled up. These payments are for half a year. But next year there were a master and usher and the full tale of scholars.

An account of John Moulton, the receiver-general of the abbey, of payments to be made for the last year of Philip and Mary, i.e. 1557-8,¹¹⁴ shows under the heading of 'fees and wages granted to certain persons by letters patent of the monastery for life,' to John Passey, schoolmaster (*pedagogi*) of Westminster yearly, £20, and Richard Spencer,¹¹⁴ usher (*subpedagogi*) yearly, £15, while the 'master of the choristers' received £10. Under 'wages and salaries without letters patent continued according to the form of the foundation and erection established by Henry VIII,' is the payment of '40 grammar boys, £133 6s. 8d., and 10 chorister boys singing in the choir, £33 6s. 8d.' i.e. £3 6s. 8d. for each scholar and chorister. This appears to be conclusive proof that Udal had a successor, and that the school went on and was only re-enacted, not re-established, by Queen Elizabeth's charter refounding the collegiate church on 21 May 1560. No doubt there were under Udal and under his predecessors town boys as well as the 40 scholars.

Udal's successor as head master of Eton was 'Tyndall,' according to Maxwell Lyte's list. He was no doubt Henry Tyndall, M.A. Oxford 1516-17, and B.D. 5 June 1526. A fellow of Merton, his stay of only a year may perhaps be accounted for by his desire to return to Merton, of which he was elected warden in 1544. Smyth, who followed in 1541, was probably Nicholas Smyth, a Buckinghamshire boy from Fenny Stratford, scholar of Winchester 1536, of New College 1541, B.A. 1545. He held office with first Alphyn or Alphild as usher, and then John Fuller, who, like himself, was of Winchester (1537) and New College (1540). Smyth returned to New College in 1545. He became a fellow of Eton in 1554, and died rector of Petworth. At Lady Day 1545 another Wykehamist succeeded, Robert Cater, a Berkshire boy from Newbury, scholar of Winchester 1526, of New College 1531, M.A. 11 June 1539. He was the last representative of the mother college in the capacity of head master of Eton. He died in office 1 January 1546-7, and was buried in Eton Chapel with an inscription which, in view of the false quantity in the second line and the bad

scansion of the third,¹¹⁵ we may hope was either not written by him, or was miscopied by the person who recorded it. William Barker, who filled the gap, was a demy and then fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He was master when Eton was again threatened with destruction, being included with Winchester and all the other colleges and collegiate churches, not excepting the cathedrals, in the Act for the Dissolution of Colleges and Chantries of 1545, which provided for the dissolution at the king's pleasure of any of them to provide for the costs of the wars with France and Scotland. The report for Eton by the commissioners under the Act^{115a} is as follows :—

ETON COLLEGE

Founded by Kynge Henry the sixte.

Robert Aldridge, Bisshop of Carlill, is provest there.

The seid college is a parishe church.

The seid college is of the yerely value of £1066 16s. 9½d., wherof

Paide for collectours fees and rentes resolutes, and suche other as doth appere in the Ministers accomptes, £62 13s. 1½d.; paide to the provest for his stipend, £30; to 7 felowes at 100s. the pece, £35; to 5 chaplaynes, at £4 the pece, one of theyme havynge 13s. 4d. more by yere, £20 13s. 4d.

To the Scoole Master, £10; the vssher, £10; and to 10 clerkes callid conductes, wherof one is an organe player, £21 6s. 8d.; in all, £121.

Paide to the vice provest, £4; to the chaunter, 26s. 8d.; to the sexten, 26s. 8d.; to the under sexten, 13s. 4d.; to the 2 bursarres, £4; and to the clerke of the londes, 53s. 4d.; in alle, £14.

Paide for the keepynge of 5 obbites for the founder, and for Kinge Henry the First (*sic*) and Quene Kateryne, his wife, quene Margaret, the founder's wife, and for william waynflete, late bisshop of Wynechester, £14 0s. 4d., £211 13s. 5½d.

And so Remaynyth £855 3s. 4½d.

For the whiche some there is yerely borne the diettes of the provest, vice provest, felowes, chaplaynes, 70 scollers, 13 poore children and 10 choristours, and 5 of the provest his seruauntes, and other seruauntes of the house, And also for liueries, and Wages, and Reparacions and other charges, as well ordynarie as extraordynarie.

The ornamentes or goodes apperteynyng to the seid college be worth, as by the Inventorie therof more playnly it may appere, £373.

Plate gilte and enamyld, poice, 314½ ounces; plate gilte not enamyld, 1,000 ounces; plate parcell gilte, 847½ ounces; and White plate, 152½ ounces; Remaynyng in the handes of the Reuerend father in God, Roberte Aldridge, Bisshop of Carlill, and provest of the college there.

¹¹⁵ Grammata tradentis Cateri hic membra
quiescunt,

Quem pius adjutes precibus oro preces.

Illico mens bona quae sunt summa petat,
redvivum

Corpus ad astra volans denuo surgat dem.

^{115a} Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 15.

¹¹⁴ Westm. Abbey Mun. 33194.

^{114a} He was probably Richard Spenser, scholar of Winchester, 1543, and of New College, 1549, fellow 1551-3; Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*.

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The provest and Felowes, with other stipendaries of the seid college, had by the old foundations, for their stipendes as folowith, that is to saye, the provest, £75; 10 felowes, euery of theym, £10, £100; 10 chaplaynes, euery of theym, 100s., £50; the scoole master, £16; the ussher, £6 13s. 4d.; 10 conductes, wherof one is an organe player, and his stipend by yeare, £6, to 3 others at £4 the pece, £12; to the clerke of the revestre, 66s. 8d.; the parish clerke, 66s. 8d.; And 4 other clerkes at 40s. the pece, £8; in alle, £280 6s. 8d.

Of the which some, the seid college doth paye for like stipendes at this present, as apperith before, in the title of the Valour of the College, but £121; for rewards to the vice provest and other, £14; And for keping of 5 obbites, £14 0s. 4d.; in all, £149 0s. 4d.; bicause that moche of their londes was takyn from theym and given to Wyndesour College by Kynge Edwarde the 4th.

It may be noted that the income of £370 in 1467 had now grown to over £1,000 a year, yet, except for the lands given by Bost, Lupton, and others for obits, and the lands gained on the exchange for St. James's Hospital, under £100 a year in all, the items which produced it were practically the same. But there had been a continual 'unearned increment' in the rents and profits derived from them; a remarkable testimony to the growth of population and of wealth under the Tudors. The enormous amount of plate and ornaments shows that Edward IV could not have plundered the college of much, if of any of it; and, though he had taken some of the lands, he had left it one of the richest colleges in the kingdom, with nearly £1,000 a year, some £10,000 of our money, richer than Winchester. Curiously enough the same proportion applies now, Winchester having roughly £20,000 and Eton some £33,000 a year, from endowments. Whether Henry VIII ever seriously contemplated 'entering on' the universities, with their adjuncts—Winchester and Eton, and disendowing and disestablishing them, we do not know. Anyhow he died before he had entered on more than a dozen colleges and chantries, and the Chantries Act, being permissive and for his life only, expired with him. But in view of the Act we may imagine that Etonians must have warmly welcomed the corpse of the king as it passed through Eton on its way to Windsor, January though it was, when 'along the churchyard wall were the Bishop Carlisle, the Provost, in *pontificalibus*, and al the fellows and masters in their best ornaments and copes; and by them, al the young children, Scolers of the college, in their white surplices, bareheaded, holding in one hand tapers and in the other bookes, saying the 7 psalms; and as the corps came by, kneeled and censed it, saying *De profundis* and other prayers.'

When the new Chantries Act, which absolutely dissolved all colleges and chantries from Easter 1548, was passed in the first Parliament of Edward VI, the friends of learning were strong

enough to obtain an exemption of the universities and university colleges, and as an integral part of Oxford, Winchester, and of Cambridge, Eton. So they, with the royal college of Windsor and its annex, the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, alone of all the 200 to 250 colleges in the kingdom, were saved from ruin. All the endowments of the other grammar schools attached to other colleges or collegiate churches were confiscated; and though directions were given in the Act for the continuance and the re-endowment of the schools, many of them disappeared, or most were left to languish on the net annual income received by the master at the time. All the other grammar schools which were not, like Archbishop Holgate's three foundations in Yorkshire, wholly independent of any connexion with colleges, hospitals, chantries, or gilds, shared the same fate. About half a dozen, like Berkhamstead and Pocklington,¹¹⁶ were refounded by Act of Parliament, and some thirty were refounded and re-endowed by charter, as King Edward the Sixth's Grammar Schools. Of all the hundreds of grammar schools which flourished in England before 1548, Winchester and Eton colleges alone were left in full possession of their property, samples to posterity of what the English schools might have been if they had not been plundered by Edward VI and his advisers.

Under the new régime Aldrich was soon induced to resign his provostry, which he had no business to hold with his bishopric. Thomas Smith, though 'not priste or doctor of divinitie or otherwise qualyfyed as your statutes dothe requyre,' as a letter under the Privy Seal dated on Christmas Day 1547 informed the fellows, was ordered to be elected provost, and on 30 December was duly admitted by the Bishop of Lincoln.¹¹⁷

The day before letters patent had authorized him to hold the provostry with a prebend at Lincoln and the rectory of Everington, which he already enjoyed, and any other preferments. A week later he was made Dean of Carlisle. All these preferments might be and were often held by laymen under the old régime of papal dispensations; Reginald Pole, for instance, was Dean of Wimborne Minster at the age of fifteen. Smith was also allowed to marry, and soon presented the first lady provost to the college. As, however, he was made Secretary of State and knighted, neither he nor she can have seen much of Eton, though 'the Master,' as they called him, had a 'new seller' and 'a new kitchen' built for himself. He has been credited with the

¹¹⁶ *V.C.H. Herts.* ii; *V.C.H. Yorks.* i.

¹¹⁷ Eton Audit. R. 'Solutis M^o Whytbye afferenti litteras regie majestatis pro electione novi Prepositi, 10s.'; 26 Dec. 'solutis Magistro Goldwyn Vice-Preposito et M^o Willyat equitantibus ad D. Episcopum Lincolniensem pro admissione novi Prepositi, 4s. 2d.'

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whitewashing of the frescoes in chapel; but John Lecke, the porter (*janitori*) was in fact paid 3s. 4d. (*pro dealbatione templi*) on 2 December, when Aldridge was still provost; and on 25 January, a month before Smith set foot in Eton, 6s. 8d. was paid 'to those labouring about the high altar in overturning and carrying out the sculptures.' Next year the gold of the images was sold for 5s. Smith's salary, instead of being £30, as had been usual of late, was restored to the old figure of £50, with £25 more for the rectory. Including commons and livery for himself and his men, he had due to him some £250 in April 1550, of which he took out £130 in 42 lb. of old plate, at the rate of 5s. 2d. an ounce Troy weight.

Several of the fellows and Mr. Barker, the head master, followed the provost's example, and took unto themselves wives, which was regarded by the conservative opposition as a heinous offence. In 1549^{117a} Barker had been accused to the provost that he was a 'diseplayare, cardeare, riotter or gammeare, nott applying his schole trewely.' This the vice-provost Goldwyn repudiated: 'For I know he is none of that sortt, I can fynd no faught in hym, but he is sumwhat to gentle and gyvethe his scholars more licence than they have byn usid'; a fault which was perhaps the best testimonial to his virtues. On 6 May 1552¹¹⁸ some of the Cambridge University Commissioners, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, Sir John Cheeke and two others, were ordered to visit Eton and 'see what things are to be reformed or corrected there . . . and geve such injunctions as may be for the increase of vertu and learning.' Provost Smith was now out of favour, being a dependant of the Protector Somerset, and had been deprived of his secretaryship and sent to the Tower, and the directions to the visitors included one to 'leave owt the name of and style of the late Duke of Somerset,' beheaded as a traitor. The immediate result of the visit¹¹⁹ was 'a letter of apparence' on 11 May to one of the fellows, Thomas Fawding or Faulding, to appear before the Privy Council, and his committal to the Fleet on 14 May for some unknown offence. Reby,¹²⁰ the vice-provost, was directed also to go up to the council with "Harland" the usher and one Avise fellow.' The result does not appear. Thomas Harland was rather an interesting person. An Etonian and Kingsman, he had been usher since 1542. Anthony Wood says that under Mary he had to conceal himself under the name of Fuller. But he appears under the name of Fuller in the Eton audit books, and Edward Harland alias Fuller, perhaps his father, appears in the same books as constable of Wind-

sor about this time. So that he seems to have gone indifferently under either name. The later audit books of Edward VI and those of Mary appear to be missing. But we know from the sole brass remaining in Fotheringhay Church,¹²¹ the college of which, like the castle, had been a Yorkist foundation, on which some Latin verses record the praise of Thomas Harland *Paedotriba bonus*, who died 5 January 1589-90, that he was 'scholemaster' of the grammar school there for thirty-three years, and must therefore have gone there in 1557.

When the Court was at Windsor, the Privy Council on 26 September 1552^{121a} 'ended a matter at Eton College between the Master and the Fellows,' and also 'took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes.' Next year the college was ordered to convert their church goods 'from monumentes of superstition to necessarye uses,' which took the form of silver wine-pots, jugs, bowls, and other 'plate for the buttarie.'

After Mary's accession Thomas Smith resigned the provostry and the deanery of Carlisle 'quasi-spontaneously.' Henry Cole, of Godshill, Isle of Wight, scholar of Winchester 1519 and of New College 1521, and warden of the latter college from 1542 to 1551, when, being adverse to the Reformation,¹²² he resigned both the wardenship and the rectory of Newton Longville, was, in accordance with a royal mandate, elected fellow of Eton and provost on the same day, 13 July 1554. He restored the old services and, as far as possible, the old ornaments. One of the disputants against Cranmer and Ridley with a view to their conviction as heretics, he preached at the former's burning, and was rewarded with the deanery of St. Paul's in 1556. He was also made vicar-general to Cardinal Pole. Three old Etonians and Kingsmen were burnt for heresy by his party, viz. Robert Glover and Lawrence Saunders at Coventry, and John Hulier at Cambridge. Cole did not shrink from upholding his reactionary views when Elizabeth came in, and, though committed to the Tower, led a disputation against Protestantism in Westminster Abbey in 1559. On 20 May 1560 he was deprived of his provostry and other preferments; he was afterwards sent to the Fleet, and was still a prisoner there in 1579.

The return to Protestantism was enforced by a University Commission, 20 June 1559, to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy at Eton, as a college forming part of Cambridge University. Probably by the influence of Cecil, one of the commissioners, a Johnian, William

^{117a} *V.C.H. Northants*, ii.

^{121a} Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 139, from Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, v, 85.

¹²² Not, as Anthony Wood (*Athen. Oxon*, i, 197) says, on the authority of Bishop Jewell's biographer, 'a preacher up of the Reformation.'

^{117a} S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, vii, 4.

¹¹⁸ *Acts of P.C.* 1552-4, p. 35. ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 44, 46.

¹²⁰ This name has been misread by the editor. His name was Ryby.

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Bill of St. John's College, Cambridge, was on 25 June elected provost at the queen's command, as is evidenced by a payment to a messenger, who 'brought the queenes majestie's letters.' Master first of St. John's and then of Trinity, Cambridge, whence he was ejected by Mary, he had been restored to Trinity, and in 1560 was made Dean of Westminster, holding all these offices together. He died a year later, 10 July 1561. At Eton he replaced the altar by a communion table on 9 November, and had the beautiful but 'superstitious' pictures painted in 1480 whitewashed by the college barber, so preserving them for rediscovery in 1848.

The next head master, William Malim, is a man of some fame, by reason of an account of the school in his time which was, until the discovery of the two curricula of 1524 and 1530, given above, the earliest known. He was an Etonian who was admitted to King's 14 August 1548. The roll of the year was headed by a man who was even more famous in the scholastic profession, Richard Mulcaster, afterwards surmaster of St. Paul's and head master of Merchant Taylors' Schools, and author of *The Elementarie*, a plea for the use of the English language instead of Latin as the medium of instruction. Malim is said¹²³ to have been born in 1533, but that is impossible. Eton scholars were not superannuated for King's till they had reached their nineteenth birthday, and competition was too keen for boys of fifteen to have a chance. He must have been born at earliest in 1530. He became B.A. in 1553, M.A. 1556. He became a jurist fellow¹²⁴ 14 January 1559, and the inadequacy of the emoluments and prospects of the civil law drove him, like many other jurist fellows of King's and New College, to schoolmastering. He therefore sought and obtained the succession to Barker as head master of Eton. Among his earliest works at Eton was the preparation of the *salvo* of Latin verses, the burden of which was mostly an invitation to marry and produce an heir to the throne as quickly as possible, with which he and 44 boys greeted the queen on New Year's Day 1559-60. His time at Eton is noteworthy for three several documents of great importance in the history not only of Eton, but of education in general. They are the school bills in 1560 of the two brothers Cavendish, one of whom became the first Earl of Devonshire; the *Vetus Consuetudinarium* of Eton in 1561; and Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, the writing of which was suggested by a flogging scandal in 1563. The school bills¹²⁵ are extremely interesting. The two boys, Henry and William

Cavendish, just under nine and ten years old when sent to Eton, were the sons of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth, who rose to wealth and note as Wolsey's steward and had died in 1557, and of the famous Bess of Hardwick, who for her third husband married the Earl of Shrewsbury, but was now married to Sir William St. Loe, captain of the guard. At their entry St. Loe wrote to his wife, 'The Amnar¹²⁶ saluteth the, and sayeth no jentlemen's chyliden in Ingland shalbe better welcum, nor better loked unto than owre boyes.' The bills begin with an introductory dinner 'at the inne' on 21 October 1560, at which two sons of 'Sir Frauncis Knolles' were present. It cost a penny under half a crown for bread and beer, soup, boiled mutton, roast mutton, 'a lytull chicken 4d. and 4d. for fire morning and evening in their chamber there.' On 23 October the boys 'with ther man, dyd beginne ther bord at Richard Hylles,' at 10s. a week for the two boys and 3s. 4d. a week for their man, besides firewood, which for a month cost 8s. 8d. Their whole outfit is given. It shows that oppidans, as well as collegers, wore gowns. The gowns, 4 yds. each of black frieze (fryse) at 1s. 8d. a yard, cost 13s. 4d. and making 1s. 4d. Two 'friseardo coates' and two 'dubletts' of jane fustian, with black silk buttons, kersey hose lined with linen, 'sloppes' lined with cotton, were provided; and four shirts each of fine holland, with coarse holland lining for the collars. Two 'combes' cost 2d.; two pairs of shoes (showes) 16d., and soleing the old ones, 9d.; a 'payr of knyffes' 6d., and 'two payr of furred gloves with strynges at them' 5d. They had for 6d. an initiatory 'braykfast for the cumpanye of formes in the scole, according to the use of the scole,' the 'company' probably being that of the two forms in which the boys were placed. Their *arma scholastica* consisted of 'Lucian's Dialogues, 4d.'; 'the Kynges Grammar, Marcus Tullius' Offices, Fabulae Æsopi, and 2 bokes of waxlight'; but as the books were 'sent by Mr. Fletwood,' their prices are unfortunately not given. An 'Isope Fabulls,' perhaps in English, added in the following month cost 4d. 'Two quere of whyte paper' cost 8d., and 'ij penns and cornetts,' or ink-horns, cost 10d. 'Geven to a man to see bayre bayting, and a camell in the colledge as other schollers did.'

On 25 November the boys and their servant left 'oste Hyll,' and 'did begon ther bord in the colledge.' In other words they became commonsals or commoners in college, as two of the 20 'sons of noblemen or special friends of the college.' For this they paid £3 12s. a quarter, or 3s. a week each, while their man's board for a month was 23s. They also paid quarterage 'quarterydge,

¹²³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; J. H. Lupton.

¹²⁴ This seems to be the explanation of the statement in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* that he was 'ordered to study civil law.'

¹²⁵ Printed in the *Retrospective Review* (1828) and in *Etoniana* (Mar. and Sept. 1904).

¹²⁶ Almoner: the fellow charged in the old days with the distribution of the broken meats and alms of the college.

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in penne and inke, brome and byrche 6d,' i.e. 3d. each; while in the summer quarter, on 24 June, 'quarterydge, viz. byrch, brome and potacio'¹²⁷ also lyght,' cost 10d., 2d. a week extra being charged for 'bever,' the afternoon drink of beer. On 15 December they had '2 pond candell 6d.' and 21 December '2 say gyrdells 4d.' Each quarter they had new shoes and a quire of white paper. 'My lytel masters wesheng for the same quarter,' i.e. that ending 24 June, was 2s. 4d. Two 'bunches of wax lights' on 20 October cost 1d. The only directly scholastic item is 'a Tullius *Atticum* for Mr. Wm.' at 3d. The whole bill for a year and a month for the two was £25 1s. 5d., or about £12 10s. each, which, to give a commensurate value now, must be multiplied by between 12 and 20, i.e. £150 to £250 a year. So that a public school education, at a boarding school, was no less a luxury of the rich then than now.

When Provost Bill died in 1561 the fellows audaciously elected, without awaiting a royal mandate, Richard Bruerne, an Etonian and Kingsman, 'an excellent Hebraist,' but a Romanizer, and expelled from the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford for scandalous immorality. The consequence was a visitation by Archbishop Parker and the commissioners, on 9 September 1561. The immediate result was that the provost resigned, and was allowed £10 for costs; while three fellows were removed for non-appearance, and a fourth for refusing the oath of supremacy. William Day, an Etonian and Kingsman, was soon after made provost. But the most interesting product of the commission was the Custumal (*consuetudinarium*)¹²⁸ of Eton school, apparently prepared by Malim, the new head master, for the information of the visitors. The curriculum has the advantage over the earlier ones given above in being, not only a school, but a whole day time-table, with an account of all holidays and holydays throughout the year, which last we have already discussed.

The day began at 5 a.m., when, by custom imported from Winchester and made statutable on the foundation of Westminster two years after this, the wretched boys were got up by one of the four chamber prepostors intoning 'Surgite.' 'Thereupon they all get up at once; pouring out their prayers while they dress, each one in his turn beginning and the others all together following with the next verse. Prayers finished, they make their beds. Each one puts any dust or dirt from under his bed in the middle of the chamber at various places; and it is then swept into a heap and carried away by four boys

named by the prepostor for the purpose. Then two by two in a long line they go down to wash their hands.' The conduit at which they washed was the 'children's pump' in the open air, though probably, as at Winchester, it used to be under some sort of roof. Coming back from washing they go into school, and each takes his place.

At 6 a.m. enter the usher. He begins prayers at the upper end of the school. Prayers finished, he goes to the first or lowest class, and hears their repetition of the part of speech and the verb which had been given them to conjugate the day before. He goes through all the forms up to the IVth, 'which sits in the usher's part till 7 a.m. so as to get explanations of anything obscure.' Meanwhile one of the two prepostors of school gets from the prepostor of each form the names of those absent from prayers, while the other prepostor, who in Cox's account was called the prepostor of the dirty (*prepostor immundorum*), examines the hands and face of each to see that they had washed, and presents them to the schoolmaster on his entrance. This took place at 7 a.m., when the IVth form went into the master's end of the school. The prepostor of school hands to him the names of all those then absent, and also to him and the usher the names of those absent in their respective forms the evening before. Then all the classes (the word *ordo* is used indiscriminately with *classis* for a form) say their repetition, beginning with the *custos* or lowest boy. That boy is made *custos*, it is explained, for the week, 'who talks English, or cannot say any rule he has learnt without more than three mistakes, or has made three mistakes in spelling in his exercises.' At 8 a.m. the schoolmaster gives out a sentence to the IVth form to translate, to the Vth form to vary it ('varyings' were done at Winchester till 1860), to the VIth and VIIth to turn into verse. The usher also gives out a sentence for forms III and II to translate, but a very short one. 'Vulgars' (Horman's *Vulgaria*) are written out then, to be said by heart next day. At 9 a.m. the *custos* of each form recites by heart and expounds the lesson (*lectionem*) of the form next below, the schoolmaster and usher going over it again (*prelegit*) to their respective forms. On Mondays and Wednesdays the four upper forms write a theme in prose on a subject set them, while each boy in the three lower forms sets a sentence to himself and translates it. On Tuesday and Thursday this is done in verse by the upper forms, the two lower forms writing the theme in prose. The schoolmaster lectures (*prelegit*) on Monday and Tuesday to VI and VII on Caesar's *Commentaries* or Cicero's *Offices*, to V on Justin or Cicero on *Friendship*, or other authors at discretion, and to IV on Terence; on Wednesday and Thursday to VI and VII on Vergil, to V on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and to IV on Ovid's *Tristitia*. The

¹²⁷ Printed 'potaticio'; *sed quaere*.

¹²⁸ Preserved among the Parker MSS. at C.C.C. Camb. No. 118, 477-89. Printed in *Etoniana*, 6 Dec. 1905, from the original. It was previously known from an inaccurate transcript by Baker in B.M. Sloane MS. 4840.

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usher lectures on Monday and Thursday to III and II on Terence, and to I on Vives; on Wednesday and Thursday to III on Sturmius' *Select Epistles of Cicero*, to II on Lucian's *Dialogues*, and to I on Lewis Vives.

At each lecture the boys take down 'flowers of speech' (a reminiscence of Udal) and idioms, also antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, anecdotes, descriptions of seasons, places, persons, fables, sayings, figures and apophthegms.

At 9 the masters go out of school. The hour to 10 o'clock was presumably spent on the theme and notes of lectures. At 10 the prepostor of school shouts, 'Get up for prayers.' Standing on either side of school, they follow the words of a leader named by the prepostor. Then two and two they go to Hall; and dinner over, return to school in the same order. At 12 the usher comes back and hears IV, who are under him till 1 o'clock, repeat what the master had read them before dinner. At 1 p.m. form IV return to their own place. The master returns at 1 p.m., and from 1 to 3 p.m. examines VII and VI on the lecture, and makes 'Vulgars' out of it to exercise them in Latin; but always at 2.30 the themes are handed to and looked over by the master. The usher is similarly employed. From 3 to 4 the masters are out of school. At 4 the forms say (*reddunt*) to the master what has been set them on the request of a prepostor, viz., VII and VI, Greek grammar, and V, Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, Cicero's Epistles, or Susimbrotus. The usher looks over the themes of III, and the sentences of II. Grammar rules and 'Vulgars' are said over, 'that the grammar rules may be better understood and the Latin tongue be thoroughly familiar.'

At 5 the boys go to Hall and return as before.

At 6 those of form VII who have been told off to teach the rest of the forms begin their work, and exercise their charges in explaining the lessons and turning English into Latin. Also they recite and correct the dictations given out by the masters. The prepostor of each form does this, so that the schoolmasters may remark on all to their proficiency in learning and behaviour.

At 7 p.m. they go [to Hall] to drink (*potum*, probably supper). On coming back they exercise themselves as in the hour from 6 to 7, except at certain times of the year, when, at the discretion of the master and by custom, they play. At 8 they go to bed, after saying their prayers.

Friday and Saturday are separately treated. Friday here, as elsewhere, was the day of woe. 'After lecture' (i.e. about 9.30) 'those who have committed any grave crime are tried, they call it "corrections," and pay the penalty worthy of malefactors.' The masters do no prelection before dinner. From 1 to 3 they examine on

the prelections of the week, and at 4 hear the renderings of the exercises done between 4 and 5 p.m. during the week. Before 5 the master lectures to VII and VI on Lucan or some other, to V on Horace, and to IV on *Apophthegms* [of Erasmus], Martial's *Epigrams*, Catullus, or Thomas More; and the usher to III and II on *Æsop's Fables*, and to I on Cato [*Moralia*].

Saturday was entirely given up to repetition. At 7 they 'render' the lectures of Friday. 'Varyings' are given up. From 9 to 1 the masters are out of school; later they hear repetitions of 'dictata.' Themes are given in. Then Declamations are held on a given theme by boys named for the week, who speak against each other.

Malim's time-table may be thus summarized:—

School	5 a.m. <i>Surgite</i> . Prayers. Make beds. Wash.
	6 a.m. School Usher enters. Prayers.
	Repetition.
	7 a.m. H.M. enters. Repetition.
	8 a.m. Subjects for varyings given out.
School	9 a.m. Lecture expounded by <i>custos</i> of each form, and then by masters.
	10 a.m. <i>Preces</i> .
	10-12 a.m. Hall.
	12 a.m. School. Usher enters.
	1 p.m. Master enters.
	3 p.m. Both masters <i>exeunt</i> .
	4 p.m. Masters return.
	5 p.m. Bever.
	6 p.m. Exposition by pupil teachers.
	7 p.m. Supper.
	8 p.m. Bed.

The whole school-day was thus a nine-hours' day.

One of the once most celebrated of Eton customs, now defunct, is related by Malim at length and with evident relish—that of 'Montem.'

About the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January), on a day selected by the master, in the same way in which they go gathering nuts in September, the boys go to Salt Hill (*ad montem*). The Hill is a sacred place in the school religion of Eton. This they make a holy see of Apollo and the Muses and celebrate in verses for the beauty of the cornfields, the pleasantness of the grassy meadows, its tempered shades (not much in request at the end of January!), the concert of singing birds. Tempe they call it and prefer it above Helicon. Here the novices or freshmen (*recentes*) who have not yet stood up in the Eton ranks to the lash like men for a year, are first anointed with salt and then characterized in verses, with as much salt and humour as possible. Then they make epigrams on the freshmen, each trying to beat the other in eloquence and wit. They can say whatever comes into their mouths, as long as it is in Latin, witty and not obscene. At the end they dip their face and cheeks in salt tears, and are then initiated into all the rites of veterans. Oventions and triumphs as of a general follow; and they are really pleased both at having passed through the ordeal, and at being enrolled in the company of such witty fellow-soldiers.

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It is strange that none of the Eton historians have noticed that the origin of 'Montem' is to be found in 'Hills' at Winchester; but what at Winchester was a living and daily habit up to 1850 at least, had at Eton, by the days of Elizabeth, already sunk into an annual ceremonial, with the usual mediaeval initiation of freshmen, conducted with salt water, much as the initiation of those who first cross the line is conducted on ship-board to-day. 'Hills' at Winchester is St. Katharine's Hill, a rounded peninsular hill, where the long line of the chalk downs is broken off by the water meadows of the Itchen. It is a grassy hill some 300 ft. high, with a treble circumvallation round it near the top, and is now crowned with a clump of beech and fir trees, said to have been planted just before 1778; but that this clump was no new thing, is shown by a picture of the college in a book composed about 1460. No contemporary account of what the boys did on Hills is forthcoming until a century later, in 1564, when Christopher Johnson, the head master, in a 'theme' preserved by one of his pupils, complained of boys who 'shirk Hills in playtime' ('a montibus abesse aliquos cum luditur'), school in school time, chapel in service time, and, still worse, play in school, idle on Hills, and are noisy in chapel.' Till 1850 or thereabouts, on the morning of every whole school day, the whole school marched two and two to the top of this hill, where they broke rank and played games according to the season, returning to college when *Domum* was called by juniors told off for the purpose, who circled the hill, shouting the word till they met at Domum Cross. From about 1850 to 1868 'Hills' had become bi-weekly in the afternoon in winter and in the evening in summer, and the boys stopped at the bottom, not the top. It is now a function held twice a year before breakfast at the beginning of the Short Half, the winter, and Cloister Time, the summer term. The origin of the daily walk to 'Hills' was perhaps religious, as there was at one time a chapel of St. Katharine at the top, and in 1331 it is recorded that the prior of the cathedral monastery received 'all oblations in the chapel of St. Katharine on her feast (25 November), as well by day as by night, and the station in it, and the custody of the same from vespers on St. Katharine's Eve to nightfall on the day after the feast.' Seeing how closely Eton followed Winchester, the inference is irresistible that Salt Hill had been selected as the nearest, though certainly a very inferior, substitute at Eton for St. Katharine's Hill at Winchester, and that Eton boys had in old times regularly resorted there to play. But by the time of Henry VIII the 'playing-leasowe,' the nearer part of the present playing-fields, was used as a playground, and was so much more convenient that the daily march *ad montem* had been superseded. But for the sake of old custom, and perhaps in connexion with the ending of the

boy-bishop's reign, which at York, and no doubt elsewhere, lasted till the end of January, an annual march was celebrated in its place. The fact that 'Hills' at Winchester now only survives much in the same way as 'Montem' survived at Eton in Elizabeth's day, viz. in a march out of the whole school at the beginning of the summer and autumn terms, *in memoriam*, greatly strengthens the argument for attributing the origin of 'Montem' to an imitation of 'Hills.'

By the 18th century the Eton 'Montem' had ceased to be a solemn initiatory ceremony with literary exercises, and had come to be a sham military march, the military element having been suggested probably by Malim's use of military metaphors in his account of it. In 1712 salt was given, not to the boys, but to the passer-by, who was made to pay for it, and the money collected was given to the captain of college, to furnish him forth for King's.

When boys at Eton once a year
In military pomp appear,
He who just trembled at the rod
Treads it a hero, stalks a god,
And in an instant can create
A dozen officers of state.
His little legion all assail,
Arrest without release or bail;
Each passing traveller must halt,
Must pay the tax and eat the salt.
'You don't love salt' you say, and storm:
'Look o' these staves, sir, and conform.'

By the middle of the 18th century 'Montem' had further sunk into a triennial performance. In 1759 the day was changed to the Tuesday in Whitsun week, thus transforming what was the end of the winter 'saturnalia' into a summer show. The dresses became more and more gorgeous, the collections larger and larger. The salt was exchanged for tickets bestowed on those who had been mulcted. George III was regularly present at it, and it became a fashionable spectacle. In 1784 £451 was collected, and the captain cleared £246; in 1841 £1,269 was raised, and the net profit was some £800. At that time an orgy at the public-house by Salt Hill was followed by a foray on the garden, cabbages and rose trees falling victims to the swords of the officers. The opening of the Great Western Railway in 1841 effectually vulgarized the spectacle and demoralized the boys; and in 1847 'Montem' was abolished, the head master, Dr. Hawtrey, giving £200 to the captain of college in compensation for loss of perquisites.

In spite of the humorous turn which Malim gives to his account of Eton customs, he seems to have been as harsh a disciplinarian as any of his predecessors; for it was his flogging which drove some boys to run away from Eton, and thereby gave occasion to one of the earliest

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English classics on education, Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*.

'When the great plage was at London, the yeare 1563, the Quenes Maiestie, Queene Elizabeth, lay at her Castle of Windsore, where, vpon the 10 day of December, it fortuneth, that in Sir William Cicells chamber, hir Highnesse Principall Secretarie, there dined together 'a select company, of whom Roger Ascham was one.

Not long after our sitting doune, I haue strange newes brought me, sayth Mr. Secretarie, this morning, that diuerse Scholers of Eaton, be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating. Whereupon, Mr. Secretarie tooke occasion, to wishe, that some more discretion were in many Scholemasters, in vsing correction, than commonlie there is. Who many times, punishe rather, the weakenes of nature, than the fault of the Scholer. Wherby, many Scholers, that might else proue well, be driuen to hate learning, before they knowe what learning meaneth.

Thereupon followed the discussion, which eventually produced the work in question, which for the first time in English preached openly and at length the doctrine that persuasion was better than force for opening a boy's mind to learning. The book itself sheds no further light on the method of Eton or any other school. Just as much as the most hide-bound public-school master, Ascham treats a knowledge of the classics as the be-all and end-all of education, while his new patent method of inoculating pupils with them, though practicable enough for the single willing pupil, with whom alone, as private tutor, Ascham's experience had lain, was wholly unpractical for a large public school. Even his courageous attack on Solomon's stupid dictum as to sparing the rod and spoiling the child had little practical effect at Eton or elsewhere.

The running away of the boys, which produced the *Scholemaster*, also produced the retirement of Malim from office, as in 1563 William Smyth became head master.¹²⁹ Malim was on 3 April 1569 partly consoled with the prebend of Biggleswade in Lincoln Cathedral. At Christmas 1573 he became high master of St. Paul's. In 1580 he humbly asked Cecil, then Lord Burghley, for preferment, but seemingly the incident of 1563 had been too much impressed on the Lord Treasurer's mind. At all events, Malim did not get preferment. Next year he retired from St. Paul's, and died 15 August 1594. His successor at Eton, Smyth, had gone to King's in 1556 in the same batch with William Wickham, afterwards vice-provost of Eton and Dean and Bishop of Lincoln, and the second Bishop of Winchester of that name. Smyth was, when elected master, a fellow of Eton, and with his namesake, Clement Smythe, a master

¹²⁹ Lupton in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* makes him stay at Eton till his election to St. Paul's in 1573. The Eton Audit Book for 1563-4 refutes this.

exactly a century before, the first, and perhaps the only one, to reverse the usual process by giving up a fellowship to become master, instead of being given a fellowship on ceasing to be master. No doubt he was pressed to fill the gap caused by Malim's sudden retirement. After eight years of office, however, he adopted the usual course, and, on resigning, was re-elected a fellow. He afterwards became 'viker' of Sturminster Marshall, Dorset, an Eton living, and preacher or minister at Wimborne Minster, near Bournemouth, where there is a monumental inscription to him. It is to be hoped that he was not responsible for the vandalism which disposed of 'old parchment books weying 200 ponde' for 24s. in 1564-5. He kept up the play, receiving 20s. for 'Mr. Schoolmaster's charges about the playe last Christmas,' while 10 lb. of candles 'spent at the play' cost 15d., and 'tenter-hooks,' presumably for the curtain, cost 18d.

From Malim's time to the Civil War most of the head masters, if not all, were Etonians and Kingsmen. Reuben Sherwood (King's 1558), proctor at Cambridge 1569, head master 1571-9, was a medical man, and afterwards practised as a physician at Bath; Thomas Ridley (King's 1565), head master 1579-83, was a lawyer, and became a master in Chancery and a knight. The name of John Hammond, head master 1583-94, does not appear in *Alumni Etonenses* as going to King's. He was a married man, and a monument to his son, who died at Eton in 1589, records that when the boy was scarcely three years old he could understand and talk Latin. Hammond also retired to practise physic, receiving as a retiring gratuity in 1594 £40 in lieu of a lease of Eton property asked for by the queen on his behalf. He became a court physician and died in 1617. Richard Langley (King's 1580) succeeded in 1594.

Provost Day was made Bishop of Winchester in 1595, but died within a year. His successor at Eton, Sir Henry Savile, who had held the wardenship of Merton since 1584, and continued to hold it, was elected on 26 May in pursuance of royal letters of 18 May 1596, for which he offered Sir Robert Cecil 300 angels. He was an ex-tutor of Queen Elizabeth in Greek and mathematics, and 'an extraordinary handsome and beautiful man—no lady had a finer complexion.' He was a scholar of European reputation. At Eton he converted the Fellows' Library from a hay-loft and set up a printing press in what was during the 19th century the head master's house, to print a great edition of Chrysostom. He is said to have been a stern disciplinarian and to have discouraged youthful brilliance; 'Give me the plodding students. If I would look for wits, I would go to Newgate—there be wits.'

The reputation he and Langley enjoyed caused the school to grow. In 1613 there were

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100 candidates for election to college, and in 1615 the commensals' tables in hall had to be enlarged. Con O'Neil, son of the Earl of Tyrone, held a hostage for his father, was sent there by the Government in 1616. It cost him £90 a year, but he had two or three servants. Young Lord Wriothsley and a page paid about 11s. a week or some £60 a year. Ordinary commensals paid 3s. 6d. and 5s. 8d. a week, according as they commoned as scholars or as fellow commoners. Barlow, the Bishop of Lincoln, as diocesan, attacked Langley, 'who, having 2 rich benefices (as I am informed) farr distant from his schole, and beeing a Doctor of Divinity, continueth the teaching of children, and neglecteth his principall charges, which are the souls of his people.' Savile defended him, whereupon Barlow replied that he thought no one could sink so low 'as from an interpreter of the Holy Ghost to become an expositor of profane facts.' At length in 1611 he was forced to resign. Langley died a canon of Windsor in 1615. Savile promoted the usher, Richard Wright, fellow of Merton, to the vacant post. Barlow attacked him for being a priest, describing it as 'a gross abusing of our sacred function that a Priest should either bee or bee entituled an *hostiarius*.' The real gravamen seems to have been that he was not an Etonian. Savile yielded, got Wright elected a fellow, and put in two Kingsmen, Matthew Bust as master and William Otes as usher.

On Savile's death in 1622 an impecunious Scotsman, 'neither English, graduate or priest,' Thomas Murray, became provost, but died next year. A crowd of candidates then came forward, including the great Bacon, then Lord St. Albans. The place remained vacant until the all-powerful favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, returned from Spain, when it was given to Sir Henry Wotton, who had just been recalled from being ambassador at Venice. In that post he had never got over his famous *mot* that an ambassador was 'an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country'; which, reported in Latin, in which the pun disappeared, was misrepresented as a piece of Jesuitry. He was the last Wykehamist, being a commoner of Winchester and New College, to preside over the destinies of the daughter college. Wotton, though a layman and statutably ineligible, was given the place as a convenient way of paying arrears due to him as ambassador. He gave to Eton the great picture of contemporary Venice which hangs in Election Hall. He is also said¹³⁰ to have set up the row of wooden pillars in Lower School, 'on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets and orators, persuading them not to neglect rhetoric. . .

None despised eloquence but such dull souls as were not capable of it.' The pillars, however, could only have been recased at most, for mention is made of them in 1514-15, when Will Edmunds was paid £1 'according to agreement for the pillars (*postibus*) in school.' There had no doubt been 'posts,' as the existing posts in chambers and the old school at Winchester are still called, in the old school at Eton. It would almost seem that the provost of this time took part in teaching, for Izaak Walton continues: 'He would often make choice of some observations out of these historians and poets; and would never leave the schole without dropping some choyce Greek or Latin apothegme or sentence, such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.'

The school flourished under Provost Wotton, Matthew Bust, and his successor as master, John Harrison. It was 'very much thronged with young nobility.' Robert Boyle, 'the father of chemistry and uncle of the Earl of Cork,' was sent there with his brother in 1635 at the age of eight, and placed specially under the protection of Wotton, because Wotton was 'not only a fine gentleman, but very well skilled in the art of making other so.' Harrison, the master, 'would often dispense with him from school to instruct him privately and familiarly in his chamber.' It was well to be a magnate in those days. Among Boyle's contemporaries were the sons of the Earls of Peterborough, Northampton, and Westmorland. The scholars were largely nominees of the court, sometimes nominated by the Secretary of State, sometimes by the king himself. Thus, 25 July 1624,¹³¹ the king himself wrote to the provost recommending 'Robert Newman as a scholar of Eton, an exception having been taken to a former recommendation as not being under his own hand,' the former one being by Secretary Conway on 8 July 1623. Newman was duly elected and went on to King's in 1628. A curious mixture of classes was nominated: in 1624 the sons of 'one of the pastry' and of the king's shoemaker; in 1628 Sir Robert Hatton's son was admitted on pressure, and Wotton wrote to John Dineby, ambassador at the Hague, about his son; in 1629 a place was begged for the son of an exiled baron of Austria, and Sir George Kever's (? Knyvett's) son headed the list. The election of that year Wotton describes as 'the most troublesome election that has ever been since that nurse first gave milk, over charged with King's letters 4 recommendatory and one mandatory, besides messengers and intercessions from divers great personages . . . enough to make us think ourselves shortly electors of the empire.' Next year he writes to a 'noble nephew' that 'his list of names cannot be served,' and recom-

¹³⁰ Izaak Walton, *Lives* (ed. 1864), 117.

¹³¹ *Etoniana*, May 1907, from *Cal. S.P. Dom.*

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mends dividing them between Eton and Westminster, where the election was three weeks earlier, adding 'that school mouldeth good scholars and of certainer preferment to either of the Universities (for some go to Oxford and some to Cambridge) than this, out of which the issue is always hard and the entrance not always easy.' In 1638 Wotton tells of four Privy Councillors, 'three of them of the highest,' already promised, and says 'the world is nimble in the anticipating of voices.' Wotton died in 1639 and was buried in chapel with an inscription which shows that he was somewhat inordinately vain of his *mots*: 'Here lies the first author of this saying—"The itch of disputation is the plague of the church."' His portrait is in the provost's lodge.

The mastership had passed in 1636 from John Harrison to William Norris, usher from 1623. His incoming is described by Robert Boyle as 'the change of his old courteous schoolmaster for a new rigid fellow,' which drove him from Terence and grammar to history. Norris was probably Puritanically inclined. When the new provost, Richard Steward, an ex-fellow of All Souls, Oxford, clerk of the king's closet, and Dean of Chichester, went off at the beginning of the Civil War to join the king, taking with him the college seal and, it is believed, all the old plate, Norris stuck to his post and remained master till 1646. No statutable election to King's could take place in the absence of the provost; but, in spite of a royal mandate on 6 July 1643, elections did take place both in 1643 and 1644. Steward was displaced and 'Francis Rous of Brixham, Devon, esquire,' made provost by ordinance of Parliament 10 February 1643-4. So far from being 'an illiterate old Jew,' as Anthony Wood calls him, because he was a Parliamentarian, he was of a good old family, and a learned man. Son of Sir Anthony Rous of Hutton St. Dominick, Cornwall, he was a commoner of Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, in 1593, B.A. 1596, and afterwards spent some time at the University of Leyden. He entered at the Middle Temple in 1601, and was M.P. for Truro in 1626, for Tregoney 1628, and for Truro in the Long Parliament. He sat for Devon in the Parliament of 1653. He wrote the metrical version of the psalms used in the Kirk of Scotland, and other learned and theological works.

In August the Committee for Plundered Ministers and Schoolmasters were ordered to fill up the places of the fellows who had deserted. For the often repeated allegation¹²⁹ that 'the destruction of Eton was imminent,' there is not the smallest foundation in fact. On the contrary, so careful was Parliament about the schools, that when an order was made for the sequestration¹³⁰

of the lands of deans and chapters as 'notorious delinquents who had taken up arms against the Parliament,' lest the incomes of cathedral grammar schools, including Westminster, might be jeopardized, and Winchester and Eton might be thought included, it was on 20 October ordered *ex abundanti cautela* that it be 'referred to a committee . . . to consider of the college of Westminster, the colleges of Eaton, of Christchurch in Oxford and Winchester, to provide . . . that none of the revenues assigned for the scholars and almsmen be stopped, or the payment thereof intercepted, notwithstanding the ordinance.' On 4 November another reference to the same committee to consider how to sequester chapter estates was accompanied by directions 'to provide that the allowances assigned for scholars, almsmen, and other charitable uses might not be intercepted or diverted.' In point of fact, the cathedral grammar schools, Canterbury, Gloucester, Durham, and the rest, were so far from suffering from the Commonwealth, that nearly all of them which had been kept at the fixed payments originally prescribed by Henry VIII were for the first time augmented when the canons, 'the drones, were driven from the hive.' As Eton College was clearly not within the ordinance, it never was in any more danger than Winchester, which flourished under a Puritan or at least judicious warden and head master. Nowhere did any school suffer. Even notorious Royalists were left alone, as Busby at Westminster, if they did not openly oppose Parliament. As a matter of fact even deans' and chapters' revenues were not touched until 1644. At Eton the chapel services were of course made to conform with the dominant views. On 17 February 1642-3 Cambridge University petitioned Parliament against the statute 'which imposeth the wearing of surplices upon graduates and students . . . reinforced by the canons of 1603,' as 'against law and the liberty of the subject,' and it was declared not to be binding; and on 20 February 'the colleges of Westminster Eaton and Winchester were added and comprehended within the order . . . concerning the imposing upon young scholars the wearing of surplices.'

It has been guessed that all the commensals and oppidans disappeared because of the Civil War. Thanks, probably, to the fanatical furore of the Restoration, the audit books from 1642 to 1646 inclusive have disappeared. But later there is positive evidence that there were oppidans. Mr. Wasey Sterry¹³¹ has printed a letter from Peter Sterry, presumably an ancestor, one of Cromwell's chaplains, to his two sons who were oppidans. 'Son Peter' had got into trouble and was advised to 'keep the colledge and not goe into towne. Be with no company, especially in private places. Never be in com-

¹²⁹ Maxwell Lyte, *op. cit.* (ed. 1899), 248.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Annals*, 132.

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pany of any woman kinde. Be very free to your master. Speak often with him, acquaint him with all your temptations, and dangers, and troubles. . . . Go to your master for whatever you want, pens, incke, or paper or anything . . . he will supply you. . . . If you finde the temptations of the place too strong for you, I am resolved to remove you before the Devil have prevailed to farre over you.' The boy must have been a boarder with one of the fellows. Again, Andrew Marvell, the poet and M.P. for Hull, lived at Eton in the house of one of the fellows, John Oxenbridge, in charge of Dutton, a ward of Cromwell's. So that though the war no doubt diminished the numbers of oppidans, as it did the revenues of everybody, it is clear that if there was a slackening, there was no cessation, in the flow of boys to the school.

The election of 1645 was held in the ordinary way. The roll to King's was headed by Christopher Wase, who, after being head master of Tonbridge School, migrated to Oxford, where he became Esquire Bedell of Law, and got together materials for a history of schools, which unfortunately still remain in MS.¹³⁵ At Eton as at other schools, notably Westminster, a remarkable result of the biblical furore of the time was the stimulus given to Hebrew. John Janeway is recorded as passing an examination in the language at the election.¹³⁶

Provost Rous issued on 7 August 1646 some 'Rules for the Schollers.' They dealt chiefly with religion, substituting for the old prayers a psalm and prayers at getting up at 5 a.m. and going to bed at 8 p.m., and providing for notes of sermons and catechizing on 'the Lord's Day.' The provost provided a preacher at £50 a year out of his own pocket. On 13 February 1648-9 an Act of Parliament abolished deans and chapters, and ordained a sale of their temporalities. The spiritualities, tithes and livings, were reserved for the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers to make provision for preaching ministers and schoolmasters. On 29 May it was thought desirable, owing, no doubt, to the reservation in the former Act, to pass 'an Act declaring that the Act for abolishing of Deans and Chapters doth not extend to the colleges of Winchester and Eton.' But as the Act had contained an express direction that all revenues, even of the abolished chapters, which 'before 1st December 1641 had been or ought to have been paid to the maintenance of any Grammar School or Scholars, should continue to be paid,' any fears for Eton, which was not under a chapter, must have been groundless,¹³⁷ and the Act was due to excessive caution, owing to the fancied resemblance of Eton to Westminster. On the same

day the committee for regulating the universities was ordered to nominate visitors 'for regulating Winchester and Eaton.' On 12 October 1649 various officials were by Ordinance of the House required to sign 'the engagement' 'to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England as the same is now established without a king or a house of Lords,' and among them are the 'masters, fellows, and schoolmasters'¹³⁸ in Eton, Winchester, and Westminster Colleges.' Only one fellow of Eton refused the test and was deprived—John Hales, called 'the ever memorable' by 'the wits,' because he was a great conversationalist and anecdotist. At first he had held latitudinarian views, which he suppressed to become chaplain to Laud and Canon of Windsor. After his deprivation he went on living at Eton, where he died in 1656. He is recorded as 'loving canary.'

Nicholas Gray, the head master who had succeeded Norris in 1646, is alleged¹³⁹ to have been deprived for the same reason. But this statement appears to be refuted by facts cited by those who made it. Gray was an old Westminster, and student of Christ Church, who had been appointed first head master of Charterhouse in 1614, a post which he had to resign on marriage. He was then made head master of Merchant Taylors' School, which he resigned in 1632 for the vicarage of Saffron Walden, Essex. Here he quarrelled with the head master of the grammar school, because, as was alleged, he wanted to convert him into a kind of curate, and to take boarders for the school. Gray must have been a Puritan and Parliamentarian, or he would not have been appointed by Rous to the head-mastership of Eton. The date of the appointment cannot be exactly ascertained, as there are no accounts preserved between 1641, when Norris was still master, and the year 1646-7, when Gray was paid for the whole year. It is certain that he was not ejected on the 'engagement.' For he had retired from the mastership more than a year before the execution of Charles I, his successor, Horne, appearing in the audit books as head master for the whole year Michaelmas 1648-9, while Gray was paid up to Michaelmas 1648. Gray could hardly have been expelled from his post for refusing an engagement not invented till a year after he had left. The mistake seems to have originated with Anthony Wood, who, however, does not say that Gray was turned out of the mastership, but out of a fellowship and a living. But Wood did not know the facts, for he made Gray become master in 1631. Moreover he is notoriously unscrupulous in his assertions as to any 'Roundheads' or their doings. In point of fact there must have been some sort of bar-

¹³⁵ At C.C.C. Oxf.

¹³⁶ Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 246.

¹³⁷ Yet Mr. Wasey Sterry, *Annals of Eton Coll.* (1898), says 'the college nearly lost all its property.'

¹³⁸ Not the scholars, as Maxwell Lyte (op. cit. p. 248), perhaps from a misreading of 'schoolemsr.'

¹³⁹ Maxwell Lyte, op. cit. 251; Sterry, op. cit. 128; Cust, op. cit. 88.

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gaining about Gray's retirement. For when Thomas Horne, head master of Tonbridge School, came in his place, Gray took Horne's post at Tonbridge. The governors of Tonbridge, the Skinners, a City company of London, the main support of Parliamentaryism and Puritanism, would not and indeed could not, have appointed to their school a man expelled from Eton for refusing the engagement, which all schoolmasters as well as ministers were obliged to take. Gray held Tonbridge School till the Restoration, and was succeeded there by John Goad, who must have been some relation of George Goad, whom Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte interpolates as head master in 1648, but there seems to be some mistake about this. His name appears in the audit book, not as master, but as a fellow, and at the Restoration he was allowed to keep his fellowship on the express ground¹⁴⁰ that he had been appointed before the execution of Charles I. Gray himself was at the Restoration given a fellowship at Eton, and died a few months later.

Thomas Horne, the recorded successor of Gray, was a Derbyshire man, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, B.A. 1628, M.A. 1633. After keeping a private school in London and then being for two years master of Leicester Grammar School, he was elected to Tonbridge in 1640. In 1645 he published a *Janua linguarum*, 'an easy method and course for the attaining all tongues especially Latin.' It was a sort of *Vulgaria* with 1,400 Latin sentences in it. In 1641 he dedicated to the Skinners' Company, the Tonbridge governors, a *Manuductio in aedem Palladis*, a 'guide to the house of Pallas,' a treatise on the use of Latin authors. Horne held office at Eton till his death 22 August 1654. He was succeeded by John Boncle, pronounced Bunkley, as Wood informs us, and indeed so spelt in the Eton audit books. He, like Gray, had been master of Charterhouse School, appointed there in 1653. He was a Cambridge man who had been admitted M.A. of Oxford 22 December 1652, on special letters from Protector Oliver. He stayed only a year as head master at Eton, then taking a fellowship, from which he was expelled at the Restoration; but he found employment as master of the Mercers' School 3 April 1661,¹⁴¹ where he remained for fifteen years till his death in 1677, when his son succeeded him. Thomas Singleton, the next Eton master, was the son of a vicar of Basildon, Berkshire, and had matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, 19 May 1637. He was master of the Free Grammar School of St. Mary Axe in London.

Provost Rous, after being Speaker of Barebone's Parliament, and a Lord of the Upper

¹⁴⁰ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, quoted by Lyte himself, op. cit. 262.

¹⁴¹ John Watney, *The Mercers' School* (1896), 13, 15, 37.

House, died on 7 January 1659. He was buried in Lupton's chapel at Eton, which in his will he described as 'a place which hath my deare affections and prayers, that it may be a flourishing nursery of pietie and learning to the end of the world.' His monument was desecrated and defaced by the 'fool-fury' of the Restoration. His portrait as Speaker still adorns the provost's dining-room. His connexion with Eton is still living, as he founded by his will 8 March 1675-8 (proved 10 February following) what is now a scholarship of £60 a year for Etonians at Pembroke College, Oxford. The original gift was one of two annuities of £40 and £20 respectively, charged on the tithes of Great Bookham, Surrey, and on land at Cookbury, Devonshire, for 3 scholars 'of low fortune, viz. under £10 a year'—equivalent to about £100 a year now—of his next of kin, or 'failing such . . . then of the two upper forms of Eton school.' They were to study divinity and to give some public specimen of their proficiency therein before becoming B.A.'s. The University Commission in 1857 abolished the preference for next of kin, and consolidated the three scholarships into one. The value of the scholarships was magnificent at the time; but being secured by a fixed charge, the gift is only one of many instances of the superior wisdom of those benefactors who gave land in specie to provide for their benefactions in perpetuity. Provost Rous therefore deserves more gratitude than party writers on Eton history have allowed him.

After Rous' death, on 14 January 1659, the fellows elected Nicholas Lockyer, one of themselves, as provost. But on the Restoration a few months later he resigned, and George Monk, brother of General Monk, the traitor who brought back the Stuarts, was appointed on 7 July 1660 by letters patent. A few months later he was made Bishop of Hereford, but retained the provostry with it. He died 17 December 1661. After Dr. Thomas Browne, the king's nominee, had been rejected on the ground of heresy and schism, Dr. John Meredith, warden of All Souls, was appointed February 1661. He too, was a pluralist, continuing to reside at All Souls, where he died in 1665.

Singleton, the master, received short shrift. A letter to the Secretary of State, Nicholas, from John Price, one of the new fellows, written at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on 14 July 1660, informs him that Singleton had been removed by the provost and fellows and asks that in case he 'shall petition to be restored (as I understand he intendeth to doe),' the proceedings should be stayed till the college could be heard. If Singleton petitioned he did so in vain. Thomas Mountague, 'who had been 19 years usher in the schole, a verie worthie gentleman, and

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debarred of any farther promotion, because not well looked on by Mr. Rouse and Mr. Lockier, the late pretended Provosts,' had been already admitted.

This promoted usher was an Etonian, who had headed the roll to King's in 1632, so that he was quite old for those days, being forty before he became master. He held office for eleven years, retiring on a fellowship in 1671. His first usher was John Price (King's 1645). The next was William Horne (King's 1656), son of Thomas Horne, the master. He afterwards became head master of Harrow, to which school from this time Eton stood in much the same position of foster-mother as Winchester had done to Eton. It is to its Etonian masters modelling it on Eton that Harrow is indebted for its later greatness.

Anthony Wood has preserved¹⁴⁸ some interesting notes on the school at this date :—

At Eaton the Mr came in at 7 & took themes, reading the good & bad, commending the one & shaming the other, together with punishing it. He went from one forme to another till 9, then they went to breakfast and at 10 to prayers & so came no more to school at morning, but after dinner were obliged to goe to exercise in the fields at skittles, etc., till one a clock.

Also an hour after, the Mr came in & staid till three, then the schollars went to their beaver till 4 & then came to school till 5. They had theme & verse every night. They translated out of verse into prose & *à contra*, & out of latine in to Greek. Some time translated an oracion into English.

At first they began with the parts of a theme, then threw them off.

They repeated all their verse without book at week's end & construed & parsed exactly every lesson, but learnt al[l] their prose without book. They learnt nomenclaturæ at breakings up.

At Eaton they read Demosthenes, Homer, Zenophon (*sic*), Tully's] *Tusculane Questions*, Terence, Juvenal, Persius. They acted *Andria*. They read *Janua linguarum* in their private studyes. They make verses at 3 in the even and make 30 to 40 lines of Theme by next morning. They make nonsense verses at first.

They had collec[c]ions which the master allowed time to peruse.

He gave them an English Curtius, and he held the Latine one in his hand, & then shewed them their faults.

They used Winchester phrases. Mr. Montague, the schoolmaster, said Virgil words may serve for prose; they are so natural and good Latine.

At the elec[c]ion they have a theme given them over night which they shewed next morning. And then new Themes given them whereupon in half a quarter of an houre they are to turne to a window & make 2 or 4 Latine verses, & [are] examind to construe some of the Greek and Latin authors they read.

'Tis easy getting in schollars because there are so many void yearly.

At Kings Colledge they dispute every other day for 3 weeks & have declamations on Thursdays.

¹⁴⁸ Bodl. Rawl. MS. D. 191, fol. 4-6, c. 1670.

Mr. Davies wrote to Wood :—

Westminster, Winchester and Eaton schollers think none schollers but themselves.

Discipline seems to have been slack at this time, as in 1665 Provost Meredith found it necessary to provide that 'the publique dores of the Schoole and Longe Chamber shalbe secured by new locks, and the keys . . . taken every night immediately after prayers, and that those schollers whoe shall goe out of the schoole or college any evening, without leave of the Provost, or Vice-Provost shalbe admonished and registered for the first fault; severely punished for the second, and the third expelled.' Four boys, for going to the 'Christopher,' the celebrated inn which for centuries proved a snare to Eton morals, had to read 'a form of repentance' in school. A few weeks later one of them, Curwin, and another boy, Baker, 'were admonished and whipt and registered for going out of their bounds to Datchet ale-houses and beating the fishermen.' Curwin was, notwithstanding, elected to King's the same year.

On Meredith's death, Richard Allestree, an old Westminster boy and student of Christ Church, who had fought at Edgehill for the king, had been ejected from Christ Church by the Parliamentary visitors, and subsequently imprisoned during the Protectorate as a suspected royalist spy, was nominated provost. He was then Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and as such continued to reside at Oxford during the sixteen years of his provostry, only going to Eton for audits and elections.

On Mountague's retirement from the mastership in 1671, another 'alien,' John Rosewell, was elected. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1652, and subsequently became fellow of Corpus Christi College. He took his B.A. degree in 1655, his M.A. in 1659, and his B.D. in 1667. His reign is distinguished by the first Eton School list, preserved among the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian, Dr. Rawlinson having in 1710 designed a history of the colleges of Winchester and Eton. It is for the year 1678, and no other list is forthcoming for forty years after. It is written, not printed, on a half sheet of parchment. The school numbered 207, including nine who were probably choristers. The VIIth form had now disappeared. In the VIth form there were only eight boys, all collegers, in the Vth form 19 collegers and 19 oppidans. Form I had disappeared, and form II was already disappearing, consisting only of nine collegers and 25 oppidans. The Biblers' Seat, if indeed it be intended for a form, consisted of one boy. Oddly enough the collegers numbered 78. But perhaps the eight boys in the VIth had already been, or were on the point of being, elected for King's. It is remarkable that only one lord, and that a Scotch one, the son of the Earl of Stirling,

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figures in the list, but there are three baronets. Comparing this list with the contemporary one at Winchester, where lists are extant, with some gaps, from 1653, it shows that Eton was already the bigger school, Winchester containing 136 names only. It, too, only boasted of one lord, Clifford, and four sons of noblemen. Westminster was probably bigger than either, as its earliest list in 1656 contains 241 boys. Throughout the 17th century Winchester was the most frequented by the aristocracy, being patronized by Charles II, whose favourite residence was Winchester. In the 18th century, when the next extant Westminster lists are found, Westminster eclipsed both Eton and Winchester in numbers, in aristocratic connexion and in the scholars, poets, statesmen, and other celebrities it produced. In 1706, for instance, it had 353 boys, in 1725 434; while Eton numbered 353 in 1707, but in 1742 only 284. It is to the patronage of George III, making Eton a school for the Tory aristocracy in rivalry to the detested Whig junto who flocked to Westminster, that Eton owes the beginning of its proud pre-eminence among schools.

From this time we may date the modern era in schools. Henceforth the religio-political rivalries, which had caused provosts and fellows and masters to be put in or put out as one faction or the other dominated church and state, ceased to operate on schools. Schools indeed went up or down in numbers on account of their political connexion during the 17th and 18th centuries, but this was owing to the predilections of parents, and no longer to the forcible interference of politicians.

Rosewell is said 'to have much raised the credit of the school.' He retired on a fellowship in 1680. His successor was Charles Roderick, Etonian and Kingsman, who had been usher. From his time until now, the headmastership, instead of being held chiefly by outsiders, together with the other masterships, was always held by Etonians, and, until 1868, by collegers and Kingsmen. Roderick, who held office for ten years, was described as 'the flogging schoolmaster of Welsh extraction with a Spanish name.' He became in 1690 the hero of a struggle between King's College and the Crown for the right to elect its own provost, in his person, and prevailed. Again the usher, John Newborough, succeeded to the vacant place, and held it for eleven years. In 1694-5 the present Upper School was built. A new Upper School had been erected not thirty years before by Provost Allestree, but was so badly built that it was already falling down. The cost of the new one, raised chiefly by subscription, came to just under £2,300. Newborough is highly spoken of in Rawlinson's unpublished history as 'of a graceful person and comely aspect. . . . Very pathetic were his reproofs

and dispassionate his punishments, and when any hopes of amendment appeared he declined severe remedies.' From which it would seem that the rule of the rod was somewhat abated. He had 'a delightful *copia verborum* . . . Terence's *vis comica* received new graces from his mouth.'

On Newborough's resignation in 1711 Andrew Snape became head master. So successful was he that the school had risen to 399 when in 1719 he was elected Provost of King's. Henry Bland, his successor at Eton, headed the roll to King's in 1695, the next but one being Robert Walpole, the first Etonian Prime Minister. From 1700 Bland had been master of Doncaster Grammar School, where his salary was £50 a year, with £10 'for a good usher not concerned in any curacy in the church or chapel.' There was not then the gap which now separates the grammar school, which arrogates to itself the exclusive title of Public School, from the grammar school of local fame; the county families then frequented the nearest grammar school, whether Eton or Chesterfield, or Doncaster. Bland had the honour of educating William Pitt, the great Lord Chatham, who, however, does not appear to have thought himself much indebted to Eton, as he brought up his even more famous son at home under a private tutor. The elder William Pitt's school bills are preserved. His half year's bill in 1719 amounted to £29 *or* 3*d*. He was then under Mr. Good, the usher, to whom he paid two guineas for the half year, and double that amount to his tutor Mr. Burchet, while £1 2*s*. was paid to the writing master. His great rival, Henry Fox, and Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, were his contemporaries there. William Pitt wrote from school to his father as 'Honored Sir' and gave his 'duty to mama.' Bland, being a good Whig, was made Dean of Durham by his old school-fellow, Walpole, in 1728, and four years later also Provost of Eton.

Bland's son-in-law, William George, followed him at Eton. He is said by Lord Chancellor Camden to have been 'pompous, sour tempered, ill-mannerly and brutal.' Yet two of his pupils were the sprightly Horace Walpole, and Thomas Gray, the author of the *Elegy*, who delighted 'to cleave with pliant arm the glassy wave . . . to chase the rolling circle's speed, and urge the flying ball.' It is a moot point whether the 'rolling circle' is a hoop or a cricket ball; the 'flying ball' must be football. The first recorded school rebellion took place in George's second year. His successor, William Cooke, who had been an assistant master, held office for only three years. According to Cole, the antiquary, who was an Etonian, Cooke 'being found not equal' to the post 'was made fellow to let him down gently and to get rid of his impertinence, insolence, and other unamiable qualities.'

Of John Summer, the next master, Cole

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writes that he had been private tutor to Lord Mountfort, and was 'a great scholar. It was supposed his reputation would retrieve the mischief of Cooke's mastership; but success was not adequate to expectation.' In 1745 the numbers had sunk to 244. But the reputation of the school was restored and more than restored under Edward Barnard, 1754-65, when they rose to over 500. Charles James Fox was the most distinguished of them, but he owed little to Eton, from which his father used to take him to play the fop at Paris.

Barnard mitigated the rule of the birch. John Foster, who succeeded him on his election as provost in 1765, could only govern by its aid. He was the son of a Windsor tradesman, which of itself did not increase his popularity. The result was that he brought the school down to 230 and had to resign in 1773. In 1768 a rebellion broke out in which 156 boys and the VIth and Upper Vth forms left the school, threw their books into the Thames, and spent a night out at Maidenhead, owing to a controversy as to the right of assistant masters to send back prepostors to college when caught out of bounds. Many went home; among them William Grenville, afterwards Prime Minister, who was sent back by his father to be flogged and then removed. There is extant a full curriculum and time-table¹⁴³ drawn up about 1765 by James, who went to King's in 1766, and, as head master of Rugby, first made that school into 'a great Public School.' It is recorded¹⁴⁴ that George III, who was more Etonian than Etonians, in congratulating James on his success at Rugby, said: 'No wonder! you were educated at Eton.'

James's time-table shows that, as at Winchester, all saints' days were holidays, every Tuesday was a whole holiday, and every Thursday a half-holiday, while on Saturday school ended with afternoon chapel at 3, this being called 'a play at four.' The other days were known as whole-school days. But arithmetic and geography, for which Salmon's Geography was used, and writing for 'the littles,' were taught on holidays. On whole-school days school now began at 7 o'clock, though the first lesson was still called 'six o'clock lesson.' Breakfast was at 9. School began again at 11, and ended at 12. Afternoon school began at 3 and ended at 5. The VIth and Vth forms seem to have begun work at 8 o'clock only, but went on in the afternoon to 6. It is amazing to find that in construing Homer, which was done on Monday morning, the VIth form still construed it, not into English, but into Latin verse, about thirty-five lines at a time, while the Vth did it into

English, about fourteen lines at a time. In reading Cicero, Middleton's Cicero was used, which the boys were supposed to read by themselves out of school, with Roman and Greek history, Milton, Pope, 'and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar.' An immense amount of repetition was done. Monday was ushered in with twenty verses of Greek Testament by heart; the other days thirty lines of *Epigrammatum delectus* or *Selecta ex Tullio*, &c., and, in the summer, Horace's Odes, at the rate of seven or eight a day. Theocritus was read on Thursday, and on Saturday Greek plays, including Aristophanes, and Thucydides. But no author was read as a whole, only in selections. There was a great quantity of Latin prose and verse done. Every Monday a theme 'on some good subject from the *Spectator* or *Tatler* or *Guardian*,' for about twenty lines of prose was done, and at 3 p.m. an extempore epigram of four lines, with a joke in it, had to be made. The writer actually thinks it necessary to say that 'if the boys are not able to cut a joke on the theme, they ought by no means to be punished.' Subjects for 'Longs and Shorts,' or Elegiacs, were given out on Monday, and twenty to twenty-six lines sent in on Thursday. Alcaics or other irregular metres were done for 'Third Exercise.' One Greek Exercise a week was done, a translation from Latin into Greek. A month before the end of term, Declamations were spoken every Saturday and likewise speeches. English literature, it will be seen, was by no means wholly neglected, and was probably the better appreciated by being not a regular subject taught in school, but read in leisure time and chiefly with a view to illustrate the classics.

At this time there were, besides the head master and the usher, now called the lower master, ten assistant masters and three writing masters. A French master taught out of school, as did the drawing master; the latter was Henry Angelo, and his family long remained at Eton. The masters, except one of the writing masters, Evans, did not keep the boarding houses, which, as in Malim's day, were kept chiefly by 'Dames,' though there were three 'domines.' College contained only 52 boys. It had become a very rough and undesirable place, and remained so until it was thrown open to competitive examination, nearly a century later. Oppidans would hardly consort with the 'tugs,' as collegers were called, who were largely drawn from the lower ranks, noble lords getting, it was said, their butlers' and other poor dependants' sons into it. Hence it was seldom if ever full.

It seems strange to read in the *Nugae Etonenses*, written about this same year, that the games played included battledores, peg-top, hop-scotch, marbles, hoops, trapball, puss in the corner, chuck [farthing], and hunt the hare. Cricket

¹⁴³ *Etoniana*, July 1906. The original belongs to the present Chief Commissioner of Works, the Rt. Hon. L. Vernon Harcourt.

¹⁴⁴ *Annals of Eton*, 204.

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and fives head the list, and the Eton fives court, with its pepper box and step, was derived from the space between the two chapel buttresses near the door, which formed the principal court. A tennis court is mentioned.

From this time onward the career of Eton has been one of almost unchequered success. To the influence of George III this is largely due. Living chiefly at Windsor, he identified himself with the school like a local patriot; the boys were frequently asked up to the castle to fêtes and entertainments, and the king or his family often attended the Speeches and other school functions, and in 1799 he actually performed the duty of marshal to the 'Montem' procession.

Jonathan Davies, who succeeded Foster as head master in 1773, created a record in the length of his stay in the office, which was just short of twenty years. He was 'in conversation too much of a Stentor,' but 'learned, pleasant, generous.' He had to cope with a rebellion in 1783, when the whipping-post or flogging-block was broken up; but the cause of the outbreak was a contest of the lower forms with the assistant masters, not with him. In 1791 he retired on election as provost. The first printed school list is for this year, and shows 433 boys, of whom 45 were in college. He founded some scholarships for collegers. George Heath, who followed, was a great flogger, and after flogging 70 boys on one occasion—it is supposed on the occasion of the first cricket match played against Westminster in 1796 at Hounslow Heath, which resulted in a complete defeat—he was laid up with aches and pains for more than a week. In 1798 there was another great flogging because a number of Vth Form and Lower boys shirked 'absence' to row up to Maidenhead. There were then four 8-oars and two 6-oars in the procession on the king's birthday, 4 June, which had, not without reason, superseded the *obit* of Henry VI as the great day at Eton. Boat races had not yet begun. In 1802 Heath retired on a fellowship. Joseph Goodall reigned from 1802 to 1809, when he was made provost; Benjamin Heath, recommended by the Prime Minister, being rejected by George III because 'he ran away to Harrow,' i.e. had been head master there. The greatest name in his day is that of Shelley, who, however, does not seem to have enjoyed his schooldays. Then began the 'reign of terror' of John Keate, who had been lower master. His name is famous as the modern *Orbilius*, the champion flogger of modern times. He was very unpopular to start with. He is described in Kinglake's *Eothen* as 'little more if at all than 5 feet high,' with bushy red eyebrows, which he used as a beetle does its *antennae*, as a kind of index fingers. 'He had a really noble voice, which he could modulate with great skill, but also had the power of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of

communication in order to insure respect.' His determination to enforce discipline, which had been very slack under Goodall, soon brought him into collision with the boys. In 1810 a rebellion was caused by an 'absence' being imposed to prevent an unseemly rush into chapel. Some 110 boys were involved. When 20 had been flogged the rest began to throw rotten eggs. The other masters were summoned, and flogging or expulsion was offered to the culprits; and 60 more submitted to the flogging. The well-known stories of 'Be pure in heart or I'll flog you,' and of the flogging of a whole confirmation class because the list of them was taken for a flogging bill, must be received *cum grano*, as good stories, in the double sense.

During his long reign of twenty-five years Keate encountered at least two more émeutes which were of the dimensions of a rebellion. One was in 1818, when he tried to put down tandem driving. His desk was broken to pieces. When 4 boys were expelled and the rest were told to behave better, one Palk exclaimed 'Never,' and was expelled on the spot; so the rebellion became known as Palk's rebellion. Towards the end of Keate's career an outbreak took place over the expulsion of a boy named Monro, who went to a boat race when he ought to have been doing a *poena* or imposition. The Vth Form shouted 'Monro! Monro!' at absence, so three penal 'absences' were imposed. Over 100 stayed away, but Keate waited till they were in bed and then had them up in blocks of 10 to 20 and flogged them all, the operation lasting till the small hours of Sunday morning. On this occasion he was cheered by the Vth Form next morning. It must not be supposed that Eton was singularly barbarous at this time. Winchester, Harrow, Rugby—all had their rebellions and their floggings. The whole system of the Public Schools was behind the age, and the turmoil they lived in was due to the manners and customs of barbarous ages being continued at school in times when home life and manners in society had become civilized.

With all his flogging Keate did not succeed in keeping order even in school. The reason chiefly was that the classes were enormous. In 1833 for 570 boys in the Upper School, which had repeatedly enlarged itself at the expense of the Lower School, the lower forms gradually vanishing away, there were only 9 masters all told. Keate had at one time 198 boys in his own division, and one of them records that he was only called on in school twice in a whole half. By further sub-divisions these were reduced to 170 boys, and eventually to 100. But order or decent teaching with even 100 boys in a class was well-nigh impossible. Songs were sung in school, paper pellets, and, on occasion, rotten eggs, were thrown. As an illustration of Keate's milder moments, a story is told of how one

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Dallas hurled a stone at him in school. Keate demanding who it was, Dallas got up and said : 'It was me, sir, and I beg your pardon,' and nothing further was said.

Those boys who wished to learn learnt from the 32 private tutors who looked after them out of school. Keate himself was a good scholar, and his VIth Form lessons in 'chambers,' the old head master's chamber by Long Chamber, were said to be inspiring. But the books used were still limited to those of James's day, somewhat enlarged, the *Scriptores Graeci* and *Scriptores Romani*. An immense amount of verse was done, and that secured good scholarship. The best training was that of the boys themselves of themselves in the magazines they started, the *College Magazine*, the *Horae Otiosae*, W. M. Praed's *Apis Matina* in 1820, the *Etonian* in 1821, the *Eton Miscellany* in 1828, and the *Eton College Magazine* in 1832 ; still more in the plays that they performed ; and, above all, in the debating society, officially known as the Eton Society, commonly called 'Pop.' This was started in 1811 by C. F. Townshead, who died at the age of twenty-two when a candidate for Parliament for Cambridge University. Its members were at first called *literati*, and the name of 'Pop' is said to be due to the twenty original members having first met at Mrs. Hatton's, a cook-shop or *popina*, where they breakfasted once a week. The successes of Etonians at the universities showed that it was possible to learn there if you had a turn for learning, and probably the learning was all the keener for being almost wholly a voluntary effort.

It was at this time also that games began to take their present form. In 1818 cricket matches began with Harrow, when Harrow won ; and in 1826 with Winchester, when Winchester won. In 1826 and 1830 there were boat races with Westminster.

In 1834 Keate, being a canon of Windsor, retired to a Windsor living in Hampshire. The boys made him a presentation of plate costing £600, at which he was so overcome that he could only acknowledge it by lifting the redoubtable cocked hat which he wore as his official head covering, and which he hurled on the floor on taking leave of the assistant masters, never to be worn again.

The senior assistant master, Edward Craven Hawtrey, member of an old Etonian family, succeeded Keate. A heavy fall from 627 boys to 486 took place, whether from the change of man or from an outburst of criticism of the Eton system is not clear. Hawtrey introduced some reforms, especially that of a reduction in the size of the forms, placing the masters in separate class-rooms, and giving each form a separate master specially responsible for it. Provost Francis Hodgson, who was forced on the college by the Crown after Goodall's death in 1840,

was more efficient as a reformer. He reformed college at a cost of £14,000, giving separate rooms to 49 seniors, and improving the food, while he made admission depend on competitive examination, with the result that instead of being half empty, and a place to be shunned by everyone not driven to it by dire poverty, it is now sought after a great deal too much. When the sons of Speakers and cabinet ministers, and still more, men rich with revenues that do not die with them, are found in it, the intention of the founder seems to have been departed from as much as in the days when it was handed over to the lackeys of the great and the petty tradesmen of the rich.

In 1851 mathematics were made a part of the regular curriculum, and six mathematical masters appointed. The numbers rose from 444 in 1835 to 777.

Provost Hodgson died prematurely in 1852, and Hawtrey, the head master, succeeded him. Charles Old Goodford, an assistant master, 'honest, righteous, brave, prudent, but sleepy, weak in health, and unpolished,' became head master. He enlarged the area of selection of masters by no longer restricting them to Kingsmen or to collegers. In 1861 the Public Schools Commission was appointed. The same year saw the earnest of future innovations in the beginning of the new schools or classrooms, a red brick building in the Tudor style, on the opposite side of the Slough Road to Upper School. Hawtrey died in 1861, and Goodford became provost in his place, the provostry being now regarded as almost a perquisite of the head master. Edward Balston, an assistant master, afterwards Archdeacon of Derby, succeeded. He was not a man to initiate reforms, and when the Public Schools Act was passed he retired. Under this Act a new governing body was substituted for the provost and fellows, consisting of the provosts of the two colleges, nominees of the two ancient universities, of the Royal Society, of the Lord Chief Justice, and of the Eton masters, and two to four co-optatives. In 1871 they made new statutes, repealing the old, which had in fact ceased to be observed. The chief change was the partial severance of the connexion with King's, that college being no longer confined to Etonians, though Eton has the preference for half the scholarships. Of late years these have so much declined in value that often the full number from Eton is not filled up.

The new head master, John James Hornby, was the first for nearly 200 years who was not a Kingsman or a colleger or an assistant master. An oppidan and an Oxonian, at Balliol he had obtained a first class in classics in 1849, and rowed in the Oxford eight ; and as a fellow of Brasenose he had attained distinction. He had also been a tutor at Durham University. As second master at Winchester in 1866 to 1868

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he had won all hearts, and shared in and witnessed the advantage of the reforms effected there by Dr. Ridding. He was thus able to bring a wide experience to bear on the difficult problems with which the report of the Royal Commission (published in 1865) confronted him. The reforms accomplished by him¹⁴⁵ were so great that, as Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte remarks, less differences are observable between the time-tables of 1765 and 1865 than between those of 1865 and 1875. Many of them were the result of the recommendations of the Commission.

1. Morning chapel was introduced; a shortened daily service being held, attended by all the school, at 9.25. Previously boys attended chapel, or rather church as it was more correctly called till about 1860, at 11 and 3 on holidays and at 3 on half-holidays. Instead of this 'Absences,' i.e. 'Callings over,' were substituted.

2. For the system of moving upwards from the Vth form merely by seniority was substituted admission to the first three divisions, the First Hundred, by 'trials' or examination.

3. Extra Studies, or 'Extras' as they were called, were imposed on the 'First Hundred,' every member of which might choose a subject from modern languages, science, history, and the less-read classical authors, on which he had to spend four hours a week. For this purpose two extra school hours (at 9.45 and 10.30 respectively) were established on all half-holidays. Instead of this one hour a day is now given. But there has been no increase in the number of hours, as stated by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte.

4. French became compulsory for all boys below the first three divisions.

5. Science became a regular part of the work of the Vth form in 1869, and of the 'Remove' in 1875. A chemical laboratory and lecture-room were built at a cost of £3,000 contributed by the head master and some old Etonian friends—the college being at the time too poor to undertake the work. The assistant masters contributed liberally.

6. All the mathematical, science, and French masters were raised to the same status with the classical. The scale of payment was rearranged.

7. 'Dames,' or keepers of boarding-houses who were not masters, were abolished. No new leases of boarding-houses were given to anyone not on the teaching staff.

8. An army class was established,¹⁴⁶ separated from the rest of the school, so as to admit of

¹⁴⁵ The main authority for this is *Eton*, by A. Clutton Brock, of New College, Oxford, in George Bell's *Handbooks to the Great Public Schools*.

¹⁴⁶ Sir H. Maxwell Lyte states that this separate class was first instituted by Dr. Warre in 1886. Dr. Warre, on his accession, discontinued the separate class for a time in order to try whether the ordinary school work was sufficient or not. After a trial of less than two years the separate class was revived.

more continuous instruction in the particular subjects required. This, under Mr. Walter Durnford's management, proved very successful, and showed that boys going straight from Eton could obtain the highest places in the examination without resorting to private tuition.

9. Among many minor changes two may be specially mentioned as departures from very old customs, viz. the abolition of 'Leaving Money' and 'Leaving Books.' Under the former of these every boy had been compelled to leave a fee on the head master's table when he took leave of him. A capitation tax was henceforth substituted for this curious custom of 'tipping.' But the head master still gives every boy who obtains his *bene discessit* a copy of Gray's Poems, as a 'leaving book.'

It had long been the custom for boys to give each other leaving books. The Royal Commission, observing that this pleasant usage had degenerated into extravagance, and had become a serious tax upon parents, recommended its discontinuance.

10. The Eton Mission in Hackney Wick was started in 1880, under the Rev. W. M. Carter, now Bishop of Pretoria.

Dr. Hornby's rule lasted for sixteen years—from 1868 to 1884. It was a time of change, and of much external criticism—sometimes fair, sometimes malicious—perhaps the most critical period through which Eton has passed in the last hundred years. The danger was happily overcome by the wisdom and tact of the head master, to whom Provost Goodford¹⁴⁷ 'gave very generous and ungrudging help.' The change in the system of education produced no violent dislocation of the teaching machinery, and when, in 1884, Provost Goodford died, and was succeeded by Dr. Hornby, the school had passed through its revolutionary period, and it remained for the new head master only to improve the efficiency of the system already established.

The new head master was Edmund Warre, who left Eton in 1855 for Oxford as a scholar of Balliol, and in due time became a first-class man and fellow of All Souls. He was, when elected, an assistant master at Eton and captain of the Rifle Corps. He might perhaps best be described as of the school of Tom Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, an apostle of muscular Christianity and strenuousness.

In 1889 the memorial stone of 'Queen's Schools,' which include a science lecture-room and a museum, was laid by Queen Victoria. The same year the lower chapel, to hold 400 lower boys, was begun, the architect being Sir Arthur Blomfield; it was opened in 1891. Of an inferior kind of churchwarden Gothic, it can hardly be considered a thing of beauty.

¹⁴⁷ Provost Goodford had done excellent work, and introduced numerous reforms as head master.

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No bounds being set to numbers, the boys under Dr. Warre passed the thousand, attaining 1,007 in 1891, and the then high-water mark, 1,035, in 1896. Dr. Warre saw out the 19th century.

At the beginning of the 20th century, in Dr. Edward Lyttelton, Eton has turned once more to Cambridge, though to Trinity, not to King's, for its head master. His success, first as a house master at Eton, and then as head master at Haileybury, and the position he had taken in educational discussions, had marked him out as the certain successor to Dr. Warre on his retirement in 1905.

Among recent buildings most prominent is the red-brick stone-pedimented palace in the style of Charles II, the new boarding-house of Mr. E. L. Vaughan, called Wotton House, fronting on Timbralls, otherwise Tymbershaw, otherwise Sixpenny. It is one of the most striking buildings which meet the eye on approaching Eton from Slough.

A building destined for a school library in a rococo Renaissance style, with a dome somewhat after that of the church of Santa Maria della Salute at Venice, is in course of erection on the opposite side of the road to Wayneflete's antechapel. A stronger contrast than the new presents to the old building could not have been devised.

Theory has not been without results in practice. There has been an introduction of scientific gymnastics among the younger boys. Germane to this is a system of physical measurements and of medical inspection of all new boys. In intellectual matters a great deal of cautious experiment is going on in regard to the curriculum; large modifications have been made to give scope to what is called specialization for the older boys. This has involved an increase in the staff, and of course increased expense. Meantime current controversies are causing much thought and discussion on the methods of teaching the older subjects, classics and mathematics, especially the former, and attempts are being made to restrict within practical limits the aim of teaching Greek as well as Latin to average boys. The difficulty in doing this is considerable when a large number of masters are concerned, but in general it may be said that there is a great improvement in the adaptation of methods and subject-matter to boys of different intelligence. French is now taught almost entirely by experts, and more time is given to the subject than used to be the case, so long as a boy learns it. But nothing in these matters can at present be looked upon as final, since in addition to difficulties in the school there are perpetual changes in outside examinations. The subject of handicraft, as an alternative to book-work, is being gently introduced, and music is given more opportunity than it had. In regard to the general tone of industry there has been an extraordinary improvement in the last twenty years,

and part of the problem now is how to diminish the strain on the younger boys, and on nearly all the masters.

It is idle in a sketch of these dimensions to attempt to sum up or gauge the growth of Eton or its influence on England. To enumerate its famous men would be to give a catalogue of the most distinguished names in public life, and in the Army and the Navy, and many other professions. Such an enumeration is as impracticable as an attempt to estimate how much these distinguished persons owed to Eton, and how much to birth and nature. Suffice it to say that throughout the century, as the largest school in the country, recruited from the highest and richest class, it has occupied the position of *facile princeps* among the public schools which was held in the 18th century by Westminster, and before that was a matter of rivalry among the three graces, Winchester, Eton, and Westminster. In a century in which not less—even more, perhaps—than in previous centuries the governor-generalships and the great offices in the State fell to the abler scions of great houses and their associates, it is not so much surprising that Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General in India and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Wellington and Earl Roberts, Commanders-in-Chief wherever English blood was shed; Fox and Canning, Gladstone and Mr. Balfour, Lord Rosebery and the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Prime Ministers, have issued from Eton to the highest posts in civil or military life. The wonder rather is that Eton has not monopolized these posts altogether. More remarkable is it that in the domain in which more than any other success is influenced by no considerations but those of the work itself, the domain of poetry, Eton has produced the two greatest lyric writers of the 19th century, Percy Shelley and Algernon Swinburne. In the sphere in which achievement is due mainly to personality and strenuous persistency, that of the law and the Church, Eton has, as might be expected, been less successful; two Chief Justices, Denman and Coleridge, were Etonians, but no Chancellor and no bishop or archbishop of the first rank. But of late years Eton has been as strenuous as other public schools.

That the future historian may not complain that the Eton day of the 20th century is unknown, we will endeavour to set it down. The normal school week consists of twenty-two hours. For the Sixth Form and First Hundred these hours are allotted as follows:—Divinity, one hour; Latin and Greek, seven hours each; English, three hours; while what are called extra studies, which mean and include Mathematics, French, German, Science, and Drawing, and various specifications in Classics occupy the remaining three hours. The hours are divided among the days thus: Divinity, on Sunday (questions on

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Scripture History, the Gospel in Greek, or a book of the Septuagint) is given the place of honour; the first hour on Monday morning, from 7 to 7.50—we are speaking of the Summer term, 1908—being devoted to going over with the master what has been prepared, or supposed to be prepared, on Sunday, difficulties discussed, and explanations suggested. Religious instruction is given on one morning of the week for fifty minutes. On other days than Mondays Classics occupy that hour, save on Thursday, when there is a lecture on History. From 8 to 9.25 is devoted to breakfast and preparation, the length of time of one or the other being at the option of the individual. One of the strangest features of Eton life until the last ten years was that, though the charges for board and lodging were higher there than at any other school, breakfast was not provided by the master, but by the boys at their own expense, in their own rooms. Even in college the 'poor and needy scholar' had to keep a room up town in which to get his breakfast and live during the day. Now, however, in all the houses but one breakfast is provided in the boys' rooms, mostly in messes of four. At 9.25 is chapel, a shortened service. School begins at 9.45, and lasts for fifty-five minutes, during which 'Extras,' or extra studies, are done in form. Extra studies is a charming instance of 'survival' in nomenclature. It meant, at first, extra subjects beyond the ordinary purely classical curriculum, and the list includes English (which includes History), Mathematics, French, German, Science, Drawing, and Spanish; but it also includes, for the bulk of the first 120, who are on what in more modern schools might be called the classical side, Greek play for the university, Plato, and Pindar. Why Greek play, or Greek philosophy, or Greek lyrics should have been considered extras in a classical curriculum it is not easy to explain. At 11 o'clock school the ordinary Classics, that is, construing of authors, resume sway, except on Tuesdays, when the hour is devoted to History in the form of doing questions on Monday's lecture, and on Thursdays, when it is given to Latin prose, which is, however, done out of school, and shown up at lunch-time, 1.30. Classics means in 1908, in preparation for the Higher certificates of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examinations Board, Livy's History, Book V; Virgil's *Aeneid*, X; Horace's Odes, IV; Thucydides III, 1-51, and Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*. History is the outlines of English History from 1714-1837, and more special study of the special period, 1793-1815. English is represented by two plays of Shakespeare, *King Lear* and *Henry V*; French by *Le Cid* of Corneille and de Tocqueville's *Quinze Jours au Désert* and *Voyage en Sicile*. On three days in the week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, there is no more school after 12; but on all days from 12 to 1.30 is supposed to be devoted to work,

doing composition or preparation. Dinner is at 1.30. After dinner there is practice at nets for the professed cricketer, but no organized games or practice for anyone else. On whole school days there is school at 3.45 for 'Saying Lesson,' or repetition of Latin verse learnt by heart; in VIth Form, forty old and twenty new lines, in First Hundred forty new, each day. Those at the top of the form are free to depart as soon as they have said their lines, while those at the bottom learn theirs while the others are saying them. The interval is spent in preparation. At 5 o'clock three-quarters of an hour's school is devoted to Classics—on Monday to Greek or Roman History, Wednesday to reading in rooms, and Friday to Classics in school. Reading in rooms is a theoretical pursuit not carried on in actual practice if it can be avoided. Those who belong to 'Pop.' go to 'Pop.,' and do their composition or write letters there; others to school library, others to their house library. Tea, which comprises bread and butter and jam, is at 5.45. After it, till 8.30, comes the serious business of pleasure, or rather exercise; whether to chase the rolling circle's speed for dry-bobs, or to cleave with pliant oar the glassy wave for wet-bobs, or practice at the butts for those who prefer the leaden bullet. For those who do not even strive for places in their house eleven or in the boats there is no compulsion. At 8.30 comes supper, a moderate late dinner of two or three courses, hot meat and pudding, and cheese and butter. From 9 to 10 is a time for preparation, perforce in rooms or house library, and lights are out at 10 p.m. Peace then attends the wearied mind or body till the boys' maids waken them to another day by setting out their baths or bringing hot water (shades of Malim!) at 6.15 a.m. The composition of the week, done in the odd hours out of school, which, as will have been seen, are more numerous than the hours spent in school, consists of Latin verses, which alternate between original theme and translation, given out on Saturday, shown to their tutor on Wednesday, and given up corrected to the head master, or other form master, on the Saturday following. Greek Prose and Verse, a piece of each for translation from English, are set on Wednesday, to be shown upon the following Saturday morning. 'My tutor,' or rather, in Etonian pronunciation, 'me-tutor,' is no longer a third person, distinct alike from form master and 'dame' or other house-master, but is the house-master; though if the house-master is not a classic and the boy is, or *vice-versa*, the function of tutor is assigned to another master. But he is not 'me-tutor.'

So far for the ordinary course for the ordinary classical students. It would be a hopeless task to pursue the specialist in all his ramifications. In the first 120 the specialists number 37 as against 84 ordinarians. Of them 14 are

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scientists, 12 historians, 6 devote themselves to modern languages, and 5 to mathematics. It is significant that only two King's scholars are found among them; one in the Sixth Form and another from the First Hundred. The Army Class of 29 boys contains only one King's scholar. The next 120 contain a smaller proportion of specialists, namely 20. Below that, specializing is, very properly, not allowed. If we descend to the lowest division of the school—F, or the Fourth Form, which is divided into Upper, Middle, and Lower, and contains 116 boys, we find the school hours number 25 instead of 22, owing to their returning to school, or rather pupil-rooms, at their houses at 2.15 instead of 3.45 in the afternoon. Their hours are given: one to divinity, but the sacred fifty minutes on Monday morning is spent not in school but in pupil-room; to Latin 6, to Greek 3, French 4, English 3, Mathematics, which includes an hour's drawing, 5, and Science 3. Their Greek is learnt from a book called *Sertum*, a garland of 'flowers of Greek speaking' consisting of short pieces of prose and verse, the prose chiefly anecdotes and the verse taken mostly from the Greek anthology. Latin is pursued in Hardy's Latin Reader and Ovid; English History in S. R. Gardiner's Outlines; and French in Guerber's *Contes et Légendes*. They are all books of a calibre which the Eton boy of the same age of the 17th or 16th century would have regarded as fit only for babes and sucklings, the petits of the Song School, not for boys of fourteen or fifteen years old who had spent five or six or seven years in 'grammar.' Not that Eton is peculiar in this respect. For in all the schools it is the same. In spite of all the talk about education, childishness in subject and in thought is prolonged to the verge of manhood. While the contemporary of Milton or of Shakespeare or of Chaucer would have been declaiming in Latin on 'foreknowledge absolute,' or such high themes, the Public School boy of the present day is learning a jingle of jargon to distinguish the gender of *frons* a brow from *frons* a leaf, or stumbling through a story about the scholastic who cried out on the boiling snails for singing when their houses were burning.

True life for the average boy is not the time spent in pupil-room or school, but in playing-fields or on the river. In the Summer term, until the Winchester and Harrow matches, the dry-bob is bent on playing cricket in Junior Houses or in getting his colours in Upper Choices or Twenty-two or the Eleven. The great matches are against Winchester, played originally at Lord's, but since 1854 alternately at Winchester and Eton, traditionally on either Midsummer Day or St. Peter's Day and the day before or after, as the calendar suited for Friday and Saturday; until 1908, when the day was altered exceptionally to 3 and 4 July. This was disastrous for Winchester,

whose captain and three old 'Lord's men' were down with mumps, since against the residue Eton compiled 410 runs, 'declared' with seven wickets down, and won by an innings and 7 runs. Harrow match is played at Lord's cricket ground in London on the second Friday and Saturday in July. In 1908, thanks largely to the weather, which turned bad in the afternoon of the first day, after Harrow had made 250 runs, Eton got out for 37 runs, and only made 150 in the second innings, and lost the match by nine wickets. Harrow match being over, House matches fill the time to the end of July, when the holidays begin.

For wet-bobs there are House Fours, in which college is represented by two fours. The first ambition is to get into Lower Boats, which number altogether some fifty boys, including the Lower Boat 'Choices,' about twenty; then into Upper Boats, who number twenty-seven, including Upper Boat Choices and the Eight, which represents the school at Henley. The Ladies' Plate used to be regarded as Eton's peculiar pride; but sometimes it aims at the Grand Challenge Cup, and in 1908 was only beaten in the final tie by Christ Church, which rowed head of the river at Oxford.

The great day at Eton, which has superseded all Saints' days, which are now only holidays, broken up and made useless by repeated 'absences,' or names callings, founders' days, and 'Montem,' is the 'Fourth of June,' the birthday of King George III; not a very worthy saint when we remember that he was the main cause of the greater celebration of 4 July.

The Fourth of June gives eminent merit, both intellectual and athletic, its chance of display. After early school and an ornate chapel, the morning is devoted to 'Speeches,' the last surviving relic or substitute for the ancient declamations and disputations. The Sixth Form, singly or in companies as their tastes may dictate, deliver monologues, or dialogues, or scenes from plays—Greek, Latin, French, German, or English. They are dressed in ordinary evening dress, but with knee breeches and white silk stockings. The speeches are followed by a cricket match with New College, Oxford. At 5 o'clock comes the event of the day, which distinguishes the Eton Speech Day from those of less fortunately situated schools—the Procession of Boats. The boats which go in procession are not the racing eights of the present day, but of a penultimate day. First goes the *Monarch*, which consists of people high in the school, but not distinguished oars, stroked by the Captain of the Boats. Then follows the *Victory*, consisting of the best oars, stroked by the second captain. The third man strokes the *Prince of Wales*, and so on for the *Britannia*, *Thetis*, *Dreadnought*, *Alexandra*, *Hibernia*, and *Defiance*. Thecoxswains are resplendent in the admiral's dress of Nelson's day; the crews wear white ducks and

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white-duck shirts with ribbons in front of the distinguishing colour of the boat. The hats are straw hats garlanded with ribbons and a sort of gilded figure-head or crest in front. They row up to Surly and dine there in state on the bank of the river. At 8.30 they return in the same order to Eton, where fireworks are displayed, and as the boats reach the fireworks the crews stand up and toss their oars in salute.

In winter St. Andrew's Day, 30 November, is the great feast, when the wall game of football between collegers and oppidans is played in the morning, and a field game between Oxford and Cambridge Etonians in the afternoon. The wall game is played along the wall which bounds the original playing fields, the goals being a door in the wall at one end where it turns at right angles, and a tree at the other. The forwards on each side have their heads covered with sack-cloth as they rub against the wall, trying to 'hot' or push their opponents back to their own goal, and the 'flies' stand out prepared to kick the ball out of the boundary line, as far towards the opposite goal as possible, as soon as it emerges from the scrimmage.

The small nation of Etonians, now at the highest figure it has ever reached, 1,045, is domiciled in twenty-four houses of about forty each, and college, which is ruled by a master in college. They are taught by forty-seven masters, of whom fifteen are teachers of mathematics, five of science, ten of modern languages, one teaching Italian, one gentleman essaying French, German, and Spanish, the rest German or French or both, some combining mathematics and a modern language, or Classics and a modern language. The *ultima ratio* in discipline is still the birch, to which, though but sparsely administered, in comparison with the days of the 'best beater in England,' or Keate, with his wholesale executions, is still administered in the ancient way, the victims being still personally conducted to the head master by one of the two prepostors for the week. The prepostors, who used to be so numerous in Malim's day, are now reduced to two, one colleger and one oppidan, the Sixth Form taking it in turn to be in course for a week. During that time they collect absences from the form masters, take communications from the head master to them and bring up the victims for chastisement, and are excused schools in return. The ordinary discipline is administered by the captain of each house, who inflicts the extreme penalty of the law for offences, often on reference by the house master, by a cane, the culprit bending over to receive a 'smacking.' In college the operation is termed 'working it off.' For such offences as shirking football in Michaelmas half or other game offences the captain of the games in each house exercises similar jurisdiction.

The results of Eton education as exhibited at

the universities show that learning is assimilated as effectually under its elastic system as in more rigid systems. In 1906, for instance, a scholarship, and a History scholarship at Balliol, two scholarships at Christ Church, two at University, and a demyship at Magdalen were won, with a major scholarship at Trinity, Cambridge. In 1907 Etonians obtained scholarships at Trinity and Brasenose, with the two great university scholarships, the Hertford and Ireland, and the Stanhope Historical Essay at Oxford; and two major scholarships at Trinity, one in mathematics, five scholarships at King's, one at Gonville and Caius, and the Chancellor's Medal for English verse at Cambridge. Considering how few Etonians seek the financial assistance afforded by scholarships this record cannot but be acknowledged as extremely good. That Eton should flourish in learning as in other ways is therefore something more than a pious aspiration. *Floret Etona.*

THE ROYAL LATIN SCHOOL, BUCKINGHAM

Buckingham Grammar School has been sadly libelled. Carlisle¹ in 1818, after imputing its foundation to Edward VI, said: 'It is of little note in any respect, none but the children of the Lower Classes having been educated here, for time immemorial.'

Those who have perused the history of schools in the former volumes of the *Victoria County History* will not need to be told that this statement of the status and history of the Royal Latin School of this ancient county town is untrue. It is indeed strange that Carlisle should without further inquiry have printed this perfunctory misrepresentation. For Browne Willis's *History of the Town, Hundred, and Deanery of Buckingham*, published in 1755, was at hand to correct it, with a list of masters from 1553 who were mostly dubbed M.A. It must, however, be admitted that the good folk of Buckingham have done their best to discredit their school and to destroy its history, by destroying or losing their municipal records.

There is, however, reason to think that the school is of very great antiquity.^{1a} From the time of Edward VI to that of Edward VII it was held in an ancient building, said to have been the chantry chapel of St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas, otherwise Thomas Becket, which is stated² in a deed on the appointment of a new schoolmaster in 1830 to have been annexed to the Trinity Gild. The Chantry Certificates taken under the Chantries Act of Henry VIII do not bear out this account. They connect the chantry with the college of Acon, the hospital

¹ *End. Gram. Schools*, i, 47.

^{1a} See p. 145, note 1, for mention of schoolmaster of Buckingham at Mich. 1423.

² *Char. Com. Rep.* xxvii, 59.

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founded in Thomas Becket's house in the city of London, now the site of the Mercers' Hall. The certificate,³ after giving an account of 'the Brotherhood of the Trynytie and Our Lady' with two priests, one to sing for the souls of Henry VI⁴ and the brethren of the gild, and of Barton's chantry, says :

Also there is one other chauntry . . . of St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas of Acon called Mathewe Stratton chauntre. The revenues thereof is 69*s.* and Thomas Hawkyns is incumbent there, and hath yerly the profettes thereof for his salarye over and besides 37*s.* 8*d.* which he receyveth yerly of [blank in MS.] by reason of the late house of St. Thomas of Acon in West Cheppe London as it is said.

The chantry, therefore, was worth £5 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, which is rather above than below the average of chantries, though the other chantry priests in Buckingham got £6 a year each. It was, at all events, more than the stipend of the usher or lower master of Eton, which was only £4 a year. Stratton's chantry was the oldest chantry in Buckingham, having been founded by Matthew Stratton, Archdeacon of Buckingham from 1223 to 1268. The chantry chapel was rebuilt by John Ruding, Canon of Lincoln and Prebendary of Buckingham in that cathedral from 1471 to 1481. Browne Willis says that on the ceiling over the altar was to be seen a painting of the Lamb of God, the usual emblem of the Baptist, with his head on a charger underneath it ; but it was destroyed in 1688, 'as a relic of popery, by the schoolboys.' Underneath was Ruding's motto, 'May God amende all,' and his arms with crescents and scallop shells. The chantry being reputed part of the foundation of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon—which, by the way, has nothing to do with Acre, as commonly stated,⁵ but was merely the name of a former owner of Thomas Becket's house—it was suppressed with it by Henry VIII. The chantry priest was pensioned, and the Land Revenue Records⁶ duly record the payment to him of his pension up to 1565, first under the name of John, but from 1550 under the name of Thomas Hawkins, for celebrating divine service in the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

The chantry not being reported on by the later Chantry Commission under the Chantries Act of Edward VI, we have no opportunity of learning whether or not the chantry priest did,

³ Chant. Cert. 4, no. 9.

⁴ Because it received a licence in mortmain from him ; Pat. 28 Hen. VI, pt. i ; cited in Browne Willis, op. cit. 45. The document recited that the fraternity had long been maintained in honour of St. Romwald, but had no legal foundation, which probably only meant that it was founded before the Statute of Mortmain, and therefore had no licence under that statute.

⁵ Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* i, 47.

⁶ Land Rev. Rec. Accts. (Ser. 1), bdle. 96.

either by the foundation or in fact, keep a grammar school. But it seems extremely probable. There are no documents at Buckingham among the municipal records older than the Reformation, except two volumes of the Portmote or Borough Court beginning towards the end of the reign of Henry VII. They are almost exclusively actions about small debts or petty trespasses with a few elections of ale-tasters and the like. There appears to be no mention of the school. There is, therefore, little chance of ever proving any connexion between the old school, which must have existed, and the present one. According to Browne Willis and the deed of 1830, the present foundation is due to a bequest of Dame Isabel Denton in 1540, to which Edward VI added an annuity from the Exchequer of £10 8*s.* 0³/₄*d.* This, if true in fact, must have been due to one of the warrants of the Chantry Commissioners for the continuance of schools and preachers and other objects. But the only Buckinghamshire warrant found does not include it, and the Patent Rolls are silent. Nor can the payment be traced in the Ministers' Accounts. There seems to be little doubt that Edward VI had nothing to do with it, and that the Exchequer payment of £10 8*s.* originated with the transfer from Thornton Grammar School to that of Buckingham in 1592, as already shown in the introduction to this article.

Browne Willis gives Henry Webster as the first master, and says that he was curate here. The register records his burial as Henricus Webster, priest (*sacerdos*), on 29 June 1569. Alexander Sheppard, master in 1574, became vicar of Whitchurch in 1580 and of Buckingham in 1599. In the extant Borough Minute Book he appears as an LL.B. and acting as 'commissary or official of the peculiar and exempt jurisdiction of King's Sutton,' a will being proved before him 2 April 1604. He afterwards took the degree of D.C.L. from Jesus College, Oxford, in 1609, and is described by Wood as 'a learned civilian.'⁷ Thomas Potter, described as M.A., succeeded Sheppard in 1580.

The Register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, shows the admission on 13 June 1591 of William Potter son of Thomas, at the age of fourteen. He is said to have been born at Buckingham, and to have attended school there 'under Mr. Herl.' According to the list of masters given in Lipscomb's *County of Buckingham*, Thomas Potter was master from 1580 to 1594, when he was succeeded by James Smith, and Richard Earle only became master in 1609. If these dates are correct, Mr. Earle, or Herl, must have been usher under Mr. Potter while the young Potter was at school. James Smith is, as we saw in the Introduction, under Thornton School, described as master of Buckingham

⁷ Carlisle, loc. cit.

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School as early as 1592, when the Exchequer payment to Thornton was transferred to him. Potter seems to have been in the place and setting up a rival and unlicensed private school, as in 1599⁸ 'the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, issued an inhibition against him,' forbidding him to preach or teach school in the town of Buckingham. James Smith, as we saw under Thornton, continued master until the last year of Queen Elizabeth. Then Robert Tomlyns, who is unknown to Browne Willis's or Lipscomb's *Histories*, succeeded and held for six years. He was followed in 1609 for half a year by John Nichols, who was perhaps a resident in Buckingham acting as a stop-gap, for he married on 22 June 1622 a daughter of Simon Lambert, then bailiff of the borough,⁹ and his burial is recorded in 1646. Richard Earle we can put back from 1617, the date given by Browne Willis, to 1609. After nearly twenty years' tenure he was discharged by the corporation for neglect of the school in 1625. As he died vicar of Stow in 1635, we may conjecture that the common combination of a living at a distance with a school had proved fatal to the good conduct of the school.

The next master was Richard Horne, who had matriculated at Hart Hall, taken his B.A. degree in 1621, and his M.A. in 1624. He left in 1633, and became rector of Finmere, Oxfordshire, and was succeeded by Thomas Dutton, of Merton College, B.A. 1628, M.A. 1632. On 18 May 1638 the Corporation elected Edward Ummant, M.A., as master. In 1645 he obtained the vicarage of Padbury, which he held with the school, as his name appears as master on 20 August 1639, when his wife was buried. His name is given in the register as Ummans. During the Commonwealth this, like so many other grammar schools, so far from being stopped or starved, as is generally, but falsely, supposed or asserted, was well looked after, and had its endowment increased. On 1 February 1658¹⁰ the Committee for Maintenance of Ministers and Schoolmasters ordered that 'the yearly summe of £10 bee graunted to and for increase of the maintenance of the schoolemaster of the freeschoole att Buckingham . . . and that the same bee from time to time paid unto such godly and able schoolemaster as shall bee from time to time settled there.'

On 10 February¹¹ 'the Trustees for maintenance have thought fit to allow the augmentacions hereafter mencioned and have certified the same for the approbacion of his Highnesse and the Councill. . . . His Highnesse and the Councill doe approve the said augmentacions and order

that the same be paid accordingly . . . To the Schoolemaster of Buckingham Towne £10.'

The name of the master is unfortunately not given. A master of the 18th century informed Browne Willis that Ummant remained master as well as vicar of Padbury and employed as ushers Mr. Paine and Mr. Thompson and Mr. Stephens. Thomas Stephens was licensed by the ordinary, i.e. the bishop, as master on 19 March 1660. 'The great William Lowndes of Winslow,' says Browne Willis, 'spoke much to me in his praise and says that he quitted this for a greater school,' and he 'bred up several good scholars'—a sufficient refutation of the libel in Carlisle. The 'greater school' he went to was Bury St. Edmunds,¹² where he became famous.

On 10 October 1664 William Warters was appointed master, and in 1668 we find William Warters,¹³ son of William, of Buckingham, minister—Warters was then vicar of Buckingham—matriculating at Balliol. As the master from 1 October 1665 to 1682, Roger Griffiths, was also a Balliol man, having matriculated in 1660 and taken his B.A. degree in 1664, we may infer that the young Warters had been educated in the school. Griffiths became vicar of Padbury and held the living with the school. On his death, Thomas Dalby, M.A., was elected master on 16 January 1682, and held till he became vicar of Wendover. Thomas Yeomans, appointed in 1685, had taken his B.A. degree from Brasenose in 1678. He went on to Brackley Grammar School, in Northamptonshire, one of the Magdalen College Schools, in 1690. Mark Noble, who took his degree from St. Alban Hall in 1686 and was curate of Maids' Moreton, followed for two years. Robert Styles, elected in 1692, 'having raised a very good school here, to the great loss of the town quitted it for Northampton School.' Among his scholars at Buckingham were Mr. Backwell and Mr. Justice Denton, both of whom afterwards gave him benefices, in Tyringham and Preston. This brings Carlisle's 'times immemorial' to a period of 120 years, even if no boys went later to the university, which seems unlikely, as the masters continued to be university men, largely from Oxford. Thomas Ford, B.A., son of a Buckingham alderman, was elected master on 21 October 1696; he afterwards became a prebendary of Wells Cathedral. Samuel Foster, M.A., vicar of Little Horwood, held the mastership from 17 May 1709, when he got another vicarage. Richard Cardwell, of Hart Hall, was appointed in 1715. He became vicar of Thornborough the next year. He held both places till he became vicar of Raunds, Northamptonshire, in 1723. Then he resigned both the mastership and the vicarage of Thornborough to William Halsted, M.A., of Brasenose College,

⁸ Browne Willis, op. cit. 81, quoting Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Whitgift, fol. 112.

⁹ Browne Willis, op. cit. 67, 69, 70.

¹⁰ Lamb. MSS. 1004, fol. 173.

¹¹ Ibid. 997 fol. 152.

¹² See *V.C.H. Suff.* ii, 318.

¹³ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

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elected 29 July 1723. He was in 1735 also vicar of Padbury. He held office for no less than forty-one years. The only information about the school derivable from the present municipal records is furnished by the Borough Minute Book¹⁴ about the next two masters, though it shows that the appointment was entirely in the hands of the local authority.

1764, 4 George III. Borough and parish of Buckingham. The Rev. James Eyre, M.A., by and with the assent and consent of the worshipful William Butcher, esquire, Bailiff of the borough and parish and the major part of the burgesses of the said borough and parish whose names are hereunto subscribed was elected and chosen a Schoolmaster of the Free School in Buckingham aforesaid in the place and stead of the Rev. Mr. William Halsted deceased.

James Eyre had matriculated at Merton College in 1753, took his B.A. degree in 1757 and his M.A. in 1759. He held office for twenty-one years. The following master, William Eyre, was his brother, both being sons of 'Thomas of Helmsdon, Northants'; who, in 1753 described in the University Register as 'plebeian,' in 1770 had risen to the description of 'gent.' Eyre matriculated at Lincoln College 30 March 1770, took his B.A. degree in 1773 and his M.A. in 1776. By this time the freedom of the school had become restricted to 6 boys. William Eyre's appointment, 17 August 1785, was expressed to be as

schoolmaster of the Free School in the room of his brother the Reverend James Eyre deceased . . . for teaching and instructing 6 boys, natives of the said parish, in Latin, writing and arithmetic gratis, as the Bailiff and Burgesses, or any two or more of them for the time being, shall for that purpose nominate and appoint.

In the same year he became vicar of Padbury and of Hillesden in 1816, both of which benefices he held till his death in 1830, when his son succeeded him in them and held till his death in 1868. It was apparently this conversion 'of the school into a hereditary possession,' as an appendix to plurality in livings, which brought it down. The endowment, fair enough in the reign of Edward VI, had fallen to a negligible quantity then, and it was only by holding it with clerical preferment that an educated man could be obtained. In 1818,¹⁵ under William Eyre, there were only six boys in the school, nominated by the bailiff and burgesses, who were the trustees, and they were taught English, writing, and arithmetic. The master had a good house, which was rebuilt after a fire in 1696 by Alexander Denton.

On the appointment of Edward Brittin in August 1830¹⁶ an agreement was made between him and the Corporation by which, in return for

the annual stipend of £10 8s. 0½d. paid by the Exchequer, and for the free use of the house and school, he agreed to keep the premises in repair and to teach six boys between the ages of eight and fourteen Latin, English, reading, writing, and arithmetic, without any remuneration whatever. He was allowed to take as many more pupils as he liked up to 94. In 1833 he had 30 boys besides the 6 foundationers. In 1867,¹⁷ when the master was J. Owain Jones, no longer a university man but a certificated teacher, there were 28 boys in all, of whom two were boarders. The non-foundationers paid £4 4s. a year, and were all professedly learning Latin, but in fact only received the necessary English education. The average age of the highest boys was only 12½. In 1871 Jones was succeeded by Thomas Cockram, who spent £600 of his own money in new buildings, and had to pay more than the whole endowments, £10 a year, 'for the removal of a nuisance close to the school.' By the following year he had raised the number of boys from 27 to 65, of whom 25 were boarders. Appeal was made to the Endowed School Commissioners, but in the absence of local support nothing could be done to help the school, which languished on. A scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 14 January 1896 placed it with other municipal charities under a representative governing body. In that year Mr. Walter Matthew Cox, educated at St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, and a B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, who had had experience of teaching in Switzerland and Scotland, was appointed master. At length, after the Education Act of 1902, the Buckinghamshire County Council took the matter up, and agreed to supply the school with a new site and buildings. A scheme was made by the Board of Education 4 July 1904, annexing to it three small charities for elementary education of about £50 a year in all, placing it under a new governing body, and making it a mixed school for boys and girls.

The new building, of red brick in late Jacobean style, stands on an imposing eminence above the road leading from the railway station to the town. It comprises excellent laboratories as well as class-rooms.

The school has now seven masters and 65 boys, of whom 35 are boarders, the boarding fees being 40 guineas a year, the tuition fee £6 to £10 a year. There are six entrance scholarships. The school is a centre for the Oxford University Local Examinations.

ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH WYCOMBE

This school seems to have been created in 1550 out of the endowment of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. The hospital was founded

¹⁴ Boro. Minute Bk. fol. 160b.

¹⁵ Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* i, 47.

¹⁶ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxviii, 59.

¹⁷ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xii, 186.

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some time before 1235 for a master, brethren, and sisters.¹ The Norman hall, of which there are still remains, though one arch fell in November 1906, is of the architecture of about 1180. There is not the smallest evidence that it ever belonged to the Templars, as the so-called 'tradition,' otherwise the invention of half-learned antiquaries, has it, while the statement that it belonged to the 'mendicant friars of the order of St. Augustine' is an absurd confusion of two entirely distinct orders, the Augustine Canons who first came into England *circa* 1106 and the Augustine Friars who made their appearance in the 13th century. This hospital was probably originally in the hands of the secular clergy, who were dispossessed, as at St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, London, towards the end of the 12th century in favour of Augustinian Canons. In the 15th century the hospitals mostly had got back again into the hands of the secular clergy. St. John's Hospital, Wycombe, appears in the Register of Bishop Thomas Bek of Lincoln as in the patronage of the mayor and burgesses of the town in 1344. In 1548² it was vested in Christopher Chalfount, clerk, by virtue of his office of master, and he granted it to Sir Edmund Peckham and George Juncklyn on lease for twenty-one years, at the rent of £8 a year. By another indenture he disposed of his interest in the hospital for his life to Sir E. Peckham rent free. Under the will of George Juncklyn, 1 April, 3 Edward VI,³ Sir E. Peckham and George Philyps, executors, bargained and sold to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Chipping Wycombe all the said hospital with the lands and premises, to the intent that the said mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses should bestow all the yearly rents towards the foundation of a grammar school, to be erected within two years of the date thereof. In default the grantors were to re-enter.

The borough records show that on 25 March 1551,

it was agreed first, the whoole howse of the towne of Chipping Wiccombe to keepe the Hospital of St. John's with the appurtenances therto belonging in the hole hands of the towne, that ys to saye, Richard Carye, then Mayor with all his brethren and the Burgesses, to let and sett as they shall see cause in yt. And moreover we be all agreyde to pay the stypende of £8 yerely to the said Scole Mayster. And we all gyve to Mr. Peckham hartye thanks for his good wyll, and for the appointinge of the Scole Maister at his pleasure, and we the hoole howse be agreide that the saide Mr. shall have the pleasure and profite of a Cowe, or twayne in ower Corney according to the custome of the Towne, and also to have 5 loode of woode yerely.

At the Dissolution the hospital was valued at £7 15s. 3½d., so that the whole of the funds were

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 754.

² Parker, *Early Hist. of Wycombe*, 142, from deeds belonging to the Municipal Charity Trustees.

³ 1550 not 1548 as Parker (op. cit.) has it.

devoted to the support of the school. The first master appointed was the Rev. — Wrothe, but the school probably was interrupted in its career in the reign of Queen Mary, as she granted the hospital to Sir Thomas Throgmorton.⁴ He could only have held it for a short time, as on 18 July 1562 the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses granted the hospital and its lands and also the rents which had belonged to the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary, called the Lady Rents, to Queen Elizabeth. On 21 July she re-granted them by letters patent to the mayor and burgesses and their successors for ever, for the support and maintenance of four poor persons, and the remainder for the maintenance of one pedagogue or master, for the good instruction of children and youth in the school which was to be henceforth known as the Royal Grammar School.

An inquisition⁵ was held in 1617 as to the property, when the grant by the queen of all the hospital property to the maintenance of the grammar school and four poor people was confirmed.

From 1629 the borough records show a list of the masters to the present day, beginning with Gerard Dobson, vicar of Wycombe. He must have been there for many years before 1629, as Edmund Waller, the poet and politician, was his pupil before going to Eton, and he entered King's College, Cambridge, as a fellow commoner in 1620. 'He was bred under several ill, dull, and ignorant schoolmasters, till he went to Mr. Dobson at Wickham, who was a good schoolmaster, and had been an Eton scholar.'⁶ The next master, Henry Wyat, appointed 1646, of Magdalen College, Oxford, was rector of Bradenham. In 1671 another rector of Bradenham, William Lardner, was appointed⁷ 'in place of Mr. Philip Humfrey, deceased.' The latter having died very poor, his successor was bound, on his election by the Common Council, to pay to his widow, Katherine, £10 in the course of the next two years 'provided she doe not turne Quaker in the mean time, or otherwise become a Sectary, and not observe and obey the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Lardner matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 28 March 1655, took his B.A. degree in 1658 and his M.A. in 1661.⁸ He was ejected from his rectory in 1670; afterwards he conformed and was reinstated in 1672.⁹ His successor was Howe, whose Christian name is given as Joseph by Parker and Carlisle, but he seems to be identical with Josias Howe, of Grendon, Buckinghamshire, scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1633,

⁴ Langley, *Hist. of the Hund. of Desborough and the Deanery of Wycombe*.

⁵ Petty Bag Inq. no. 3, 'Chipping Wycombe.'

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* from Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 558.

⁸ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁹ Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* i, 95.

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and graduated as B.A. in 1634, M.A. in 1638, B.D. in 1646. He was a fellow from 1637 to 1648, when he was, with other fellows and scholars, removed for non-appearance before the delegates appointed by the Parliamentary visitors.¹⁰ He was reinstated at the Restoration and held his fellowship till his death, 28 August 1701. He has attained the honour of a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a royalist divine, having published a sermon preached before the king at Christ Church, and Wood¹¹ says 'his verses shew him to have been a good poet.' He must, at least in his mastership at Wycombe, have enjoyed a non-residential sinecure; for the Corporation, two days after his death, made orders for the 'better ordering and governing of the grammar school, and for establishing the stipend of the master.'¹² The first order was that the master 'shall constantly abide and dwell with his family in the house belonging to the school,' and that he shall not substitute or employ any other person to teach the scholars without the consent of the mayor and common council. Another order was that the master should not demand of any scholar, whose parents dwelt in the borough, above 1s. on entrance and the same sum on leaving. He was to receive £26 a year and a house with a close adjoining, and to give a bond of £100 to keep these orders faithfully.

The master appointed on these conditions in 1701 was Joseph Loveday, who had just taken his B.A. degree at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford. He remained six years, becoming later rector of Hedsor in 1715 and of Taplow in 1723. He was succeeded by Samuel Guise, also of Gloucester Hall, who combined various offices with his mastership, being vicar of Thame in 1711 and chaplain to Philip Duke of Wharton in 1719.¹³ His successor in 1754, Thomas Heather, matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 2 December 1746, and remained eight years. In 1672 William Edwards, rector of Tenby, the first of three successive Welshmen, followed. Of these, the last, Daniel James, of Carmarthen, who matriculated at Jesus College in 1784 and took his B.A. degree in 1790, can be traced at Oxford.

Mary Bowden, of Chepping Wycombe, by will 27 September 1790, bequeathed £1,000 to trustees to be invested in the public funds, or in lands, from the profits of which £30 was to be paid yearly to the Rev. Alban Thomas, the then master and teacher of the Free Grammar School, in augmentation of his salary, and to his successors for ever, and to apply the remainder of the profits for the benefit of such poor persons as should live in, and be entitled to the benefit of, the almshouse.¹⁴

When Nicholas Carlisle¹⁵ made his inquiries into the school in 1818, the master was William Sproston, appointed in 1793, and receiving £30 from the original endowment. He had a house, in which he received boarders, but we are not told how many there were. The schoolroom was still part of the ancient building of St. John's Hospital, and so remained till the present 20th-century buildings were erected. Sproston was still master in 1832,¹⁶ when there were 27 boys on the foundation and two private pupils. He took no boarders, though allowed to do so. After Mrs. Bowden's gift in 1790 the master was required to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic in addition to the subjects formerly prescribed. Only five boys were learning Latin in 1832, and none Greek. The stipend was then £70, £40 from the original endowment and £30 from Bowden's Charity. In 1864 this had been increased to £150 for the master and £70 for the assistant master, and fees in addition as settled by scheme in 1856.

In 1867 there were 39 boys in the school, two of whom were boarders, under the Rev. James Poulter. He had one assistant master. About half the boys learnt Latin, and six Greek; but no boy was over fifteen, and no boy had gone to the university for five years before 1864, though two had gone to Oxford since. There were 10 free boys, nominated by the trustees; the rest paid fees of £2 2s. a year, and boarders 62 guineas, a rise of 22 guineas since 1818. The assistant commissioner sent by the Schools Inquiry Commission reported favourably of the attainments and behaviour of the boys, but was surprised to find that none of the trustees, who were resident and chiefly of the professional class, had sons at the school, though several sons of professional men came from a distance.¹⁷

In 1906 there were 62 boys, of whom 12 were boarders, under Mr. George Wright Arnison, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, appointed in April 1905, and three assistant masters. The fees for day boys were from £6 to £8, and for boarders from £44 to £50. The school buildings are designed for 120 boys, and 20 boarders. As in 1907 the numbers had risen to 87, there is every chance that the school will soon be full.

STONY STRATFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Michael Hipwell, of Stony Stratford, by will 1 June 1609, directed that a public-house belonging to him, called the 'Rose and Crown,' should be let for a term of ninety-nine years, and at the expiration of the term he bequeathed the house, with all the barns, houses, and stables

¹⁰ H. E. D. Blakiston, *Trin. Coll.* 141.

¹¹ *Fasti Oxon.* 56. ¹² *Char. Com. Rep.* xxvi, 155.

¹³ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

¹⁴ Parker, *Early Hist. of Wycombe*, 149.

¹⁵ Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* i, 94.

¹⁶ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxvi, 157.

¹⁷ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xii, 188.

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belonging to it to seven trustees and their heirs, to apply the profits to the maintenance of a schoolmaster, who was to keep a free grammar school in the barn behind the inn. The chimney, loft, and parlour at one end of it were to serve as a house for the schoolmaster. Any scholars of the town, or of the next towns adjoining, who were minded to learn grammar, or to write and cipher, were to be admitted and taught their principles in religion.

The schoolmaster occupied a house and garden rent free in 1832, receiving a salary of about £17, and also an entrance fee of 1s. from each scholar. He taught about 80 boys from Stony Stratford, Wolverton, and Calverton in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and gave them religious instruction. In 1867 there were 90 scholars, paying 2d. a week, under one master and four unpaid monitors. In 1903-4 the school, with three departments, had an average attendance of 319.

AMERSHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Robert Challoner, D.D., rector of Amersham, by will 20 June 1620, granted out of lands in Wavendon 'a yearly stipend of £20 for a schoolemaister in the free Grammer School in Knarisburrough in Yorkshir, and the like yearly som of £20 out of the lands in Wavendon to my wellbeloved friends Mr. William Tothill, esq.' and others

to erect a free Grammer Schoole in Amersham in the county of Bucks, to be established by deede of feofment or otherwise as their wisdomes cann devise, the towne and parish allottinge their churchhowse for the schoolehowse, or my successor a tenement in the occupation of Enoch Wyer, now or late, for the dwellinghowse of the Schoolemaister, whom I will to be chosen by my executors, my successor and Mr. Tothill, and afterwards by my successors and 6 of the eldest feoffees and chiefest. . . . Orders for the schoole I desire my successor to procure from the best ordred Schoole.¹

The town and parish had allotted the church-house for a schoolhouse on 12 September, and the succeeding rector the tenement for the schoolmaster on 14 September 1624, but we have no information as to what school the successor chose for his model as the 'best ordred.' Dr. Challoner died 1 May 1621. At an inquisition under the statute of Charitable Uses held at Missenden 16 September 1624 it was found that the annuity not having been paid for the last three years, arrears of £60 were due. But Thomas Day, husband of the founder's daughter Ellen, had lately, without the knowledge of the trustees, paid £10 to Mr. Edward Rayner, schoolmaster.

¹ Petty Bag. Inq. 22 Jas. I, no. 7.

The Commissioners therefore decreed that the arrearages amounting to £50 should be 'ymployed and bestowed in and for the repayringe and amendinge of the schoolehouse, found by the inquisition to be appoynted there, and also for the repayringe of the said house appoynted for the habitation of the schoolemaister,' and that the yearly sum of £20 should in future be paid regularly for the wages and maintenance of an able and sufficient schoolmaster. They declared that the school should be for ever thereafter a free school for the education, institution, and instruction of children and youths within the age of eighteen years, as well poor as rich, inhabiting within the said parish of Amersham or in any other place whatsoever, and be called 'the Free School of Robert Challoner, Doctor of Divinity, late rector of the parish church of Amersham in the county of Bucks.'

Mr. Angel, probably the next master, is known to have sent a boy to St. John's College, Cambridge,² as a fellow-commoner in March 1648-9, the son of Sir John Henden, kt., of Biddenden, Kent, so that the school must at that time have been of good repute. Angel was followed before 1651 by Humphrey Gardiner. This appears in an inquisition held in 1674, when steps had again to be taken to enforce payment of the annuity. Interrogatories³ were administered to witnesses by James Perrot, esq., on behalf of the free school, against Gifford Bale, George Wells, and others, who were excepting to the decree made fifty years before. The depositions were taken at Newport Pagnell on 27 January 1674-5. The first witness, Nathaniel Wingfield, mercer, swore that, being one of the churchwardens, in the year 1651 he 'did receive of John Wells, father of George Wells, one of the exceptants, who had bought part of Challoner's lands, £10 10s. for that year's payment for the use of the said poore of Amersham, and did see Humfrey Gardiner, gent., now one of the Commissioners (being the schoolemaster of the said free schoole) receive of the said John Wells £20 for that year's payment to the free Schoole.' Many other witnesses gave testimony to the same effect. The depositions ended abruptly. A decree was made on 14 June 1675, confirming the decree of 1624 and setting out the exact land charged. To avoid further disputes these lands were bought and conveyed to trustees by deeds 12-13 June 1676 by Gifford Bale and his son.

In 1790 the Rev. Richard Thorne was master, when there were 12 boys,⁴ but in the first quarter of the 19th century there were never more than 4. Carlisle⁵ in 1819 incorrectly gives the endowment as of lands at Waddesdon,

² *Admissions to St. John's Coll.* pt. i, 91.

³ Petty Bag Dep. no. 10.

⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxv, 8.

⁵ Carlisle, *End. Gram. Sch.* i, 44.

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Bedfordshire. The master was then the curate of Amersham, and lived in the house belonging to the school, but there were no scholars. In 1823 the Rev. Henry S. Ingster was appointed head master, and held office for three years. On the appointment of a new master, the Rev. Matthew Stalker, in 1826, the trustees made rules for the government of the school.⁶ The attendance of the master was strictly enjoined; he was forbidden to discharge his duties by deputy. He was allowed to take private pupils in the school-room, but on the significant condition that no distinction was made between them and 'the children of our own establishment.' He was to live at the house in the High Street appropriated for the purpose, and to keep it in repair at his own expense. Nothing was to be charged for the education of any scholar, but the parents were to pay for fuel and for keeping the room clean. No details are given of the curriculum, only Latin and Greek being mentioned. In April 1832 there were only six boys. When Stalker first came, his son taught mathematics besides the other branches of an ordinary education, and was very successful, as 14 boys came; but after his son died, in 1830, the numbers fell. Only Latin and Greek were taught free, other subjects being paid for by the parents. The Rev. W. H. Williams, B.A., Oxford, was head master when the school was visited by Mr. T. H. Green, afterwards White's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, for the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1864.⁷ There were then 22 boys, five of whom were boarders, paying from £37 to £42 a year, according to age. They were all learning Latin, only four Greek; but the boys were very young, only two being above thirteen.

A new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts was approved by Queen Victoria in Council on 15 May 1900. The endowment then consisted of land in Wavendon producing £75 a year, and of about £200 stock. The scheme constituted a representative governing body of eleven members, appointed by the Parish and Rural District Councils of Amersham, the Urban District Council of Chesham, and the Buckinghamshire County Council, and one by the rector, and three co-optatives, all Tyrwhitt Drakes, the Drakes of Shardeloes having been connected with the charity from the conveyance in 1676. The head master was, and still is, Mr. Ernest Henry Wainwright, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1897, the year in which he was appointed master of this school. The scheme threw the school open to girls as well as boys, but want of space prevented its proper development. New school buildings were opened in September 1905, and it was made a

pupil-teacher centre. There were then 80 pupils, in 1907, 94. They pay fees of 9 guineas a year. The Cambridge Local Examinations set the standard of instruction. There are two assistant masters, three assistant mistresses, and a visiting art master.

SIR WILLIAM BORLASE'S SCHOOL, MARLOW

Sir William Borlase, of Medmenham, kt., in 1624 built a schoolhouse in Great Marlow, and started a school there, which, by will 28 October 1628, he endowed with lands in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, from the profits of which £12 was to be paid annually to a schoolmaster to teach 24 poor boys to 'write, reade and cast the account in writeinge.'¹ When they can do this, 'which I conceave in 2 years they will bee ready to doe,' 40s. was to be allowed to each for apprenticing. The boys were given a blue gown and cap when appointed. The school was an elementary charity school, and so continued until it was reorganized as a secondary school by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts approved by Queen Victoria in Council 20 November 1880. This scheme created a governing body of twelve, of whom eight were co-optative, and one representative of the county justices, two of the vestry, with the lord of the manor of Davers *ex officio*. The tuition fees were fixed at from £3 to £6 a year, and the boarding fees at £35 a year, with twelve foundation scholarships, open to boys in elementary schools in Great Marlow, Little Marlow, and Medmenham. New buildings were erected, and the school reopened as a grammar school in 1881, under the Rev. Michael Graves, B.D., Durham. After being an assistant master at Louth Grammar School, and head master of Barrow Grammar School, Leicestershire, he was, when appointed to Marlow, vice-principal of the Lincoln Diocesan School, and curate of St. Mary Magdalen, Lincoln. In his hands the school met with instant success, the numbers rising rapidly to about 150, of whom nearly 100 were boarders. From this point it somewhat declined, but when Mr. Graves retired to the vicarage of Turville in 1896 he left about 100 boys behind him. The second master, Mr. Clark, succeeded to the head-mastership. At the end of six years there were only some 20 boys. Mr. Edward Henry Blakeney, a Westminster boy and exhibitioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been for five years successfully resuscitating Sandwich Grammar School, came in 1901. He raised the school to 67 boys by 1903. Some £1,700 was spent on science laboratories, an art room, and workshop, and the modern as well as the classical

⁶ Lipscomb, *County of Bucks.* (1831), iii.

⁷ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xii, 176.

¹ Petty Bag, Inq. no. 21, Great Marlow, 1631.

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side was developed. In 1904 Mr. Blakeney was tempted away to Ely Cathedral Grammar School, and carried off several members of the staff and some boys with him. The head master now is the Rev. Albert James Skinner, educated at Oundle School, and B.A. of London University. He was, when appointed in September 1904, a science and house master of Reading School. He has a staff of three resident masters and two non-resident. The science and modern side is being more strongly developed. There were 60 boys in the school in 1906, of whom 30 were boarders, the fees being £9 15s. for day boys and £54 for boarders.

AYLESBURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

From the pleadings in a suit in Chancery, begun in 1715, we learn that two messuages, probably the gift of Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, Oxfordshire, were, before 1687, vested in certain trustees, of whom the Vicar of Aylesbury was one, for the support of this school. The schoolmaster was paid in 1714 partly from the rents of these houses, and partly by fees from parents. The school, as a part of it was for more than 140 years afterwards, was then carried on in a room adjoining the church, supposed to have been formerly a chantry chapel. The names of some early masters have been preserved.¹ They were all vicars or curates of Aylesbury: Obadiah Dumea, 1678; John Higgins, 1680; John Slime, 1681; Ralph Gladman,² 1692, who came from St. Albans, matriculated at Christ Church 3 August 1677, and took his B.A. degree in 1681; and Decimus Reynolds, whose date is not known.

The school received a second endowment from Henry Phillips³ of London, who, by will 22 September 1714, proved 24 November following, bequeathed £5,000 to buy lands in Buckinghamshire for the further enlargement of, and provision for, the Free School, for instructing so many of the poor boys in Aylesbury and Walton as his executors should appoint, and for want of a sufficient number from those parishes, then from the next neighbouring parishes. They were to be instructed in the Latin tongue, writing, arithmetic, and accounts, so as to be fit to go and be apprenticed to good trades. Lands to the value of £5,409 were duly conveyed, 3-4 June 1715, to the executors. The Master in Chancery, in reference thereto, reported, 20 March 1717, that the existing schoolhouse was unfit for a school, and incapable of being enlarged. So in 1718 a new school and master's house were built on the south side of the church-

yard, and conveyed to the trustees by deeds of 13-14 September 1737.

By a decree of the court 4 February 1720, rules and ordinances were established for the government of the school:—

Imprimis: That there shall be 120 boys admitted into the said school, to be taught gratis, and to be furnished with books, pens, ink and paper gratis.

2. That there shall be appointed one schoolmaster and one usher for teaching the said boys in reading English, Latin and Greek; and also one writing-master for teaching and instructing the said boys in writing and accounts; the which said schoolmaster and usher, and also the writing-master, shall attend their respective duties in the said school at least 10 hours in every week day not being holydays.

The masters were to be appointed by the trustees, and were removable for neglect of duty by two-thirds of them. They were to receive no gift or profit from any of the boys or their parents, but only the salaries appointed by the trustees; but the head master might teach, for his own profit and advantage, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew only, so many other scholars as the school was capable to receive, not exceeding 20, and so as the free boys should not be prejudiced or neglected thereby. Children might be admitted at five years of age provided they could read.

The Rev. John Stephens was appointed head master in 1744. He had matriculated at Exeter College,⁴ Oxford, 19 March 1729-30, and was a fellow from 1732 to 1762. He took a B.D. degree in 1748, and became D.D. in 1761. He remained at Aylesbury till his death in 1771. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Pugh, who was curate of Aylesbury and also vicar of Totternhoe, Bedfordshire. His work in the school was probably done by William Storkins,⁵ who had been educated there, and after being clerk to a carrier in the town, came as assistant, and in 1776 was made head master. He was admitted B.A. of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1780, and appointed curate, but soon resigned the curacy. He was domestic chaplain to Sir William Lee, bart., of Hartwell House, whose younger son, George Lee, afterwards baronet, was educated in the school. Storkins resigned in 1806, when a former pupil, John Rawbone, succeeded him; but on his death in 1813 Storkins was reappointed, retiring again in 1817. Then Charles Robert Ashfield became head master. He matriculated at Brasenose College,⁶ Oxford, 19 October 1808, and took his B.A. degree in 1812. He was instituted to the rectory of Dodington, Somerset, in 1821, and in the same year was appointed chaplain of the County Gaol in Aylesbury. On 24 September 1825 the trustees ordered

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 65.

² Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

³ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxvi, 36.

⁴ Foster, *op. cit.*

⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii.

⁶ Foster, *op. cit.*

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that the number of boys in the Latin school should be increased from 15 to 20, and in the lower school reduced to 100; and on 1 April 1826 that the boys in the upper school should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as Latin. Ashfield resigned in 1830 and was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Robert Perkins, of Lincoln College, Oxford. He took his B.A. degree in 1824, when he was appointed chaplain at Christ Church, which office he held till his appointment at Aylesbury. He did not live in the head master's house, as it was not large enough to admit private pupils, but obtained permission of the trustees to have an under master, who should live in the head master's house and be paid by Mr. Perkins himself, while he lived at Cublington, of which he was curate, seven miles away, and afterwards at Wotton under Edge, Gloucestershire, of which place he had been vicar from 1829. This vicarious arrangement worked so far, that the school was full in 1833. The Latin and English schools were then separate. Education at the English school gave no title to admission to the Latin school, but the applicants, of whom there were 50, were chosen with reference to parentage, capacity, progress in Latin, and their future destination. Mr. Perkins resigned in 1837, on his appointment to the mastership of the school at Wotton under Edge. His successor was John Grant Lawford, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, who only stayed three years, the Rev. Frederick Cox, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, being appointed in 1840. He was perpetual curate of Upper Winchendon, Buckinghamshire, from 1821 till his death in 1879.

In 1862 a scheme of the Charity Commissioners under the Charitable Trusts Acts divided the school into Upper and Lower schools. In the Lower school only elementary instruction was given, and no fee was paid. In the Upper Latin and Greek were taught, and the boys paid £6 6s. a year, unless they had procured exhibitions from the Lower school by examination, when they were exempt from fees. There were 28 boys in 1867, of whom nine were exhibitioners. They were all young, the highest boys being only 14. The head master was the Rev. Alfred William Howell, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford, appointed in 1864.

By a scheme of the Board of Education, made under the Charitable Trusts Acts, 2 July 1903, the Rev. Christopher Ridley, the head master, and Walter Cranley, the writing-master, were pensioned off with £40 and £25 a year respectively, and the Lower school was abolished. The single school was declared to be a Public Secondary School (a term which includes every school above the elementary school and below a university college) for boys and girls, at tuition fees of from £6 to £10 a year. Greek is only to be taught to those whose parents ask for it in

writing. Ten to twenty foundation scholarships were established, consisting in exemption from tuition fees, to be awarded by competition equally among boys and girls from public elementary schools in Aylesbury and Walton, or, failing them, in certain neighbouring parishes. A representative governing body was constituted, four members to be appointed by the Bucks County Council, four by Aylesbury Town Council, and one by the Hebdomadal (or weekly) Council of Oxford University, with eight co-operatives, of whom, to look after the interests of the girls, as the school is to be a mixed school, two must be women. New buildings have been erected, to the cost of which the County Council contributed £1,750, on condition of having the use of them for evening classes and the like out of school hours. Mr. Thomas Osborne, M.A., of Marcon's Hall, Oxford, formerly an assistant master in the school, is head master, with two assistant masters. In 1907 there were 70 boys.

WYCOMBE ABBEY SCHOOL

Though not perhaps strictly an endowed school, yet as practically a public school for girls, Wycombe Abbey School cannot be passed over without notice, dubbed as it is by its friends and admirers the Eton of girls' schools. Like Eton, it has resorted to Winchester for the first chairman of its governing body in the person of Dr. H. M. Burge, head master of Winchester College. It is the second public school for girls in the British Isles, using that term in the limited sense it has now acquired of a large school wholly or chiefly for boarders of the richer classes, St. Leonard's School at St. Andrews being the first. It is in fact the creation of enterprise, being the property and product of the Girls' Education Company, Limited, formed 25 February 1896, with a nominal capital of £30,000, divided into 3,000 shares of £10 each. Among the first subscribers were Dr. Butler, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and his wife, celebrated when Miss Ramsay as beating the senior classic at Cambridge in the Tripos, and the Countess of Airlie. The company pitched the tents of its first and only school in Wycombe Abbey at the end of July 1896.

Wycombe Abbey was formerly the manor house of Loakes Manor. It was entirely rebuilt about 1790 by Robert, first Baron Carrington. It is a large and handsome mansion of brick, faced with stone, built in a late Gothic style, according to designs by James Wyatt. In 1891 a large hall adjoining it was built by the present Earl Carrington. It is a fine room 120 ft. in length, and the old oak Shelburne family pew, which was turned out of the parish church about 1866, was built into the end wall, and forms a very striking feature of the room. This hall is

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now used as Big School, and the old armoury has become the workshop, where carpentry and carving are taught. The carriage house, the only fragment of the older manor house left, is used as a boat-house and bicycle shed, and the saddle-room is now the school shop, where all the special clothing required is to be obtained. The buildings extend round four courtyards. Handsome rooms open on to the south-west and south-east terraces. One of these, a most attractive room, is the library, 44 ft. by 23 ft. Another, 46 ft. by 21 ft., is the Rubens House Study. Over the library is the Pitt suite of rooms, where four Prime Ministers have slept—Mr. Pitt in 1803, Mr. Disraeli in 1848, Mr. Gladstone in 1876, and the Earl of Rosebery in 1884.

The head mistress is Miss J. F. Dove, M.A. of Girton College, Cambridge, who passed in the Natural Science Tripos in 1874, and came from the head-mistress-ship of St. Leonard's School, the great girls' school at St. Andrews, which she resigned in order to found a similar school in England. In eight weeks' time the place was converted from a nobleman's residence into a school, and on 27 September 1896 it opened with forty girls and a large resident staff of mistresses. Structural alterations under the direction of Mr. W. D. Caröe, F.S.A., architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, were begun in the Christmas holidays. To enlarge the dining room, the writing room next to the old chapel, an unconsecrated building, was thrown into it, the two together making a capital and well-ventilated room, 48 ft. by 25 ft. Bath rooms had to be constructed out of some of the bedrooms. From December 1896 to December 1900 workmen were constantly on the premises. A wing containing six school rooms, including a very good studio, was completed by January 1898; the lower part of this wing had formerly been a kitchen, brew-house, and mangle-room. Part of the stables were altered into music rooms. By June 1898 the gymnasium, also constructed out of a part of the stables, was built and fitted with Swedish apparatus. During the work the men had found and opened out in the dormitory a beautiful old rose window, which had been completely bricked up. Accommodation was provided for 100 boarders. A picturesque feature is the Dyke, which in 1898 was partially drained and then cleaned out down to the natural gravel bottom and refilled. To drain it completely was found impossible, as the bottom of it is full of natural springs.

By September 1898 the first of the outside houses, Barry, so called after Sir John Wolfe Barry, one of the vice-presidents of the council, was ready for occupation. The foundation stone had been laid by Miss Dove on 24 March. On 15 December the foundation stone of Butler House was laid by Mrs. H. M. Butler, and on

28 February 1899 the Lady Airlie laid the foundation stone of Airlie House. Campbell House was occupied on 3 May, though its foundation stone was not laid until 16 May, for it had to wait for its eponymous heroes Lewis Campbell, formerly Professor of Greek at St. Andrews University, and his wife to return to England from a winter in Italy.

In 1900 the Clock Tower was built. A very complete sanatorium, with wards in which four kinds of disease can safely be nursed at one time, and which includes a house for the resident medical officer and the nurse, was ready for use by January 1901.

In September 1901 a junior school was started in Loakes House. By May 1902 it was removed to Godstowe on the Amersham Hill, about a mile from the abbey.

Dyke Meadow is used chiefly for gardens for the girls. The whole area of the school ground is 36 acres, which gives ample space for cricket, lacrosse, hockey, golf, tennis, archery, gardening, boating, and other recreations.

By September 1899, just three years from the opening, the limit of numbers, 200, was reached, and a record established in the matter of school growth. The fees are from £105 to £120 a year. The head mistress presides over the Abbey House, with four house tutors under her, and there are four other house mistresses. Including visiting mistresses for dancing, music, fencing, and bookbinding, there are thirty-three assistant mistresses. The school has attained first classes at the universities in such diverse subjects as Medieval and Modern Languages, Tripos Cambridge, Theology, and Modern History at Oxford.

THE COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, HIGH WYCOMBE

The Education Committee of the Bucks County Council established this school in September 1901. It was at first carried on in the Science and Art School, but its numbers rose so rapidly that other premises had to be obtained. An iron building was put up on the ground adjoining, and some classes were held in another house. In 1905 a new site was acquired on the hill behind Priory Road, and one and a half acres were bought from Earl Carrington for £450. Here the present buildings were erected from the plans of Mr. Arthur T. Greenwood, of Manchester, at a cost of £5,005, including the price of the site. Of this the County Council contributed £3,000, and the Town Council found the rest.

There is an assembly room, 60 ft. by 23 ft., seven class-rooms, a laboratory, and a gymnasium, as well as mistresses' rooms and ample offices. The new buildings were formally opened by Earl

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Carrington on 24 November 1906. They were designed for 175 pupils, and there were 145 in February 1907. The head mistress, Miss Mary Christie, M.A., has a staff of seven assistant mistresses as well as one visiting mistress, and a visiting master for art. The girls are prepared for the Oxford Local and London Matriculation Examinations. The fees are 6 guineas a year.

WOLVERTON COUNTY SCHOOL

This is a mixed school for boys and girls started by the Education Committee of the County

Council in January 1902, under Mr. L. H. Leadley, B.A., B.Sc., as head master. Ill-health compelled his resignation, and he was succeeded in January 1906 by Mr. E. J. Boyce, B.Sc., London. He has a staff of three masters and two mistresses, besides visiting teachers. There are some 80 pupils, the numbers of boys and girls being about equal; among them are from 12 to 20 who hold scholarships from the elementary schools, as well as pupil teachers. The fees for paying pupils were formerly 5 guineas a year, but are now £6.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, FOUNDED BEFORE 1800

BEACHAMPTON.—William Elmer, of Beachampton, by will, 3 January 1648, conveyed estates to trustees, who, after his wife's death, were to erect a schoolhouse, containing three bays of building, and appoint a sufficient man, being a good scholar and single, to be schoolmaster, to teach all children who should resort to him in the English and Latin tongues, and to write and cast accounts. He was to take no bribes of his scholars or their friends, but he might charge 2*d.* as an entrance-fee. The rent of the school land in 1832 was £48 5*s.* The master had from forty to sixty boys in attendance, who learnt the three R's free of charge and a few girls who paid. The education was still elementary in 1867, when there were 43 scholars, four of them boarders at 20 guineas a year. This school appears to be the Beachampton Church of England school, which had an average attendance of 47 children in 1903-4, the last year for which the Board of Education gives complete statistics.

IVER.—A board in the church, apparently put up in 1688, states that Robert Bowyer, late of Huntsmoor, in this parish, gave the yearly sum of £21 11*s.* 9½*d.*, in fee-farm rents in Dorset, for ever, for maintaining a schoolmaster to teach the children of poor people in the village to read and write. An indenture of 28 October 1822 recites that the parties to it and two unknown benefactors had subscribed certain sums amounting to £490, of which £280 had been spent in repairing and enlarging the school, and directs the remainder to be invested for the education of poor children in the principles of the Church of England and the three R's, and for the salary of the schoolmaster. Twenty boys were educated free, and in 1833 there were 40 more paying 2*d.* a week each. In 1867 there were 55 boys at a fee of 2*d.* a week. The school is now merged in the Iver Council School, which in 1903-4 had an average attendance of 350 children.

AMERSHAM: LORD CHEYNE'S WRITING SCHOOL.—By indenture of 1 January 1699,

William Lord Cheyne granted to trustees a yearly rent of £20 on land in Amersham for the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach children of the parish writing and arithmetic. On the appointment of new trustees in 1717, Lord Cheyne extended the privileges of the school to the children of Chesham Bois. The school was carried on in a room adjoining the grammar schoolroom in the Church-house, which was kept in repair by the churchwardens. The average number of boys was 30 in 1832. They paid 3*d.* a week for reading and spelling, writing and arithmetic being taught without charge, except 1*d.* a week for pens and ink. There were 76 boys and 80 girls in the school in 1867. It is now merged in St. Mary's Church School with an average attendance in 1903-4 of 258 children.

GREAT LINFORD.—Sir William Pritchard, by his will in 1702, devised to the minister and churchwardens of Great Linford a yearly rent-charge of £34, of which £10 was to be paid to an honest person to teach reading to as many poor children of the parish as the trustees should nominate. Lady Pritchard, who died 23 April 1718, gave by her will a yearly sum of £7 10*s.* for apprenticing boys from the school.

The schoolhouse was in the same range of buildings as an almshouse, founded by the same benefactors. In 1832 the schoolmaster taught about thirty boys to read gratuitously, the parents paying 1*d.* a week for firing. The almshouse and school had occasionally to be shut up, to enable funds to accumulate for repairs. There were only 20 boys in 1867. Under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 17 July 1886, the charity was made applicable for apprenticeships and prizes and for encouraging children to prolong their education at elementary schools.

STOKE HAMMOND.—John Hillersdon, on 16 September 1707, granted a yearly rent-charge of £5 10*s.* on land in the parish of Stoke Hammond for a schoolmaster to teach all the male children of the inhabitants of Stoke Hammond

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to read, write, and cast accounts. Any schoolmaster was liable to expulsion for nonconformity to the doctrines of the Church of England. By deed, 19 September 1707, Thomas Cooke conveyed a rent-charge of £5 10s. on tenements and lands in Shenley, Buckinghamshire, on similar trusts, but for children of both sexes, who were, in addition to the three R's, to learn the Church Catechism and to sing a psalm every Thursday. In 1832 no school had been kept for nearly fifty years, and the rent-charge was not paid.

SOULBURY.—Robert Lovett, of Tavistock, Devonshire, by will, 27 November 1710, bequeathed £300 to the poor of Soulbury, to be laid out to their best advantage. By a decree of the Court of Chancery, 5 June 1728, the money was ordered to be laid out in land and conveyed to trustees, one-half of the income to be paid to a schoolmaster for teaching 24 poor boys and girls of Soulbury to read, write, cast accounts and say the Church Catechism, and the other half for apprenticeships. The Rev. John Sambee, by will proved 5 February 1728, gave a newly-built messuage and tenement and the residue of his personal estate for teaching 24 children of both sexes. The master received £40, and the surplus money was used in apprenticing. In 1867 there were 35 boys and 17 girls receiving instruction, some free of charge, others at varying fees. The school, now called the Soulbury Endowed School, had in 1903-4 an average attendance of 68 children.

SWANBOURNE.—By will, 14 March 1712, Nicholas Godwin gave lands for erecting a schoolhouse in Swanbourne and providing two annuities of £9 and £6 for endowment of the school and maintenance of the master. A free school existed under this endowment till 1832, in which 12 boys of Swanbourne and 8 of Mursley were taught gratuitously. In that year the school was placed in connexion with the National Society, and in 1833 was attended by more than 100 boys from the surrounding parishes. By 1867 the numbers had fallen to 41, 20 being free scholars and the remainder paying 2d. a week. By a scheme under the Charitable Trusts Acts, 16 July 1890, the school ceased to exist and the endowment is to be applied in prizes, two-thirds to children in Swanbourne, one-third to children in Mursley.

WAVENDON.—George Wells of Wavendon, by will, 17 January 1713, bequeathed £800 to be laid out in land and settled on trustees for teaching poor children, natives of Wavendon, to read and write, and for apprenticing them, and he devised a cottage with ground adjoining for the same purposes. Beatrice Miller, one of Wells' executors, bequeathed £200 to the school, with which land was bought in 1730. The master in 1832 was living in two cottages under one roof, built in 1809-10 out of savings of income, and there was a schoolroom adjoining erected by

Henry Hugh Hoare, one of the trustees. The school had previously been held in the cottages bequeathed by the founder. Ten boys were taught the three R's in respect of the charity and provided with clothes. There were many paying scholars, who learnt geography, grammar and history as extra subjects. There were over 90 children in 1867, of whom 9 boys were clothed. By a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 15 June 1897, the endowment is made applicable to prizes for school children and for apprenticeships.

STOKE POGES.—Mary Salter, by will, 9 September 1716, gave £100 for teaching poor children of the parish to read, write and cast accounts. Margaret Todd, by will, 9 March 1717, bequeathed £100 for teaching reading, the Church Catechism, and the principles of the Protestant religion. Land was bought with these sums, to which £20 was added by John Parry and £15 by the trustees of Margaret Todd's will, on 23 and 24 March 1731. A new schoolhouse was built before 1832, when 20 boys and 10 girls were taught free, and there were about 40 paying scholars. No information was supplied to the School Inquiry Commissioners in 1867.

MOULSOE.—By will, 19 August 1719, Mary, Countess Dowager of Northampton, directed her executor to buy land in or near the parish of Moulsoe to the value of £6 a year, for the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach poor children of the parish to read, write and cast accounts. A piece of land in Bedfordshire of about fourteen acres was bought in 1721. The schoolmaster received the rent, and in 1832 taught from 20 to 25 children. In 1867 there were 14 boys and 24 girls, and the income of £20 was paid to a schoolmistress. In 1903-4 the school was described as a Church School, with an average attendance of 37 children. In 1904 the school was transferred to the Buckinghamshire County Council.

DENHAM.—This school was set up by Sir William Bowyer and other charitable persons for instructing 30 poor children, born in the parish, in reading, writing and accounts, in the principles of the Church of England, and in other learning 'proper and useful for their station.' It was at first supported by Sir William by an annual allowance of £30, for which, on 1 April 1720, he substituted a permanent endowment in the shape of a yearly rent-charge of the same amount on lands in Denham. There was to be a master and a mistress. Thomas Carter, by will, 17 December 1727, gave a field of about three acres. Juliana Newdigate, on 29 and 30 November 1728, conveyed lands for buying Bibles and Prayer Books for the children, and the surplus, if any, for some scholar or scholars of the school. One of the executors of John Nicholas, in accordance with his verbal instructions, on

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21 March 1730 conveyed lands in trust for the benefit of the school, and it received two later legacies, £200 from Mr. Hill, 11 September 1785, and £100 from the Rev. Dr. Cooke, 4 November 1798. Fifteen boys and 15 girls—increased to 16 about 1830—were taught the three R's—the girls needlework as well, and were all supplied with clothes annually. There were 96 children in the school in 1867, 16 boys and 16 girls being free and receiving clothes. In 1903-4 it had an average attendance of 144 children.

HANSLOPE : LADY PIERREPOINT'S SCHOOL.—A tablet in the church records that Lucy Dowager Lady Pierrepoint gave by will £200 for the education of boys, and the Parliamentary Returns of 1786 state that this bequest was made in 1721. In 1832 the money was on loan at 5 per cent., and the interest, £10, was paid to a master for teaching the three R's to eight boys in the vestry-room. With paying scholars there was an average attendance of 25. In 1867 the income was paid for the instruction of some children in the infant school, and is now annexed to the Church End Council School, with an average attendance in 1903-4 of 100 children.

WINSLOW.—By will, 9 January 1722, Joseph Rogers bequeathed £600, to be invested in land, for educating as many poor children of the parish of Winslow as would answer. Land was purchased 2 September 1724, and a body of trustees, appointed on 25 September 1727, made regulations for the school. On 12 December 1807 the master's stipend was settled at £27 10s., for which he was to teach 20 boys from five to ten years of age. Twenty free boys and two paying scholars at 8d. a week were in 1832 instructed in the master's dwelling-house. In 1867 there were 20 foundationers only, and the endowment was £50 a year. On 11 July 1890 a scheme was made for it by the Charity Commissioners. The school had in 1903 an average attendance of 266 children.

NEWPORT PAGNELL.—The charity school at Newport Pagnell must have been established before 1730, as on 16 March of that year the Rev. Lewis Atterbury, D.D., bequeathed to it £10 yearly, charged on his real estate, for the teaching of 20 poor girls of Newport Pagnell to read and write and do plain needlework. They were taught in a house which had been built by Samuel Christie about 1723, and given by him for a workhouse for the poor. At a later date it was converted into the schoolhouse. In 1867 there were six boys paying 2d. a week, besides the 20 free girls. By a scheme of 8 August 1905 the endowment was made applicable for prizes, technical instruction, outfits, or exhibitions.

BUCKINGHAM GREEN COAT SCHOOL.—Gabriel Newton, an alderman of Leicester, on

15 March 1760 conveyed lands to the corporation of Leicester, upon trust, among other things, to pay the yearly sum of £26 to the mayor and corporation of Buckingham, to be applied in clothing, schooling, and educating 25 boys of indigent parents of the established Church of England in Buckingham. Each was to have a coat, waistcoat, and breeches of green cloth, not under 20d. a yard, one shirt of flaxen cloth, not under 13d. a yard, and such other apparel as the trustees should think proper. The rest of the money was to be paid to a master to teach the boys reading, writing, arithmetic, the singing of psalms and intoning of responses during divine service in such church as the trustees should appoint. There was a proviso that the town should not receive or should forfeit the endowment unless the Athanasian Creed was read in the church on the days appointed by the rubric. For fourteen or fifteen years there was a Chancery suit to set aside the will, and the sum which accumulated in consequence was invested in £266 13s. 4d. three per cent. consols. The payment of £26 was afterwards annually made by the corporation of Leicester, and 25 boys were clothed and educated in accordance with the terms of the gift. The master also had 15 to 30 paying scholars in 1832. The schoolhouse belonged to the parish and was kept in repair by the corporation. In 1867 the school contained only 25 free boys. The same number was in 1895 sent to the national school founded in 1819 and rebuilt in 1856.

FARNHAM ROYAL.—Elizabeth Hetherington, by will, 25 April 1764, proved 9 December 1776, gave £40 to the parish of Farnham Royal towards a school for poor children, and in a codicil she gave £100 more. These sums were invested in New South Sea annuities. Jacob Bryant, by will, 15 July 1802, gave £300 3 per cent. consols for instructing the children of the parish in reading, writing and the principles of the Christian religion. The dividends were used towards the payment of the salaries of the master and mistress of Farnham School, which in 1832 was said to be principally supported by voluntary contributions and gave free education to 19 boys and 17 girls. Twenty-two boys and 37 girls were paying 1d. and 2d. a week in 1867. It was superseded by a national school built in 1874.

RAVENSTONE.—The Rev. Robert Chapman of Ravenstone, by will proved 3 January 1786, bequeathed the residue of his personal estate to find £12 a year for a proper schoolmaster for teaching all the children of Ravenstone to read, write, cast accounts and say the Catechism, and 20s. a year for books; the surplus was to be used for clothing and apprenticing two children of Ravenstone and one of Little Woolstone. In 1832 about 40 children received a free elementary education, and the income amounted to

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£150. In 1867 there was a school on the same foundation at Little Woolstone with 40 scholars, the Ravenstone school having 47. Both were described in 1903-4 as Church of England schools, the latter having an average attendance of 31 children, and the former of 33.

CHALFONT ST. GILES.—On 27 July 1789 Sir Hugh Palliser gave land and a cottage to trustees for a day school and for a Sunday school already established. By his will—he died in 1794—he bequeathed £1,000 New South Sea annuities to provide £10 yearly for the schoolmaster of the day school for ten scholars from the Sunday school, for repairs, and for clothing to be sold to the Sunday scholars at half price. The endowment was increased by £666 13s. 4d. three per cent. consols, as the result of a gift by Katherine Molloy, who died in 1817. The income amounted to £58 in 1832, supplemented by about £60 from subscriptions. There were

from 100 to 120 scholars, boys and girls. The children of poor people were taught free, others paid 10s. annually, if residing in the parish, and otherwise £1. Also 20 boys and 20 girls were clothed. The income in 1867 was £74; 140 children, paying 1d. weekly, were in attendance, 40 receiving clothing. The only elementary school here in 1903-4 was the Council school, with an average attendance of 270.

BURNHAM: LADY RAVENSWORTH'S SCHOOL.—Ann, Lady Ravensworth, by a codicil to her will, 26 March 1793, bequeathed £500 of stock to the rector of Burnham for the instruction of 12 poor girls in reading and working for one year and a half; in the last half year any girl who was thought worthy might be taught to write. In 1832 £13 4s. was paid to a schoolmistress, and the residue spent on clothing for the girls. The 12 girls were taught in the national school in 1867.

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

HUNTING

FOXHOUNDS

THE OLD BERKELEY HUNT

THE Old Berkeley country comprises the Chiltern Hills in South Buckinghamshire together with some territory in West Hertfordshire. A chalky soil predominates, while large beechwoods and light arable flinty fields are its staple features. In the woods there is little undergrowth save brambles, which enables both foxes and hounds to travel faster than is usual in woodlands where brushwood prevails, but it must be admitted that the country is a cold scenting one, especially when the fresh-fallen leaves lie in early winter.

The title of the hunt is derived from the Earls of Berkeley, who in the eighteenth century and earlier hunted all the country between Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire and London. There is no doubt that the lords of Berkeley did hunt to the verge of the capital; their Middlesex residence, Cranford House, some ten miles west of London, affording a convenient base for the purpose. The famous huntsman, Tom Oldaker, who died in 1831, aged eighty, remembered hounds killing or losing a fox in the rough ground in Kensington Gardens.

The first hunt kennels in Buckinghamshire whose existence is properly authenticated were at Gerrards Cross, and the present Lord Fitzhardinge has an old family account-book showing wages paid 'to William Hill with the hounds at Gerrards Cross' in 1792; another entry runs '7 Jan.-20 March, 1793. Thos. Oldaker's bills of wages board and other expenses with the Whippers In (*sic*), Helpers, Hounds, and Horses at Jerrards Cross, £200 7s. 4½d.' It is also said that places were used as kennels at Marlow and at Nettlebed (Oxfordshire).

Before the close of the eighteenth century the mastership passed out of the Berkeley family, and

the hounds became a subscription pack, the old yellow livery being retained.

The Sporting Magazine of October, 1796, says, 'Lord Berkeley's as were, promise much better. Fourteen hundred guineas is said to be the strength of the present subscription'; and the same magazine of November, 1797, says, 'The subscription pack (late Lord Berkeley's, now Lord Sefton's, Sir H. Gott's, Mr. Williams' & Co.) commenced their season at Bisham coverts near Mr. Vansittart's; they hunt the surrounding country for 2 months to come.' Lord Sefton lived at Stoke Poges, Sir H. Gott at Chalfont St. Peter, Mr. Williams at Temple House, Marlow. Mr. Du Pre, of Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, was also a member of this committee. It is recorded that these hounds used to meet in Berkshire, as far off as Wokingham and Farley Hill in what is now the Garth country, although South Buckinghamshire and West Hertfordshire formed the true territory of the hunt.

The Sporting Magazine of 1797 contains record of a 'hunting dinner' held by the subscribers to the Berkeley Hunt at Botham's, Salt Hill, a well-known coaching inn on the Bath road near Slough; and we read that in November, 1806, 'The Berkeley Hounds began their season with the greatest merit due to that unequalled huntsman Tom Oldaker as having hunted them in such superior style. They have been to covert only 16 times in Gloucestershire, and killed, to the astonishment of everyone, 21 foxes. They arrive at Gerrards Cross, Bucks, their kennel, on the 1st inst.' On 12 January, 1809, they 'met at Cliefden and found about 1.0 in Great Sumlands Wood.' They ran by way of Dorney Bottom, Fulmer, Alderbourne, across the Misbourn, through the Chalfont woods, across the Coln 'to Ryslip Coppice and stopped hounds at dark.' This run lasted 3½ hours; only the huntsman and his son were up at the end. Cliveden to Ruislip is an 11-mile point.

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The mastership must before this date have passed into the hands of the Hon. and Rev. W. Capel, vicar of Watford, for in July, 1802, an action for trespass in Cashiobury Park was brought against him and the Berkeley Hounds by his brother the Earl of Essex. The case was tried before Lord Ellenborough at the Hertford Assizes; 40s. damages were awarded by the jury. At that time cases of a similar nature were being brought against masters of hounds in other parts of England. On 11 October, 1810, a meeting of landowners in the Burnham and Stoke Hundreds was held and a resolution was passed, 'That the hunting with foxhounds in this neighbourhood will be injurious to the value and enjoyment of property, and is wholly unsuitable to a country so near the metropolis.' Among the signatories were the Duke of Somerset, Lord Boston, Lord Gambier, Rt. Hon. J. Sullivan, Sir R. B. Harvey, Bart., Lord Grenville, Hon. G. Irby, Thos. Hibbert, esq., Charles Clowes, esq. These difficulties, however, were overcome and hunting continued. In the next year hounds meeting at Gerrards Cross found 'at the back of the Nine Pins publichouse' (now One Pin Gorse); 'the fox went off in high style over a fine country, and after a very capital run of an hour and a half was killed in Shardeloes Park near Amersham.'¹ A week later they ran a fox from Pollards Wood (Chalfont) 'and killed him in Mr. Dorrien's park (Haresfoot) at Berkhamstead.'

Mr. Harvey Combe succeeded Mr. Capel. An obituary notice of Mr. Combe states that he was master, with one short interval, from 1813 to 1840.² His kennels were first at Gerrards Cross and afterwards at Parsonage Farm, Rickmansworth, and he drew the countries comprised in the present Old Berkeley East and West Hunts.³ In 1824 he also undertook the country now hunted by the Old Berkshire and beyond, for which purpose he occupied kennels at Kingston Bagpuize (Berkshire), and, it is said, at Lechlade (Gloucestershire), and at Cricklade (Wiltshire). In 1826 Mr. Combe gave up the Old Berkshire country and confined himself to the Old Berkeley, hunting South Buckinghamshire with part of West Hertfordshire. His first huntsman was Tom Oldaker, who, as previously stated, had begun life with Lord Berkeley. Oldaker was the subject of two fine paintings by Ben Marshall; the engravings after these pictures are well known; in one he is mounted on a bay gelding, Brush, in the other on a mare, Pickle, and in both he has with him some hounds of stamp as good as any modern kennel might be glad to own. Brush was a famous hunter; some verses on his death appeared in *The Sporting*

Magazine of 1817.⁴ An engraving of Mr. Combe mounted on Ferdinand is also extant. It is said that he refused £1,000 for this horse. Bob Ward, subsequently well known as huntsman to the Hertfordshire, was in Mr. Harvey Combe's service as second whipper-in for three seasons from 1834.

In 1831 Captain Sullivan appears to have been master for one season, in 1832 Mr. Combe again, in 1833 Captain Freeman from the Southwold, and Mr. Combe again the next year, 1834, when he gave his hounds to the Surrey Union and purchased Mr. Osbaldeston's famous Pytchley pack (50 couples of working hounds and a brilliant entry of 19 couples), which he retained until 1840, when Mr. T. N. Allen, of the Vache, Chalfont St. Giles, succeeded him. Mr. Combe lent his hounds up to Mr. Allen's retirement in 1842, when they were sold at Tattersall's, and realized at auction the record price of 6,511 guineas. There is some doubt as to the genuineness of the sale, but at all events the hounds passed into possession of Lord Southampton, Master of the Grafton, and subsequently became the property of Mr. Selby Lowndes.

For seven years after 1842 the country seems to have been abandoned, but in 1849 the Earl of Lonsdale again started the Old Berkeley with kennels at Grove, Tring. He had kept harriers there from 1843, and continued to maintain them with the foxhounds, each pack hunting twice a week. While the foxhounds confined themselves strictly to their own country, the harriers used to hunt in the Aylesbury district, and even so far north as Wingrave. The custom was to hunt hare in the morning and to turn out a bag fox afterwards, a proceeding which naturally provoked some satire at the time. However, these foxes, said to have been procured direct from Lowther Castle and to have been kept well exercised in their quarters at the Tring kennels, showed undeniably good runs. His lordship, who hunted from town, is said to have worn drab breeches, a brown overcoat, and a flat hat, which in bad weather was tied under his chin by a black silk handkerchief. The establishment at Tring was maintained in first-rate style, and the foxhounds proper, under this mastership, probably showed the best genuine sport with wild foxes ever seen in the Old Berkeley country. James Morgan and Goddard Morgan were successively huntsmen, and Lord Lonsdale hunted the country at his own expense for thirteen years, retiring in 1862. The hounds were bought by the supporters of the hunt at Tattersall's on 14 April of that year, but the harriers do not appear to have been dispersed until June, 1864. From 1862 to 1867 Viscount Malden, father of the present Earl of Essex, was master.

By arrangement with Mr. John Brown of

¹ *Sporting Magazine*, xxxvii, 268.

² *The Field*, 4 Dec. 1858.

³ He seems also to have hunted occasionally in South Oxfordshire by invitation of the landowners.

⁴ *Op. cit.* xlix, 194.

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Tring, who undertook the kennel management, hounds were still kept at that town. In 1864 new kennels were built at Chorleywood in Hertfordshire. With better preservation of foxes in the centre of the district, the western part, namely the Wycombe and Marlow country, was practically not hunted, hounds seldom going west of Penn, Beaconsfield and Hedgerley. From 1867 to 1869 Mr. C. A. Barnes, of Chorleywood, was master, and on his retirement Mr. Leicester Hibbert, of Chalfont Lodge, and Mr. Oscar Blount, of Orche Hill, Chalfont St. Peter, became joint masters, with Mr. T. Tyrwhitt Drake, of Shardeloes, who had just retired from the mastership of the Bicester Hunt, to assist them with his experience and advice. Hounds were out three days a week, twice in Buckinghamshire and once in Hertfordshire. In May, 1873, a question of boundary with the Whaddon Chase Hunt was decided by a committee at Boodles' Club, the northern draw of the Old Berkeley being determined as Halton and Tring Woods. In June, 1874, another question of boundary with the South Oxfordshire Hunt involving the right to draw Kimblewick Gorse was given by an M.F.H. committee in favour of the Old Berkeley. The boundary now recognized runs, roughly, north-west along the road from Tring to Aylesbury as far as the latter town, thence to Hartwell on the west, turning south to Bledlow Wood, through Dashwood Hill, to Hambleton, thence eastward on the line of the Thames nominally as far as the Pool at Wapping. The eastern boundary lies in Middlesex and Hertfordshire.

During the joint mastership above referred to a good run occurred, terminating in unusual fashion. Hounds hit the line of a travelling fox in the heath at Shardeloes Park; they ran through Penn and Common Woods, the fox being viewed from the latter at Church Knoll by the Rev. E. T. Drake. They passed on the east side of Penn village and, Holtspur reached, hunted to the edge of the park at Hall Barn, then along Mill Wood above the Wooburn Valley through Hedsor to the park fence opposite Dropmore. The fox was too beaten to jump and he ran along the palings towards the Thames, getting across the sunk lane between Hedsor and Cliveden into the woods of the latter. Hounds vanished after him and the riders had to make a long detour by the lodge gates to follow them. In Cliveden they could hear hounds baying the fox at ground in the hanging woods over the river: it was nearly dark, and when they were got together there were two and a half couples short. It subsequently transpired they had followed the fox to ground and had been buried by a fall of chalk. Many years afterwards, about 1886, another fox was run to ground in the same place, and when digging after him the skeletons of the fox and hounds lost nineteen years before were discovered.

In 1875, Mr. A. H. Longman of Shendish, Hertfordshire, became master, and the next season hounds were moved from Chorleywood to new kennels on his estate. Bob Worrall was huntsman; he had had previous service with the Bicester, Warwickshire, and V. W. H. establishments. Mr. Longman spared no effort to improve the hounds, which were strengthened by fresh blood from the best kennels in England; and by arrangement with the hunt the pack became his private property. Capital sport was shown during his mastership. In the spring of 1880, the country was divided, and separate establishments for the eastern and western divisions were created. Mr. Longman retained the Hertfordshire side, while Mr. Austin Mackenzie, residing at Great Marlow, undertook the Buckinghamshire country, with kennels at Daws Hill, High Wycombe. The high road from Uxbridge through the Chalfonts and the Missendens to Aylesbury formed the boundary between the divisions: each pack hunted twice a week. Under this arrangement Mr. Mackenzie opened up a good deal of new country on the extreme west in the district of Marlow, Hambleden, and High Wycombe. He acquired Mr. Longman's doghounds to which he subsequently added drafts from the Blankney, Fitzwilliam, and Badminton, thus laying the foundation of the famous pack which he took with him in 1885 to the Woodland Pytchley country, and on his retirement in 1889 sold for the large sum of £5,000. On 20 December, 1882, Mr. Mackenzie had a fine run from near Bishopstone round the west and north of Aylesbury by Bierton and Wingrave, ending with a kill near Marston Gate, thus traversing the Old Berkeley, Bicester, and Whaddon Chase countries. On 15 January, 1883, whilst hunting at Danesfield, the Old Berkeley clashed with Mr. Garth's hounds who had crossed the Thames, then in flood, in pursuit of a fox found in Bowsey Hill, Berkshire; and on 1 January, 1884, Mr. Mackenzie in turn hunted a fox from Warren Wood, Little Marlow, across the Thames at Spade Oak (above Bourne End), hounds carrying the line as far as Maidenhead Thicket. This performance has not been repeated, although both the South Oxfordshire and Old Berkshire hounds have in recent years swum the river near Wallingford in the course of runs.

In the spring of 1885, Mr. Mackenzie undertook the Woodland Pytchley and with him went the hounds. At the same time Mr. Longman relinquished the Old Berkeley (East) and his pack was dispersed, the various lots making the respectable total of 1,250 guineas at auction. About this time the character of the country began to alter owing to the construction of the Metropolitan Extension railway from Baker Street to Aylesbury, which passed through the centre of the hunt by way of Rickmansworth, Chorleywood, and Amersham. There had

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previously been no line between the L. & N.W. Railway, and the G.W. Railway, the whole country retaining its wild and primitive character owing to its comparative inaccessibility. However, following the Metropolitan has come the Great Central line through Denham, Gerrards Cross, and Beaconsfield to Wycombe, opened in 1906, and much building has taken place round the various stations on both lines. When sheep were numerous on the Chiltern Hills the wattle fences to the inclosures were well maintained, but since the passing of agricultural prosperity and the disappearance of many flocks the hedges in most cases are little more than rows of bushes: there is a tendency also to put land under grass with its concomitant wire fencing: covert shooting, too, has become greatly extended, and game farms, to which the light soil is very suitable, are numerous: all being factors adverse to the hunting interest. Nevertheless, there is a fair stock of foxes, and the hunt remains a popular institution in the country.

In 1885, therefore, the whole country had fallen vacant, and Mr. Harding Cox, who at different times lived at Missenden Abbey, at Harefield, and at Chorleywood House, succeeded the two outgoing masters. The country was hunted as one, and the Chorleywood kennels, rented from Mr. Howard Gilliat, were again utilized. Mr. Cox acquired Mr. Henry Chaplin's famous Blankney pack, and drafts from Lord Waterford's and the Croome were bought at Rugby. W. Wilson and T. Goddard came with the hounds from Blankney as kennel huntsman and second whipper-in respectively, Mr. Cox carrying the horn himself. Hounds were out three days a week. Two good runs in Buckinghamshire are worthy of notice; the first was from Hodgemoor by Little Shardeloes, Pipers Wood, Ley Hill Common to the hill above Boxmoor, where scent failed. The other took place over a similar line of country the reverse way, namely from Cowcroft, near Ley Hill, by Chesham Bois, Latimer, Rogers Wood, Hodgemoor, Wilton Park, the fox being killed at Wasps Wood near Hedgerley.

In May, 1888, a demand for more hunting on the western side led to division of the country once more, and separate establishments have been maintained from that year up to the present time (1907). Mr. Harding Cox continued on the eastern side, while Captain T. H. Tyrwhitt Drake of Little Shardeloes, Amersham, a cousin of Mr. T. T. Drake, the well-known squire of Shardeloes, formed a new pack to hunt the west or Buckinghamshire side. Captain Drake, who had a life-long connexion with the locality, enjoyed the support of all classes concerned with the promotion of fox-hunting. His pack was formed by a strong draft of old and young hounds presented by Mr. Harding Cox, supplemented by purchases from

the Bicester, Brocklesby, and others. Kennels at Shardeloes were lent by Mr. T. T. Drake, who assisted very materially in starting the pack. Although the stock of foxes in the country was not great, this defect rapidly improved as seasons went by, and good sport was enjoyed until Captain Drake's retirement in 1895. For the two previous seasons he had had as partner in the mastership his cousin, Mr. T. W. Tyrwhitt Drake, son of the gentleman above referred to.

Among Captain Drake's good runs was one from Rogers Wood, near Amersham, round the Wilton Park estate, through Hodgemoor to Days Wood across the Misbourn to Latimer where the fox was killed. Another was from the Box Wood at Chequers Court through the Hampden Woods past Speen, through the Bradenham Woods to West Wycombe where hounds were run out of scent. A remarkable day's sport took place one frosty day when hounds met at Penn Street attended by a field of only half a dozen riders. A fox from Penn Wood led them through Shardeloes crossing at the head of the lake to Piper's Wood and Amersham Rectory, thence to the Vache where they met the O. B. H. (East); the two packs ran on together and killed their fox close to Chalfont St. Giles. In the afternoon of the same day a fox from Hailacre ran by Peterley to the edge of Chequers Big Wood where hounds were stopped at dark. Both of these runs were six-mile points.

Meanwhile the Eastern Division had in the spring of 1889 passed from the hands of Mr. Harding Cox into those of a committee. The Earl of Clarendon was chairman with Mr. R. B. Webber to supervise the kennels, which were once again at Shendish. This arrangement terminated in the spring of 1891, when Mr. Webber took the mastership, and hounds returned to the Chorleywood kennels. Mr. Webber still continues to hold office to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Any historical sketch of the hunt would be incomplete without reference to the late Mr. Harvey Fellows of Rickmansworth, who from boyhood was a follower of these hounds and who held the secretaryship of the hunt from 1864 to 1889.

In the spring of 1895 Colonel Alfred Gilbey of Wooburn House, was elected master of the O. B. H. (West), on Captain Drake's retirement. The latter gentleman's hounds were purchased and lent to the country by Sir Edward Lawson (the present Lord Burnham) of Hall Barn, Mr. W. Christie Miller of Britwell Court, Burnham, and Mr. Henry Gold who lived first at Formosa, Cookham, and afterwards at Hedsor. Mr. W. H. Grenfell (now Lord Desborough) lent his old harrier kennels at Taplow Court. Charles Lowman was engaged as huntsman from the Goodwood, which pack was being given up by the Duke of Richmond. The following runs

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during Colonel Gilbey's mastership are worthy of record: 30 November, 1895, from the Fir Plantation between Wooburn and Dropmore, over the Hall Barn estate through Burke's Grove to Hodgemoor and Rogers Wood ending with a kill in the open near Coleshill. 18 February, 1896, from Warren Wood, Little Marlow, through High Heavens, Moor Wood, past Parmoor across the Hambleden Valley, through the Greenlands and Fawley Woods. Near Pishill the fox was headed and hounds hunted back to Skirmett, eventually losing the line near Parmoor. The extreme points of this run were 8 miles, and the distance may have been double as hounds ran. 21 December, 1898, from Coombe Hill through the Scrubs nearly to Wendover, turning back along the foothills by Chequers Court to the Box Wood, past Whiteleaf Cross through the Hillocks at Hampden, over the G.W. Railway up Lodge Hill and lost at Radnage. This was a hunting run of two hours, the extreme points being 9 miles, but far more as hounds ran. 20 January, 1899, meeting at Gerrards Cross, hounds found in Siblets Wood and ran by Gold Hill, Orche Hill, across Chalfont Park, by Horn Hill, Bottom Wood, Heron's Gate, West Hyde, Philipshill Pollards Wood, to Amersham, where they killed the fox in the churchyard. Time, two hours, seven minutes. From Siblets to West Hyde is 4 miles, and West Hyde to Amersham is 7 miles. Hounds covered 18 miles.

On Lowman's death in the summer of 1900, W. Haines from the Woodland Pytchley came as huntsman. Colonel Gilbey gave up in the spring of 1902, and was succeeded by Mr. W. Tyrwhitt Drake of Shardeloes, who reinstated the old kennels there.

After one season Mr. Drake retired, and was succeeded in 1903 by Mr. Robert Leadbetter of Hazlemere Park, High Wycombe, who erected new kennels on his estate. To compensate for the growing difficulty of hunting the more populous southern part of the country Mr. Leadbetter has successfully opened up the corner of Aylesbury Vale which lies between the Chiltern Hills and Hartwell, and good sport is now obtained in that district which had previously been very short of foxes.

THE WHADDON CHASE

The country known as the Whaddon Chase has been hunted by the Selby Lowndes family since the latter end of the eighteenth century, when it formed part of the Duke of Grafton's territory and was lent to Mr. Selby Lowndes. As an independent country the Whaddon Chase dates from the autumn of 1842,¹ when the duke sold his hounds to Mr. Assheton Smith; Mr. Selby Lowndes, who was a great admirer of the famous huntsman George Carter, engaged Dickins, who

had turned hounds to Carter, as his kennel huntsman and whipper in, carrying the horn himself. His kennels were at Whaddon Hall, the family residence, and as he had somewhat unorthodox ideas concerning the shape of a hound, he soon got a pack together. Mr. Lowndes held it not essential that a hound should be very straight, maintaining that those deficient in this respect lasted longer. His theory on this point may have been right or wrong, but there can be no doubt that the pack showed excellent sport and killed their foxes.

For eleven seasons Mr. Selby Lowndes hunted the Whaddon Chase country; in 1853 it became necessary to restore it to the Grafton, then under the mastership of Lord Southampton, that he might accept the invitation tendered him to hunt the North Warwickshire country which had depended upon the attentions of neighbouring masters since Mr. Wilson's resignation in 1845. Mr. Selby Lowndes hunted the North Warwickshire until 1855 when he went to the Atherstone, in succession to Col. Anstruther Thomson; and after four seasons here returned in 1859 to Buckinghamshire. The death of Lady Southampton in the autumn of 1860 caused Lord Southampton practically to give up hunting, and Mr. Selby Lowndes resumed his own country, hunting it with his own pack; and since that date the Whaddon Chase has remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the family whose property forms no inconsiderable proportion of the hunt territory. In 1862 Lord Southampton resigned the mastership of the Grafton, and Mr. Selby Lowndes purchased his pack. He retained the bitch hounds, sending the Whittlebury dog pack to be disposed of at Tattersall's. With his new pack he showed exceptionally good sport; the country acquired a great reputation and the meets on Tuesday and Saturday brought large numbers of sportsmen from the surrounding country. The Vale of Aylesbury, a large portion of which is embraced by the Whaddon Chase boundaries, is, as a general rule, excellent scenting country; in some parts the land is deep during the winter, and does not carry stock; an advantage to hounds, but trying to horses; only a well mounted man can hope to live with the pack when they run on the low grounds. In the 'seventies Mr. Selby Lowndes hunted three days a week; though not a hard rider, his intimate knowledge of the country and of the ways of foxes enabled him to keep near his hounds, and he was always at hand if they needed his assistance. His bitches were a very fast pack, as they had need to be, for the Whaddon Chase field was noted for 'thrusting' qualities. As the master did not breed sufficient hounds at home for each season's entry, the strength was maintained by purchase; the Fitzwilliam draft was taken for many years, 'and very good they were,' says Mr. Elliott. It was in 1875 that he made over the horn to Edmund Bentley, who

¹ J. M. K. Elliott, *Fifty Years' Foxhunting*.

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hunted the pack with success until his retirement from active service in the field in 1895. In 1885 Mr. Selby Lowndes retired from the mastership after forty-three years' office, all but five seasons of which he had passed in Buckinghamshire; and was succeeded by his son, Mr. William Selby Lowndes, who retained Bentley as huntsman, and continued to show sport worthy of the traditions of the hunt. The Whaddon Chase now reverted to two days a week as in former years, but no other change of importance is to be recorded. On Bentley's retirement Charles Sturman succeeded him as huntsman and remained in Mr. Selby Lowndes' service till 1901, when he was succeeded by the first whipper-in, George Jones. In 1903 Mr. W. Selby Lowndes, junr., of Whaddon Chase, joined his father in the mastership, and so father and son presided over the destinies of the hunt until 1906, when the former resigned, leaving the present master to rule alone. George Jones died in 1906, and his place was taken by Harry Goddard from the Duhallow in Ireland.

Those who hunt with the Whaddon Chase are expected to support the hunt by subscription, £35 being the minimum accepted from anyone wishing to hunt regularly. The pack and kennels at Whaddon, near Bletchley, are the property of Mr. Selby Lowndes of Whaddon Hall.

Among the followers of the hunt are remembered Major Whyte Melville, the novelist, Mr. John Leech, the famous *Punch* artist, who found in the Vale of Aylesbury numerous subjects for his inimitable drawings, and the Hon. Robert Grimston, so well known in cricketing circles: Lord Petre, who kept staghounds in Essex, used to make a point of visiting the Vale once a week, and Lord Russell also hunted frequently with Mr. Selby Lowndes.

STAG HUNTING

THE ROYAL BUCKHOUNDS

Though the history of the Royal Buckhounds pertains to the neighbouring county of Berkshire, the connexion of the pack with Buckinghamshire where they had nineteen out of their forty-three recognized places of meeting cannot be entirely ignored. The most northerly meet was at High Wycombe, the most easterly, Denham, and on the west, Great Marlow. During the last years of the existence of the royal pack, the spread of game preservation in the county did something to impair its amenities for stag hunting, but in earlier days some great runs were enjoyed. In 1684 a deer gave the Duke of York and his suite a tremendous run through Beaconsfield and Amersham well into Oxfordshire. The duke and Colonel James Graham, who in the next year was appointed master, were among the few

who got to the end. William Bartlett, for many years whipper-in, told Lord Ribblesdale that he had known hounds to run from Gerrards Cross into the Vale of Aylesbury; and the country about Gerrards Cross and Beaconsfield was by no means to be despised, 'there is lots of room and we had some capital gallops in that part of the world,' writes Lord Ribblesdale. 'When there had been plenty of rain these pale ploughs and the high beech woods carried a capital scent, and the configuration of the country wanted a galloping horse.' A memorable run in Lord Colville's time was that of 2 March, 1868, when the stag enlarged at Denham Court, ran past Pinner to the foot of Harrow Hill, thence over Wormwood Scrubbs to Paddington Goods Station, where he was taken; the king, then Prince of Wales, was out on this occasion. One of the fastest runs Lord Ribblesdale remembers was fifty minutes with an outlying deer from Chalfont Park. The deer, Bramshill by name, ran to Chalfont St. Giles and soiled in the reservoir where it was found necessary to leave him; this run was more like a flat race; top speed and nothing worth mention to jump the whole way. Salt Hill, near Slough, was for a long time the opening meet of the season; the Slough country meets were very popular in former days, but the increase of cultivation spoiled it in the eyes of the hunting fraternity.

When the royal pack was given up in 1901, the Berks and Bucks Farmers' Harriers, of which Sir Robert Wilmot was master until 1907, were converted into staghounds to hunt the country. With kennels and deer paddocks at Binfield Grove, Bracknell, this pack hunts two days a week, showing good sport to its subscribers. The Harrow or Middlesex side of the country is not visited, the operations of the builder having rendered this district practically impossible for hunting.

LORD ROTHSCHILD'S STAGHOUNDS

Staghounds were maintained in the Vale of Aylesbury in the 'thirties by Sir Charles Shakerly; but practically nothing has been recorded concerning their doings, and the history of sport with the carted deer begins in 1839, when Baron Lionel Rothschild purchased from Sir Charles the hounds, fourteen or fifteen couple, the stock of deer and deer cart, and took over the huntsman Roffey. The hounds were first kennelled at Hastoe, near Tring, the hunt horses being stabled at Tring Park; at a later date the pack was moved to Mentmore, where Baron Mayer Rothschild lived; and about 1877 to their present kennels at Ascott, near Leighton Buzzard, where the deer paddock is also situated. When Baron Lionel Rothschild acquired the hounds, he associated with himself in the mastership his brothers Baron Mayer and Sir Anthony de Rothschild. Baron Mayer officiated as sole master for a few seasons in the

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'fifties, but Baron Lionel outlived his brothers, who died in 1877 and 1876 respectively, and retained office single-handed till his death in 1879. He was succeeded by Lord Rothschild and Mr. Leopold de Rothschild as joint masters, who for a long time divided field duty, the former officiating on Thursdays, the latter on Mondays. For some years past, however, Lord Rothschild has been unable to hunt, and his place is generally taken by the Hon. Walter Rothschild, M.P.

Roffey remained for a few seasons as huntsman, and retiring gave place to Barwick, from Earl Fitzwilliam's, who was succeeded in 1852 by Tom Ball. Ball was followed about 1860 by Fred Cox, who had turned hounds to him for three or four seasons; and Cox continued to carry the horn until 1894, when he retired after 45 years' service. To succeed him Lord Rothschild engaged John Boore from the Warwickshire; he retired after the season of 1905-6 by reason, principally, of disablement caused by a bad fall over wire at the end of the previous season. William Gaskin, for many years whipper-in, took his place.

The pack purchased by Baron Lionel in 1839 consisted almost entirely of Cheshire blood; since then it has been strengthened in number, about thirty couples being usually kennelled at Ascott, and immensely improved by importation of the best blood in England; the Belvoir, Fitzwilliam, Brocklesby, Bramham Moor, and other kennels having been tapped.

It was customary in former days to enlarge a few deer on the Dunstable side of the country, and in October give the young hounds a run with blood at the finish. The deer paddocks have been supplied from most of the principal parks in the kingdom; the best were those obtained from Savernake. Some very long runs have been given by these deer at various times; a few of from 22 to 24 miles are recorded. Lord Rothschild maintains the staghounds entirely at his own cost. The Vale of Aylesbury, in which the deer are usually enlarged, is practically all sound old grass, and is one of the finest hunting grounds in the kingdom, though it rides deep in wet weather; the number of brooks and ditches make a bold water jumper essential. Very little wire occurs in the Vale; the hunt is immensely popular with the farmers, a committee of whom is in charge of the arrangements for the removal of any wire that exists.

EARL CARRINGTON'S BLOODHOUNDS

This is one of the few counties in England which has seen the chase of the deer by bloodhounds. In 1880 Lord Wolverton gave to Earl Carrington the pack of sixteen or seventeen couples of bloodhounds which he had hunted for six or seven seasons in Dorset. Their new owner

built kennels at Wycombe, and obtaining the support of the landowners and farmers, hunted the carted deer for one season, enlarging at points between the kennels and Uxbridge. Several good runs were enjoyed, one fast gallop of 15 miles in March, 1881, being noteworthy; but at the end of his first season, Earl Carrington, who had hunted the pack himself, decided to give it up, and the hounds were sold to go abroad.

HARRIERS

The North Bucks Harriers were established in 1896. Mr. E. A. Milne, then master of the Trinity Foot Beagles, brought his hounds to Shenley for the Christmas vacation 1894-5, and, having shown the neighbouring farmers good sport with them, responded to their request that he would hunt the hare regularly, and founded the North Bucks pack with twenty couples of 19-inch harriers in the following year. Mr. Milne, who had now taken holy orders and lived at Shenley Rectory, assumed the mastership and carried the horn himself, hunting two days a week. In 1900 he resigned the harriers to take the mastership of the Cattistock foxhounds, and was succeeded by Mr. W. F. Fuller, of Dagnall, Berkhamstead, who also hunted the pack himself. Under Mr. Fuller's mastership, the hunting days were reduced to Friday and an occasional bye. In 1905 Mr. Fuller resigned to become joint master of the Cattistock with the Rev. E. A. Milne, and Mr. S. J. Green, of Luton, Bedfordshire, took the vacant office, which he continues to hold, hunting the pack as his predecessors had done. The harriers, which are maintained by subscription, hunt the country for about 10 miles north of Bletchley and 20 miles south, meeting in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire as well as in Buckinghamshire. In 1902 the hounds were moved from Shenley to Dagnall, where they are still kennelled.

The Berks and Bucks, converted in 1901 into staghounds, had a long record as harriers. The pack was established in the reign of George IV as a royal hunt, and there is record of hunting turned-down hares in Windsor Great Park for the delectation of the Duke of Brunswick and his suite in 1832; the father of the famous royal huntsman, Charles Davis, being the huntsman. H.R.H. the Prince Consort became master of the pack about 1842, having obtained from a Mr. Smith in the Isle of Wight 15 couples of harriers which were kennelled at Cumberland Lodge. His Majesty, as Prince of Wales, followed his father in the mastership, and he was succeeded in turn by Sir Robert Harvey, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Phipps, Captain Cotton, and Mr. P. E. Barthropp. The date at which the Berks and Bucks ceased to be 'Royal' and became a subscription pack is not known.

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BEAGLES

The Stoke Place Beagles, owned by Mr. Howard Vyse, of Stoke Place, near Slough, were established in 1891. The pack, which consists of about twenty couples of 14-inch hounds, is kennelled at the master's residence; it hunts over the Old Berkeley (West) country, meeting twice a week. It is a private pack; Mr. Howard Vyse carries the horn himself.

OTTERHOUNDS

The Bucks Otterhounds were established in 1890 by the Messrs. Utthwatt, of Ivy House, Great Linford, to hunt the streams of Bucks and neighbouring counties, but they extend operations as far as Warwickshire and Lincolnshire. Mr. W.

Utthwatt became master in 1891, Mr. G. Utthwatt filling the offices of field-master and hon. secretary. The pack as originally formed consisted of otterhounds and foxhounds, but the latter were drafted out, and for some years past only pure otterhounds bred from the West Cumberland and the Hon. E. Hill's hounds have been used. In 1899 the rivers of Buckinghamshire were hunted by Sir H. Hoare, who got together a pack for the purpose; he gave up after one season, and the Messrs. Utthwatt resumed. At an earlier period the Rev. C. Selby Lowndes hunted the otter in the streams of the county. The Bucks otterhounds, which are maintained by subscription, number about eighteen couples; they are kennelled at Great Linford, and hunt three days a week.

COURSING

Buckinghamshire has never been celebrated as a coursing county, and very few public meetings have been held at any time within its borders. Mr. N. K. Wentworth, of Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire, the retired coursing judge, says:—

The only meeting I ever judged in Bucks was at Maidenhead, under the management of the East Berks Club, and was, I believe, held by permission of a Mr. Grenfield. It was a very pleasant meeting; there were plenty of hares and the ground was open enough to test the merits of the dogs without punishing them. The Bear Hotel was head quarters, and the secretary of the East Berks Club was Mr. C. Philbrick, of Reading.

The meeting to which Mr. Wentworth refers would have taken place in the 'sixties; and since that time small meetings have been held in the same neighbourhood under the management of Mr. F. Cleare, of Burnham, Buckinghamshire, the secre-

tary; these have now ceased to exist. Mr. R. Harvey, of Chadlington, Charlbury, another old coursing man in the district, says:—

I do not remember any public meeting in Bucks except that at Long Crendon, held by the East Berks Club. The head quarters were at Thame, about two miles away from the ground coursed over by permission of Messrs. Crook, Colman, and Reynolds; hares were fairly plentiful and heavy fallows more so. There used to be some good private coursing over Lord Clifden's estate at Worminghall, good ground, plenty of hares, and a keeper who took a delight in the sport; he and several local farmers kept a brace or two of greyhounds and enjoyed some fine sport.

There are now very few hares in this district; their dearth is very largely a consequence of the Ground Game Act. There may be some private sport occasionally, but most of the old school of coursers have passed away.

RACING

FLAT RACING

Racing was never very prominent among the sports of the county. When John Cheney, or Cheney, issued his *Historical List of all Horse Matches* for the first time, in 1728, he obtained only one subscriber in Buckinghamshire, namely, Mr. Richard Lowndes. Nevertheless the meetings were fairly well supported during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Dukes of Grafton and Hamilton, the Earls of Essex, Halifax, Jersey, and Viscount Howe ran horses at Newport Pagnel, Aylesbury, and Great Marlow, content to race for pure sport. Indeed the value of the stakes offered in those days was not calcu-

lated to tempt anyone to run horses for profit other than might accrue from betting.

The Newport Pagnel meeting is one of the first of which record exists, and the programme for 1728 was very modest; one race for a plate of £15 value, winner to be sold for 30 guineas; and one for a purse of 30 guineas on the following day, for which only two horses started, these having already met in the £15 race. These two races made up the programme until 1733, when a third event, a £10 plate for galloways, give and take, was added. This addition was repeated in 1734, but Lord Weymouth's All-of-a-piece was the only bona fide starter for it, two hacks being entered to make a race. The fields

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in 1735 and subsequent years were very small, but 1738 saw larger entries for prizes of smaller value, five horses starting for a £10 plate and six for one of £12, the latter run in four heats. In 1739 one 10-guinea stake only was contested, the second day's race of the same value failing to fill. The leading personages of the county had ere now ceased to support the meeting, and this was the last held until 1756, when two prizes of £50 each were offered, with restrictions in favour of horses which had never won a Royal Plate nor a race worth £50, matches excepted; both races filled, and the meeting, on similar lines, was held again the next year. The races of 1757 were the last held here until September, 1771, when they were revived—two £50 plates, each contested by three horses. The 1772 meeting shows an improvement in the shape of larger fields, and next year three races, the Town Plate, £50, the Gentlemen's subscription purse, £50, and a 20-guinea sweepstakes, were well supported; the Town Plate in particular for many years brought large fields. In 1776 no fewer than ten horses started for the three-mile heats, and in 1780 Hazard, by Matchem, won in a field of eleven. Despite the support accorded, the meeting came to an end in 1782, and was not revived until 1828, when one day's sport, comprising four races and a match was successfully brought off; one of these races was a subscription for a Gold Cup, another a Welter Stakes, 10 sovs. for hunters not thoroughbred, and a third a Farmers' Selling Stakes of 7 guineas each, with additions by the Marquis of Chandos and the Race fund; the winner was to be sold for 200 sovs. if demanded. On these lines the meeting continued for several years, the Gold Cup being the principal event. In 1836 it began to show symptoms of decay, Ruinous, by the famous sire Filho da Puta walking over for the Gold Plate, while only seven horses (including Ruinous) ran in the other two races which completed the card for the day. No meeting was held in 1837, nor was racing here revived until 1868, when a steeplechase meeting, with one 5-furlong selling race on the flat, was held.

That of 1729 is the first Aylesbury meeting recorded; it was not a very brilliant affair, and was not held in the following year. The attempt to revive it in 1731 with two races worth £15 and £20 respectively, met with small success, one horse starting for each event. The 1732 meeting of two days produced better results; one 'free purse' of 40 guineas and another of 20 guineas bringing three starters for each; but no more races took place until September, 1736, when a modest 10-guinea plate for gallows was contested.

Racing in Buckinghamshire now entered on one of its many periods of depression. From 1740-7 inclusive, not a single meeting was held in the

county.¹ In August, 1748, Aylesbury races were revived with two events, each worth £50, the first being for 'such hunters of the foregoing season as never started for anything under a Hunters' Plate.'

In 1751 the meeting was held on Haydon Hill. There were two races, the Gentlemen's Purse and the Town Purse, each worth £50, and for some years the sport was continued with varying success. The Hunters' Race was generally the most successful—twelve horses started for this event in 1754—and Aylesbury was continued when all other meetings were suspended. The races of 1759, however, were the last held until 1764, when they were again revived with two events, one a £50, weight for age, the other a 'Whim'² Plate of the same value. The Whim Plate was given until 1772 when the conditions were altered; in 1773 it disappeared, the two races of which the two-day meeting then consisted being the County Purse and Town Purse, each worth £50. In 1776 the programme was enlarged by the addition of the Hon. George Nugent Grenville's £50 for Hunters,³ to carry 12 stone, four mile heats; it was not a great success, bringing only two starters; Mr. Brand's Leander beat his opponent Mr. Lake's Bajazet, in two of the three heats. Horses of fair class ran at the Aylesbury meeting on occasion; the first race this year was won by Indian by Snap; the Town Purse by Limé got by Squirrel, both good sires. Mr. Nugent Grenville's Hunter race was more successful in 1777, bringing four starters; three of which, it may be observed, were greys. In 1778 the meeting consisted of three days' racing with five events, the new ones being a subscription race for Hunters, and a £50 prize given by the Earl of Chesterfield, which latter race was won by Hautboy, a good horse in his day.

In 1779 Mr. Nugent Grenville's Cup for Hunters was not given, but Earl Temple came forward as donor of one of equal value. In 1781 the meeting once more consisted of only two races, the Town Plate and Gentlemen's Purse, each worth £50. These two races in

¹ Cheney. The Act of 1741 was no doubt largely responsible for this temporary cessation of racing. Under 13 Geo. II, cap. 19, races for a stake of less value than £50 were absolutely prohibited save at Black Hambleton in Yorkshire, and Newmarket. This unpopular restriction was withdrawn by statute (18 Geo. II, cap. 34, sec. xi), five years later.

² In a 'Whim' plate the weight carried was calculated in accordance with the horse's height (measured to an eighth of an inch) and age.

³ The old description of a hunter (to which the owner had to make oath in due form) was a horse which had 'never started for either match or plate but has been actually used as a hunter at the last season, and not only to get the name, but really as a hunter; nor has he been in sweats with an intention to run but only from Lady day last.'

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1782 were won by Mr. Tombs' four-year-old Slender, who was also successful at Newport Pagnel, five days later, winning the Gentlemen's Purse.

The meeting of 1782 was the last held in the county until 1819 when the Aylesbury races were revived. It was not a very successful essay; six races were advertised for the 26 and 27 August, and six horses competed in the three races on the first day, two of them starting twice and running five two-mile heats; on the second day there were two walks over, while the Graziers' and Farmers' Cup, value 70 guineas for horses not thoroughbred, for which four started, produced a dispute; we are not told how it was settled. This year's experience discouraged the promoters of racing in the county for Aylesbury dropped out of the calendar as a flat race meeting; nor was another meeting held in Buckinghamshire under Jockey Club rules until 1828, when that of Newport Pagnel was revived.

A race meeting was held at intervals at Great Marlow during the first decades of the eighteenth century. The events were not valuable nor were the horses of very high class; in 1728 two animals started for a £25 prize and the Give and Take Plate of £15 offered on the second day was nearly a fiasco, 'for this prize nothing started but a grey mare of Captain Brown's except two hacks just to qualify her,' i.e. to fulfil the conditions on which the money was offered. It was more successful in the three following years, 1731 witnessing three races for which no entrance fees were charged. This was the last until 1752 when it was resuscitated as a three-day meeting with three £50 plates, each of which brought good fields. Lord March's mare Camilla by Cade won the first race, and Mr. Roger's Soldier by Sedbury the second; but names known to the General Stud Book are rare in the annals of these races. The meeting revived so auspiciously only continued as a three-day fixture until 1754; in the following year it was reduced to two days, as such surviving to encourage local horses with £50 plates until 1756, when it was given up. Racing at Marlow was not revived until 1837 when the modest programme for two days (including a hurdle race of two sovs. each with a purse added, which hurdle race was one with 'four leaps') was fairly well supported by the local sportsmen for whom the executive catered. The meeting conducted on these lines survived until the year 1847, the principal event for some years being Colonel Sir W. R. Clayton's Silver Cup added to a five sov. sweepstake; in 1847 it consisted of two days' racing, with two flat races and one hurdle race on each day, each event being run in two or three heats. This meeting was the last held.

Meetings of an unimportant character, even as regarded from a strictly local point of view, were held at various places in the county during

the first half of the eighteenth century. Amersham was the scene of races annually from 1729 to 1734 inclusive; Olney in the years 1734, 1737 and 1739; Gerrards Cross in 1734, and West Wycombe in 1736. The sport at these was not of a nature to require notice.

STEEPLECHASING

The Vale of Aylesbury has been the scene of jump races from an early period. In November, 1834, there was a steeplechase over four miles of the best part of the Vale in which the best horses of the day took part. Captain Becher on Captain Lamb's famous chaser, Vivian, beating the equally famous Grimaldi and Lancet; the fences were very stiff and Vivian gave his rider a ducking and fell over a gate during the race. At a later period 'Aylesbury Aristocratic Steeplechases' became one of the most popular jump-race meetings in the south of England. Pratt's Club held a meeting in the Vale in 1859; there were three events, two confined to members of the club and the third open to men who hunted with the packs of hounds in the neighbourhood. For a number of years the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge had steeplechases, the course lying over Mr. Fowler's farm. The arrangements in the 'fifties seem to have been far from perfect, but defects of this kind did not prevent large fields from turning out and the enjoyment of good sport. In 1863 there was a two-day meeting; the first race was for undergraduates, and another for 'veterans,' former members of the Universities; this year also saw a match between Oxford and Cambridge, three a side, twelve stone each, for a £50 cup: Cambridge won. Lord Rothschild used to be a strong supporter of the Aylesbury meeting; for several years he gave a service of plate open to the farmers in the county; but in the 'sixties the meeting began to fall into disrepute though the sport had in no way declined either as regarded quantity or quality. In 1865 there were two days' racing, the events including a 'Grand Match' between the Universities. Eight horses started, and Oxford won, Mr. Leathe's Marchioness being first.

The spread of the railway system was no doubt largely responsible for the decline of the 'Aylesbury Aristocratic Steeplechases'; the presence in large numbers of young men from Oxford and Cambridge offered an opportunity for bad characters which was not to be lost; and a contemporary report of the year 1866 says 'a more complete collection of the Ishmaels of the turf was probably never before brought together in so small a compass.' There were two days' racing with twelve events in 1866; an undergraduates' race was run but no University match. In 1867 no fewer than five of the ten races advertised were open only to University men; Oxford was strongly represented but the total absence of

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Cambridge men seems to indicate that the University authorities saw reason to exercise a restraining influence. By 1870 the University element was diminishing and the meeting was, we read, 'not attended with its usual success ;' of the ten events only two, the Undergraduates' and Veterans' 'Chases, were open to University men.

In 1874 the Aylesbury Meeting had ceased to be described as 'Aristocratic ;' it received, however, a fillip in this year from the National Hunt Committee which selected the course for the Grand National Hunt Steeplechase. The course, a very stiff one, had been modified for the occasion, the wide ditches on the take-off side of fences being hurdled up ; nevertheless, the fences were formidable enough to give rise to objections and several owners refused to start their horses. Of seventy-three subscribers only twelve faced the starter, the winner being a French bred five-year-old named *Lucellum*, owned by Mr. Vyner and ridden by Captain Smith. This year's meeting was very successful ; there were no fewer than fourteen races, including the Masters of Fox-

hounds 'Chase, open to horses nominated by Masters of Foxhounds. Great things had been hoped of the venture ; each master had been invited to nominate the two best horses hunted with his hounds and a large entry of the finest hunters in the kingdom was anticipated ; nine entrants, however, made up the field, and the attempt to establish this event was not renewed. The meeting of 1875 (again and for the last time described as 'Aristocratic') was postponed by reason of frost, and the change of date had a prejudicial effect ; thirteen races were advertised for the two days but the sport shown was very moderate indeed. The meeting of 1875 was the last held until 1882 when it was revived under National Hunt rules with the support of the Rothschild family and Lord Rosebery, among others. The events are open to those who hunt with the Grafton, Whaddon Chase, and Old Berkeley Foxhounds, and Lord Rothschild's Stag-hounds ; and thanks largely to the keenness of the farmers in the Vale the meeting continues a very successful career.

SHOOTING

There appear to be in existence no game-books relating to sport in the county of a date earlier than 1825. The oldest records the writer has been able to discover are those which were kept by the late Mr. William Goodall, of Dinton Hall, Aylesbury, grandfather of the present owner, Colonel Goodall. Mr. Goodall's game-book contains particulars of the bags obtained from the years 1825 to 1830, and though the period covered is so brief the entries have as much value for the present purpose, as records covering a longer space of time, since they may be accepted as typical of the sport obtained in pre-Victorian days on estates of average size in Buckinghamshire. The manor of Dinton extends to about 1,000 acres of arable and grass land with a few small ponds, and having as one of its borders the river Thame, is therefore very fairly representative, inasmuch as every species of game found in the county occurs thereon. It may be added that the lands have not materially altered in character since the 'twenties, as some other tracts have been changed by drainage, etc.

The season's bag in those days ranged from 150 to 250 head, ten or a dozen brace of partridges being the largest bag killed in one day. In regard to this it must be said that the game-book contains evidence that Mr. Goodall was content to kill enough game for his household ; he generally went out about twice a week. The following entries show the nature of the bag :—
December, 1827, 1 hare, 2 rabbits, 2 snipe, 1 jack snipe and 1 moorhen, 1 crow. 16 De-

cember, 1829, 1 rabbit, 1 pheasant, 1 snipe, 1 jack snipe, 1 moorhen and 1 heron, 1 raven. Other entries show that in addition to ordinary game he shot water rail, quail (occasionally), and various species of duck, including pochard, tufted duck, shoveller, and teal.¹ Snipe were then much more numerous than they are now. The 'winged vermin,' destruction of which is noted in the game book, were ravens, carrion crows, and magpies.

It may be added that Colonel Goodall has at Dinton Manor a collection of the sporting guns which belonged to his ancestors. These weapons, representing as they do the development of the gun during a period of about 200 years, form a collection of very exceptional interest.

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century game was but little preserved in this county. One of the most prominent game preservers of a former generation was the late Sir George Dashwood, of West Wycombe Park, M.P. for High Wycombe, who was in his prime about the middle of last century. Sir George had an excellent kennel of pointers and setters ; he used to ride a pony out shooting, dismounting when his dogs pointed game. It is doubtful whether there is a pointer in the county at the present day. When the writer began to shoot (his first licence was taken out in 1874), his uncle, Sir

¹ Mr. Goodall, who died in 1844 at the age of 87, was an accomplished naturalist, botanist, and artist. He left fifty volumes of water-colour drawings of the birds, animals, butterflies, and plants of the neighbourhood.

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Walter Gilbey, kept a few pointers in Essex ; he gave me one of his dogs and it worked for several seasons ; my father shot over it in 1879, the last time he carried a gun. In Buckinghamshire, as elsewhere, the days of pointer and setter were numbered, as far as partridges are concerned, with the advent of the breech-loader.²

Little hand-rearing was done in the county at the time the writer's father began shooting, about 1866 ; sportsmen then were satisfied with small bags, and this seems to have been particularly the case in Bucks ; perhaps this was due in some measure to the nature of the beechwoods which form so large a proportion of the pheasant coverts. There is little undergrowth in these woods, hence the birds wander, rendering it a costly and unsatisfactory business to raise a large head of game. Mr. Gilbey preserved between 3,000 and 4,000 acres of shooting on the lands lying north of the Great Western Railway. It extended from the Biddles farm, near Burnham Beeches station, to the Yew Tree at Hedgerley and embraced all the Beeches, the ground now occupied by the Burnham Golf Club, Lower Woods, Dorney Wood, Egypt, and part of Hall Barn. The following were the bags made in the later 'sixties ; they possess a certain interest as representing not only the shooting obtained in the county forty years ago, but the shooting obtained with the earliest breech-loading guns :—

	Pheasants	Partridges	Hares	Rabbits	Woodcock	Snipe
1866 . . .	185	389	109	456	12	1
1867 . . .	339	181	107	735	22	3
1868 . . .	452	241	64	1,047	7	1
1869 . . .	367	377	76	874	15	—

Concerning the item 'rabbits,' it must be mentioned that these were killed over a small pack of beagles ; this is excellent sport, though it is not a method that lends itself to the making of large bags. In later years, as the game books show, the number of pheasants killed was considerably larger ; little hand-rearing was done in the 'sixties on this shooting. The largest bag before extensive rearing was adopted was one made in the early 'seventies, namely 171 pheasants in Dorney Wood. Ten times as many are now killed every season over this area, but other game is less plentiful than it was in the 'sixties and 'seventies. The day's bag of partridges varied from 15 to 25 brace to three or four guns, who walked up the birds or shot them over dogs ; driving was of course unknown. A bag of 20 brace to a single gun in a day's shooting was an achievement considered worthy of

² I remember, when I was a boy living with a tutor in Cheshire, walking with the late Duke of Westminster when he shot the coverts near the vicarage where I was living. The duke used a team of Clumber spaniels ; they were wonderfully broken, and never ranged more than 20 yds. in front of the guns, who shot in line.

record. Such a performance by Mr. Lowndes was mentioned as a memorable feat in the *Field* fifty years ago ; in what part of the county this bag was made does not appear.

There has never been much shooting in the county north of Aylesbury ; the late Sir Henry Verney preserved at Claydon, but for the most part the big woods are given over to the fox, and the deep clays are not suitable for partridges.

In 1846 when the Prince Consort visited the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe the bag included 70 hares. This, at the time, was thought to be an extraordinary bag, but up to the passing of the Ground Game Act much larger bags of hares were made.

The late Lord Carrington confined his shooting to Gayhurst House, Newport Pagnel ; practically speaking he did not preserve the game, and five brace of partridges per gun was considered a good day's bag. The present owner, Earl Carrington, gave up preserving in the north of the county, and about 1868 began to devote attention to preservation on his Wycombe estates. Up to that date a hare was rarely seen on these lands, and if one appeared, the chair-makers, who ply their craft in the district, never rested till they secured it. The Wycombe Abbey estate now, having regard to its comparatively small extent, some 3,000 acres, affords some of the best shooting in the county.

It was in 1869 that His Majesty paid his first shooting visit to Wycombe. To show how greatly the shooting had improved under Lord Carrington's control, it may be mentioned that in November, 1882, the party, of which I had the pleasure to be a member, who shot Gill Field Lower Grounds and the Park, killed over 200 pheasants and 196 hares. In 1885, before Lord Carrington left England to assume the governorship of New South Wales, there was a four days' shoot at Wycombe—an average of seventy brace of partridges was killed on each day.

It was Earl Carrington, if I mistake not, who introduced the modern style of pheasant-shooting in the county ; certainly it was at Wycombe that I first saw the birds driven high over the guns ; this was in the park below Daws Hill Lodge. The late General Owen Williams, so well known on the Turf, was a member of the party, and excited my envious admiration by the regularity with which he brought down these high birds. In 1887 Wycombe Abbey and the shooting were let to Mr. Waring. That gentleman died suddenly, and some members of my family joined with me to take the shooting. A large head of game had been reared, and in thirteen days the bag was 2,538 pheasants, 683 partridges, 263 hares, and 599 rabbits. Lord Carrington was kind enough to give me the shooting in the season before his return, 1889–90, and though particular care was taken to leave a

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good stock on the ground the bag amounted to 1,151 pheasants, 563 partridges, and 115 hares. One day in the season 1905-6 four guns killed 51 brace of partridges, driving.

The late Mr. Frank Wheeler had some good partridge shooting between the Harrows, Hughenden, and Hampden in the early eighties; a party, of which I had the pleasure of being a member, got fifty brace in one day.

The late Mr. Cripps, chairman of Quarter Sessions and the first chairman of the Bucks County Council, also had some good shooting at Parmoor. He was an excellent sportsman at the time of which I write; he kept a pack of harriers, and on one occasion we started at 6.30 with them, killed a hare after a fair run, returned to breakfast at 9.30, and an hour later Mr. Cripps, his son Arthur and myself went out partridge shooting, killing twelve brace. Mr. Cripps, who was then seventy years of age, went home after lunch and sought rest in reading a Greek play with his eldest son Alfred, the present owner of the property. This was a typical day at Parmoor.

Partridge driving was practised in the eastern counties before it came into vogue in Buckinghamshire. My first day's driving in the county was in October, 1882, at Wycombe, when Lord Carrington, Mr. Harpley and myself killed 34 brace.

There are certainly fewer partridges now than there were twenty years ago. This is largely due to the increase of grass, the planting of woods, new railway lines, and the general development of the country.

Since Hall Barn passed into Lord Burnham's possession in 1881, the pheasant shooting on the estate has been brought to a remarkable pitch of perfection. The merit of the shoots, in which I have been privileged to take part every season since the year mentioned, does not lie solely in the magnitude of the bags made, but in the skilful fashion whereby advantage is taken of the undulating nature of the ground to send the pheasants high over the guns.

In November, 1892, H.R.H. the late Duke of Cambridge, Lord Carrington, Lord Grenfell, Col. Fitzgeorge, Col. R. Lane, Mr. A. Stuart Wortley and the writer killed 1,077 head in Dipple Wood; later in the same season H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was one of a party who killed 1,266 pheasants in Burtley Wood. Every year since then His Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the Royal family have visited Hall Barn. In 1903 the Burtley Wood shoot was postponed until 28 January to meet the King's convenience; the bag, 1,290 pheasants, was surely a 'record' for so late a date. The guns on this occasion were His Majesty, the Prince of Wales, Lord Herbert Vane Tempest, the Hon. Henry Chaplin, the Hon. H. Stonor, Captain the Hon. Seymour Fortescue, Captain Godfrey

Faussett and the writer. On an earlier day in that month Prince Albert of Schleswig Holstein, Lord Cheylesmore, Lord Burnham, the Hon. H. Stonor, and the writer had bagged 900 pheasants in Jennings' Hanging Woods. In 1905 His Majesty's head keeper, being present as a spectator at Lord Burnham's Burtley Wood shoot, told me it was the best managed day he ever saw.

On the last day's shooting I had at Hall Barn—in January of this year—the guns were His Majesty, the Prince of Wales, Col. the Hon. H. Legge, Earl Howe, the Hon. H. Stonor and myself, and 1,900 pheasants were killed.

The partridge shooting on the Hall Barn estate is fairly representative of that in the rest of the county, only moderately good; I have never known a day's shooting produce over 60 brace.

Good sport with pheasants is enjoyed on other estates in South Buckinghamshire; at Greenlands (the Hon. F. W. D. Smith), Danesfield (Mr. Hudson), Seymour Court (Mr. Wethered), Little Marlow (Mr. Bradish Ellames), Shardeloes (Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake), and the tenant of recent years (Mr. Beckwith Smith), Wilton Park (Mr. White and Lord Grenfell), Hughenden (Mr. Disraeli, and latterly Lord Cheylesmore), and Langley Park (Sir Robert Harvey and Mr. Howard Vyse, who rented it). Cliveden, which now belongs to Mr. Waldorf Astor, is very small—only 300 acres. In 1898, the last year of the duke's ownership, Lord Desborough, Lord Grey, Mr. Webster, Mr. G. Cross and the writer killed in one day 300 pheasants, at that time the 'record' for the Cliveden estate. On Hampden, the Earl of Buckinghamshire's estate near Great Missenden, Latimer, Penn, Hedsor, and Dropmore, good sporting pheasant shooting is obtained. It does not seem necessary to give particulars of the bags made; this is a matter which depends so greatly upon the amount of hand-rearing the respective proprietors care to undertake. Given a pleasant day, sport on the Chilterns is always enjoyable irrespective of the size of the bag.

It cannot be said that this is a natural game county, but in south Buckinghamshire the soil is light, and birds do better than on the grass and heavy clays which predominate north of Aylesbury. Hares have decreased greatly of later years as a result of the Ground Game Act, and rabbits have never been very numerous; the latter are not encouraged by reason of the great mischief they do in the beechwoods. In the light chalky soil of the hills the rabbits burrow to a considerable depth, and the only way to obtain sport is with the ferrets. I have never seen more than 500 rabbits killed in a day's shooting in the county, and it is quite possible to shoot for a whole day in south Buckinghamshire without seeing a rabbit.

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ANGLING

In this county are neither salmon, sea trout, nor the fish peculiar to deep lakes, such as char; but with these exceptions nearly every fresh-water fish of importance to the angler occurs either in the Thames and Coln in the south, in the higher waters of the Great Ouse on the north, or in the extensive sheets of water on private properties. Until within the last few years, Buckinghamshire could boast one of the most remarkable trout streams in the kingdom, namely the Wye or Wick, a little stream which rises near West Wycombe, and, flowing by High Wycombe, enters the Thames. There is not probably in England a stream of the same size which produces, naturally, such large and well-conditioned trout. Unfortunately of late years, the industries on its banks have so polluted the Wick that the fish have been destroyed to a very great extent. The baskets made in former years by Mr. James Englefield serve to show its merits. In 1881 he killed thirty-four brace, aggregating 108 lb. 3 oz., the two largest weighing 3 lb. 14 oz. and 4 lb. 2 oz. respectively; in 1882, thirty-six brace weighing 108 lb. 11 oz.; in 1883, sixty-four-and-a-half brace weighing 149 lb. 15 oz.; in 1888 forty-three-and-a-half; and 1889, forty-one-and-a-half-brace respectively.¹ So high was the reputation of these Wick trout that they were in great demand for the purpose of stocking other waters, and many hundreds have been placed in the Thames and elsewhere. Pollution, chiefly from mills, has seriously affected the Coln from a little above Uxbridge to its junction with the Thames. It is naturally a clear and very beautiful stream, prolific in trout and most kinds of coarse fish which grow to a considerable size. Grayling have been introduced of late years by the Friendly Anglers' Society, and proof that they are breeding has been forthcoming in the capture of some young fish. The principal places on the Coln are Iver, Colnbrook and Wraysbury. Fishing rights over much of the river are held by London angling societies—the True Waltonians, the Friendly Anglers, the Piscatorial Society of London and the Walford Piscatorial Society. The Coln enters the Thames just above Staines. It was at Delaford on the Coln that the ill-fated National Fish Culture Association had a fishery a good many years ago. White fish (*Coregoni*) and rainbow trout (*Salmo irideus*) were imported from America, but breeding operations were conducted on a very small scale, and produced no result of any importance. There is also a good deal of fishing in the Misbourn, a little tributary which rises above Great Missenden and enters the Coln just above Uxbridge, flowing

¹ *The Field*, Jan. 1902.

by Amersham, Chalfont and Chalfont St. Peter. At Shardeloes it expands into a considerable lake which is well stocked with fish. Mention must also be made of the Thames, the upper portion of which flows through this county. It rises near Stewkley, but it is not until Aylesbury is reached that it begins to yield angling worthy of mention. Next comes Cuddington and Thame, the town giving its name to this tributary. For a short distance the stream divides Buckinghamshire from Oxfordshire, in which latter county are its lower reaches, and its mouth at Dorchester. In parts it abounds in coarse fish, pike, perch, roach, chub, &c. The Grand Junction Canal runs from near Aylesbury to Leighton Buzzard, and an arm of the canal links Buckingham to Stony Stratford. These waters hold the usual coarse fish in quantities greater or less and have a reputation for large tench.

Hard by Staines the Thames begins to border the county. Up to the City Stone the fisheries are the property of the City of London, having been presented to the ancient corporation by King Richard I who informed that body he did so

for the health of his own soul and for the soul's health of King Henry his father and for all his ancestors' souls and for the common weal of the City of London and of all his realm.

A condition of the great charter was that all weirs (i.e. fish traps) were to be utterly put down in the Thames and Medway save only by the sea coast. Thames fisheries have always been considered of great importance. So long ago as the reign of Henry IV, we find a statute relating to the navigation, in which some protection was ordered to be given the fry of fish. Of the general character of the angling from Staines upwards, so far as Bucks is concerned it may be said that barbel and bream grow scarce as we ascend the river, while all other kinds of fishing improve, trout being numerous only at those places where they have been introduced or where some trout-holding tributary enters the river. The trout of such rivers as the Thames cannot breed naturally to any extent in the main stream; their eggs are washed away by floods and the young fry are devoured by coarse fish, more especially by pike, perch and eels. The Thames trout is, of course, the most notable fish in the river; there is probably a larger stock of these fish now than ever before. This is due to the efforts of the various preservation societies which, on the Upper Thames, have spent over £14,000 in improving the fisheries. Much of this money has been devoted to the purchase or breeding of trout. Thames trout fishing begins

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on 1 April and ends on 4 September. Most of the largest fish are caught by spinning, with live bait, or by barbel fishers who have baited a weir-pool with worms. Many a trout, well conditioned if small, has been caught with a salmon fly in the weir-pools, while on the shallows below them smaller flies of the standard pattern, alders, red palmers, and so forth, are occasionally used. It cannot be said, however, that the fly fishing for Thames trout is good or even fair; indeed little can be done with the fly rod except on such shallows as remain undisturbed by the summer traffic. Near Magna Charta island are some noted barbel swims. The weirs and their streams in the neighbourhood of Windsor hold a good many fine trout which were turned in by the Windsor Angling Association. Fishing in the neighbourhood of Windsor Park belongs to the crown estates, and the right of fishing is retained, at any rate so far as the towpath is concerned. Boveney has long been a noted place for trout. At Maidenhead the angling rights over much of the river are in private hands, a private right of fishing in the main stream below Maidenhead Bridge having been established by Mrs. Annie Smith in an action brought against James Andrews, a professional fisherman.²

At Maidenhead the fisheries are under the care of the Maidenhead, Cookham and Bray Thames Angling Association, which has placed large quantities of trout and other fish in the river. At Cookham the angling, judged from a Thames standpoint, begins to be first-rate. It

² It is a well-established principle of law that fisheries in a non-tidal though navigable river do not become the property of the public however long the public may have fished without let or hindrance; but such free fishing carried on for many years can be put forward as evidence to show that the person claiming the fishery is not in possession of it, the law assuming that someone else is the owner. In the Maidenhead case Sir Ford North, the presiding judge, made the following statement on the subject:—‘There are very large portions of the river in which the public are at liberty to fish, without fear of interference; not from any right of their own, but because the real proprietors of the soil and fishery cannot trace and establish their title.’ Of course the owner of the bed or banks of the river is not necessarily the owner of the fishery which may have been granted in years gone by to anyone and is often owned by the lord of the manor. Many owners of fisheries to whose title there can be no question, act very liberally towards the public, placing no obstacle in the way of anglers. In other cases, however, claims are made to Thames fisheries which it is commonly believed will not bear investigation. The Thames Preservation League, a branch of the Commons Preservation Society, has for some time been endeavouring to come to an amicable arrangement with the owners of Thames fisheries with the object of once and for all settling the question and removing the cause of many disputes, and, occasionally, costly lawsuits.

is between this place and Bourne End that the Wye or Wick above-mentioned flows into the Thames, and formerly aided in keeping the river stocked with trout. A little higher we come to Great Marlow which has long been noted for Thames trout, owing to the great number of large fish which have been turned in by the Marlow Angling Association. It was long the policy of this association to turn in far larger fish than those purchased by similar organizations, and the results obtained have certainly justified that course. It has been found that even two-year-old trout from the fish culturists’ ponds when turned into the Thames do not always survive: reared in artificial security they appear unable to recognise their most dangerous natural foes. Fish of from one-and-a-half to three pounds, however—and some of this size have been turned in—enjoy greater safety. From Marlow up to Medmenham Abbey is one of the choicest pieces of Thames fishing. The Hurley pools contain all kinds of fish and produce some magnificent trout and very fair bags of barbel. Perch are numerous, as are chub and roach. Hurley is within the district of the Henley-on-Thames and District Preservation Society which has introduced, among other fish, bream and Loch Leven trout into this portion of the Thames. Bream are occasionally caught, but these fish do not appear to have bred in any number. Just below Medmenham Abbey the fishing is extremely good; above the abbey by Magpie Island there are swims which offer opportunities to the chub fisher; while in the sharp running water below Hambleden lock we again reach favourite haunts of trout. At the mill-tail at this point is the mouth of a little intermittent burn which has the reputation of running for three years and then remaining dry for a like period. In the eighties, however, it flowed for nine successive years, with the result that Thames trout ran up it and bred so freely that the stream became a most valuable feeder for the main river and was used for piscicultural operations by the Henley Fishery Association. A large number of Loch Leven trout were bred from eggs presented by the late Sir James Maitland, Bart., of Howietoun. In time the stream again dried up and the decrease in the quantity of trout was soon noticeable. A little above Hambleden, by Greenlands so long the residence of the late Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., there is good pike fishing in winter, and the Regatta Reach which commences near the island of that name contains a considerable number of large chub and a fair number of other fish, including some very large trout. Near Fawley Court, and about opposite Remenham Farm, a short distance up the Regatta Reach, the boundary of the county is reached.

A notable feature of Thames angling is the gudgeon fishing. Many anglers in summer

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devote themselves almost entirely to this sport. Unfortunately the gudgeon, like some other fish, have much decreased in numbers of late years, but from six to twelve dozen are even now caught from a single punt during a day's angling.³ Twenty years ago as many as twenty dozen fish were often taken from a punt in the course of a day. Tench fishing in some parts of the river is exceedingly good, and although very few fish are caught the reason is to be found in the fact that few anglers devote the necessary time and expense to baiting those swims in which tench are found. The Thames methods of using a paternoster and of casting out spinning and other baits are known all the world over. Of late years the Trent methods of casting from the reel for pike and what is termed 'long corking' for chub and barbel has come into vogue.

The Thames fishery regulations, which are exceedingly stringent, were drawn up by the Thames Conservators after consultation with the various angling preservation societies. The close season for coarse fish commences on 15 March and terminates on 15 June. Netting is strictly prohibited except for bait with nets of small size. Owners of private fisheries may use one or two specified nets of small size with large mesh, but this is a privilege of little value and of which they very rarely avail themselves.

One other river in Buckinghamshire remains for mention, namely, the Great Ouse, which rises on the border of the county near Blackney, and flows across it by Buckingham, Stony Stratford, and near Newport Pagnel and Olney, and thence into Bedfordshire. This portion of the Ouse contains all the usual coarse fish except barbel. The fishing is of the same character as the Thames, but on the whole somewhat better, though the fish are neither so large nor so numerous as in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire where the river increases in size.

In the hope of ascertaining whether salmon can ascend the river, the Thames Salmon Association, of which the chairman is Lord Desborough, during a period of four or five years turned some thousands of salmon smolts into the lower reaches of the Thames. The work must be regarded as purely experimental, and no positive results have been obtained. The main question seems to be whether the pollution of the

³ It is believed that the steam launch traffic, to which of late has been added that of the motor boat, is very destructive to the spawn and young fry of fish.

estuary is such that the salmon will or will not enter its waters. Smelts (not to be confounded with salmon smolts) come up from the sea as far as Teddington, a fact which suggests there is nothing in the Thames estuary actually destructive to fish life. The condition of the estuary has of late years been much improved by the work of the London County Council, in purifying sewage, but the waste products from chemical works are inimical to fish life.

The Thames Salmon Association has more recently introduced a continental species of salmon into the Thames, the *Salmo Hucho* of the Danube and other rivers. It is believed that this species does not migrate to the sea. It is too soon yet to report on the results of the experiment. Among other new fish, the rainbow trout (*Salmon irideus*) should be mentioned. One of over 3 lb. in weight was caught at Abingdon in 1907. Not many have been placed in the Thames.

In this connexion it must be noticed that the latest authentic records of indigenous Thames salmon refer to this county. The Rev. George Venables in his *Records of Buckinghamshire* reproduces the daily log of an old fisherman who lived and plied his calling at Boulter's Lock; it contains particulars of the annual catch of salmon in this part of the river from the year 1794 to 1821 inclusive. The catches varied greatly: to select a few examples in 1794 fifteen fish, weighing 148 lb. were taken; in 1801 the total was sixty-six fish weighing 1,124 lb., the greatest number taken during the series of twenty-six seasons; in 1804, sixty-two fish were caught, and in the following year only seven; 1812 was the best for seven years, eighteen fish weighing 224 lb. being taken; in 1816 the catch totalled fourteen, weighing 179 lb., and thereafter the annual return never exceeded five salmon and those were caught in 1820; two, weighing 31 lb. were taken at Boulter's Weir in 1821, and these two were the last native salmon caught in the Thames, so far as is known. Thames salmon appear to have decreased both in number and size, says Lord Desborough, of Taplow Court, about the middle of the eighteenth century; but in the season of 1780 over fifty fish were caught in the reach opposite Cliveden Springs by one fisherman, and others were equally successful in other portions of the river. Thames salmon commanded a high price a century ago: in 1808, Lord Desborough states, a fish of 18 lb. was sold for £7 4s., or 8s. per pound.

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CRICKET

Despite the efforts of Mr. P. J. de Paravicini, Buckinghamshire up to 1908 has never taken an important position even among the second-class counties. The cricket of Eton College, however, deserves more space than the exigencies of this work will permit. In contrasting the results with those of its chief opponents, Harrow and Winchester, it must be borne in mind that the river furnishes a formidable counter-attraction at Eton. Until quite recently when Agar's Plough became the school ground, the home matches were played in Upper Club, Winchester being met out and home in alternate years, and Harrow always at Lord's. After 1866, for thirty years, the Eton eleven was managed by the late Mr. R. A. H. Mitchell; he has been succeeded in most satisfactory fashion by Mr. C. M. Wells.

Of the eighty matches played up to 1908 with Harrow, Eton had won thirty-one and Harrow thirty-four, seventeen having been drawn. By scoring 183 for Eton in 1904, Mr. D. C. Boles created a new record for the match, beating 152 made by Mr. Emilius Bayley, now the Rev. Sir John Robert Laurie, in 1841. The other centuries for Eton have been 120 by Mr. B. J. T. Bosanquet in 1896; 117 by Mr. A. W. Ridley in 1871; 114 by Mr. C. P. Foley in 1886; 113 by Mr. W. F. Forbes in 1876; 108 by the late Mr. C. J. Ottaway in 1869; 101 by Mr. H. C. Pilkington in 1896; and 100 by Mr. E. N. S. Crankshaw in 1903. There have been eight Harrovian centuries. The largest Etonian totals have been 406 in 1904; 386 in 1896; 365 in 1906 and 308 in 1845, 1871, and 1876. Harrow has six times exceeded 300.

The chief Etonian bowling successes against Harrow have been:—

1872 } F. M. Buckland	6 for 35 and 6 for 42; 4
1873 }	for 63 and 5 for 64
1879 C. T. Studd	6 for 28
1880 } P. de Paravicini	5 for 50 and 7 for 42; 6
1881 }	for 42 and 6 for 57
1883 Hon. A. E. Parker	8 for 37
1884 } E. G. Bromley	6 for 46 and 2 for 48; 6
1885 }	for 88 and 4 for 49
1886 } H. R. Bromley	5 for 79 and 4 for 73; 6 for
1887 }	44 and 2 for 67
1888 H. W. Studd	6 for 27 and 8 for 72
1893 H. R. E. Harrison	6 for 29 and 3 for 26
1894 F. H. E. Cunliffe	7 for 54 and 6 for 40
1903 C. E. Hatfield	5 for 35 and 7 for 58

Of the seventy-six matches played with Winchester to 1908, Eton has won twenty-five and

lost twenty-four, eight being drawn, with a tie in 1845. The centuries for Eton have been in 1863, when the total was 444; A. Lubbock 174 not out, and E. W. Tritton 130; in 1874 when the total was 381; H. E. Whitmore 109, and Hon. A. Lyttelton 104; the latter in 1875 scored 102; in 1885 H. Philipson scored 141; in 1886 Hon. H. Coventry 119; in 1887 the late W. D. Llewellyn 124, and in 1905 W. N. Todd 134. The only Wykehamist centuries have been in 1852, E. R. Trevilian 126; in 1892, J. R. Mason 147, and in 1901, E. L. Wright 113. The home matches played by Eton are generally with I Zingari, M.C.C. and Ground, Free Foresters, New College, Oxford, Windsor Garrison, &c.

The following old Etonians have played in Test Matches in England:—Lord Harris, Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, C. T. Studd, and B. J. T. Bosanquet; while the following have been on tour to Australia:—Lord Harris, Hon. Ivo Bligh (now Lord Darnley), C. T. Studd, G. B. Studd, Lord Hawke, A. E. Newton, H. Philipson, P. R. Johnson, B. J. T. Bosanquet. The following have represented the Gentlemen at Lord's since 1878:—Lord Harris, Lord Hawke, Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, A. W. Ridley, Hon. Ivo Bligh (now Lord Darnley), C. T. Studd, G. B. Studd, W. F. Forbes, P. J. de Paravicini, H. W. Bainbridge, H. W. Forster, F. Marchant, H. Philipson, Lord George Scott, A. E. Newton, F. H. E. Cunliffe, and B. J. T. Bosanquet; and the following have represented the Gentlemen against the Australians:—Lord Harris, Hon. Edward Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, G. B. Studd, C. T. Studd, and Lord Hawke.

Since 1878 the following old Etonians have found places in the Oxford eleven:—W. F. Forbes, A. E. Newton, H. W. Forster, H. Philipson, Lord George Scott, the late W. D. Llewellyn, the late D. H. Forbes, R. T. Jones, C. C. and H. C. Pilkington, F. H. E. Cunliffe, B. J. T. Bosanquet, C. H. B. Marsham, H. A. Arkwright, W. Findlay, G. E. Martin, R. V. Buxton, A. M. and F. H. Hollins. In the Cambridge eleven: J. E. K., G. B., C. T., and R. A. Studd, H. Whitfeld, Hon. Ivo Bligh, C. W. Foley, Lord Hawke, P. J. de Paravicini, H. W. Bainbridge, Hon. C. M. Knatchbull Hugessen, F. Marchant, F. Thomas, H. J. Mordaunt, W. C. Bridgeman, R. C. Gosling, H. R. Bromley-Davenport, H. K. Longman, E. F. Penn, C. P. Foley, H. W. de Zoete, P. R. Johnson, and P. W. Cobbold.

The writer as an old Etonian may be permitted to add: *floreat Etona, floreat florebis.*

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GOLF

The ranges of hilly country in the Chilterns, which stretch across Buckinghamshire from the southern extremity of Bedfordshire to the southern part of Oxfordshire, make an admirably diversified ground for golf. The soils are a mixture of rich loam, clay, chalky mould and loam, lying upon a subsoil of gravel; and in certain districts some of these soils are largely intermingled. At any rate they grow turf which is highly suitable for the game.

The Burnham Beeches Golf Club, which was founded in 1892, owes its existence to Mr. F. C. D. Haggard, Dr. A. E. Wilmot, Mr. F. C. Carr-Gomm, Dr. Abercrombie, and other gentlemen. At the present time it has 250 ordinary members, 6 life members, 50 provisional members and 100 lady members. The course of 18 holes is situated 2 miles from Taplow, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Slough. The holes are laid out on undulating pasture land; and viewed as a whole, the course provides an admirable variety of play. The holes vary in length from a little over 100 yards to 500 yards, but the most interesting are those varying in length from 300 to 430 yards. There are also several very interesting short holes, and the natural hazards have been skilfully supplemented by artificial 'pot' bunkers which turn to the best account the natural lie of the land. The soil being gravel, the course even in winter is per-

fectly dry, making play possible all the year round. The game indeed is most largely played in the autumn, winter, and spring. H. R. Chestney is the professional.

Among the half-dozen clubs in the county, probably the next in importance is the Datchet Club, instituted in 1894, and the members of which now number 150. The course of 9 holes, which vary in length from 174 to 420 yards, is situated on the right side of the road from Datchet to Windsor. The holes are laid out over pasture land, and the hazards are partly natural and partly artificial.

The Chesham Club, instituted in 1900, plays over a 9-hole course, situated on Ley Hill Common, 2 miles from Chesham, while at Grovebury, 2 miles from the railway station, the Leighton Buzzard and District Club, founded in September 1905, have also laid out a course of 9 holes. For several years up to the opening of 1906, the West Wycombe Club played over a 9-hole course laid out on Downley Common about a mile from West Wycombe railway station; the hazards consisting of gravel pits, ponds, roads, and whins. This club ceased to exist in February 1906. The Wycombe and Bourne End Club, founded in 1904, plays over a 9-hole course laid out on Flackwell Heath.

ROWING

HENLEY REGATTA

The meeting at which the establishment of Henley Regatta was determined on was held in the Town Hall of Henley on 26 March, 1839. The importance of the fixture lies in the prestige which attaches to a victory in its best race; this race has long been considered the 'Blue Ribbon' of the amateur rowing world among prizes which are open to competitors other than those from the two universities. If proof of this were needed it would be sufficient to say that at the time of writing, the Grand Challenge Cup, first offered for competition nearly seventy years ago, is now in the possession of a Belgian crew.

It will, perhaps, be convenient to give the slight sketch of the history of the regatta which the space available alone permits, in the form of a chronological list of the most important developments since 1839. In that year Trinity, Wadham, and Brasenose Colleges entered from Oxford for the Grand Challenge, which was won by the first named, the only other race

being the Town Challenge Cup Fours. In the next year Wadham rowed again and were beaten by the eventual winners, the famous Leander Club, whose first appearance this was on the Henley reach. This year (1840) is also memorable for the fact that the District Challenge Cup for Fours was won by a Henley crew stroked by Mr. J. Page.¹ In 1841 occurred the first race for the Stewards' Cup, which was won by the Oxford Club of London; and in 1842 we find the Cambridge University Boat Club beaten in the final heat for the Grand Challenge. It has, of course, long ceased to be the practice for university crews, as such, to race at Henley.

Perhaps the most important event connected with university rowing on the Henley course was the celebrated episode of the Oxford seven-oar in 1843. In the final heat this crew was drawn

¹ It may be mentioned that Mr. Page, who was born before Waterloo, was present in the Town Hall in July, 1907, when a testimonial from the rowing men of England was presented to Mr. Herbert Thomas Steward, the president of the Henley stewards.

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against an eight which rowed under the name of the Cambridge Subscription Rooms, London, and was entirely composed of men who had either got their 'blue' already or won it directly afterwards. It was, in fact, a strengthened university eight. The Oxford crew lost their stroke, Mr. Fletcher Menzies, through illness, just before the start, so they put in their No. 7 (the brother of Tom Hughes of Oriel) at stroke, called down Lowndes of Christchurch from bow to seven, and left bow's seat vacant. With only seven oars they won by nearly a length. Part of their boat is still preserved in the Oxford University Barge.

In 1844 the Diamond Sculls were instituted, and were first won by T. B. Bumsted of London. In the next year two more races were added, namely, the Ladies' Plate, first won by St. George's Club of London, and the Silver Wherries, afterwards known as the Silver Goblets, for pairs, which were first won by Mann and Arnold, of Caius. In 1847 the Wyfold Challenge Cup was first offered for eights; this event did not become a four-oar race until 1855, when 'Royal Chester' won it. In 1848 the Visitors' Cup for fours was instituted and won by Christchurch. In 1849 Wadham College, Oxford, which had made its mark at the first regatta ten years earlier, carried off both the Grand and the Ladies'.

By 1850 the regatta had attained to an importance which justified the framing for the first time of 'Laws of Boat Racing,' by which the various crews engaged to abide; and this legislation no doubt laid the foundation of that world-wide influence which the stewards have exercised in the matter of amateurism and fair sport. In the following year the Prince Consort recognized the existence and value of this influence by becoming a patron of what was henceforth to be known as Henley Royal Regatta.

These early meetings, which seem to have generally taken place about the beginning or middle of June, had apparently become famous for the bad weather which attended them. But in 1856 the unaccustomed sunshine which was vouchsafed the regatta seemed appropriate to the first appearance of a boat which practically revolutionized the art of building racing craft. This was the keelless ship designed by Matt Taylor for the Royal Chester crew, who proved her excellence by winning the Grand Challenge and the Ladies' Plate. In the next year the Visitors' and the Ladies' Plate were apparently restricted to the public schools and the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin University. But this regulation, if it ever were such, cannot have been observed, inasmuch as in 1878 a crew from Columbia College, New York, was not only permitted to enter for the Visitors but won the cup and carried it across the Atlantic.

The year 1861 witnessed a feature which

ever since has been one of the most popular races of the regatta; this was the race in which Eton rowed against and beat Radley for the first time. Eton has beaten Radley regularly ever since; but it is only right to say that there have been many very close finishes. In 1883, for instance, Eton only got home first because No. 4 in the Radley boat broke his slide at Remenham; and in 1891 when both crews were in the final, Radley was only beaten by a short half-length by an Eton crew including C. M. Pitman and W. E. Crum, besides other good oars. Radley has been coached for the last few decades by Mr. H. M. Evans, and the good done to English rowing by Dr. E. Warre at Eton can best be measured by the number of his pupils who have become members of both university crews. At the Henley of 1866, for instance, out of twenty-eight medals given for eights and fours, twenty-seven were won by nineteen Etonians; and of the nineteen no fewer than seventeen were Dr. Warre's pupils. Though Dr. Warre has now retired from active coaching, his influence on oarsmanship is still very strong, particularly in the direction of scientific boat-building.

In 1868 the stewards as a body gained much in the estimation of the rowing world by electing Mr. Playford and Dr. Warre to be of their number. The same year saw two important innovations: the Thames Cup—now one of the most popular races at the regatta—was established, being won by Pembroke College, Oxford; and in the race for the Stewards' Fours the revolutionary mind of W. B. Woodgate, the famous old Radleian, initiated the idea of coxswainless fours; the astonished authorities being obliged to disqualify Brasenose because their gallant steersman leapt into the water at the word 'go.' This proceeding led to legislation in the next season, and in 1869 a cup was specially given for Coxswainless Fours, which was won, appropriately enough, by a crew with another old Radleian at stroke, T. H. A. Houlton, now canon of Christchurch. The rules for the regatta were also thoroughly revised, and a steam launch was used for the first time to carry the umpire (Mr. George Morrison) up and down the course; he had previously been dependent upon crews of watermen. The improved system of starting races—from punts in which watermen held the sterns of each boat—had been adopted by 1868, and about the same time the boat-house for the use of competitors was built. In 1872 the last of the great developments in the construction of racing boats occurred, sliding seats being used for the first time at Henley. By 1874 the Stewards', the Visitors', and the Wyfolds' were all being rowed in coxswainless boats.

In 1877 Radley beat Cheltenham in a private match for which special medals were given; such private matches have occasionally formed a feature in the regatta ever since.

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In 1878 the appearance at Henley of the Shoewaeacemette Four, which lost the Stewards', and of the Columbia crew, which won the Visitors', brought up the question of foreign entries. The result was the adoption of legislation with regard to foreign crews, more especially with regard to the definition of an 'amateur.' In this year was started a new race for fours called the Public Schools Challenge Cup, to be rowed on fixed seats; Cheltenham beat Radley in the final of the first race. In 1885 the stewards very rightly discontinued this prize, which was passed on to another meeting.

The business of conducting the regatta became heavier as more and more races were added, and in 1881 a committee of management was appointed to deal with its affairs. A significant tribute to the value of the work performed by the Henley Committee was paid them by the International Olympic Committee, who awarded the Henley officials the cup allotted to that body which had done most during the preceding year for promoting the amateur sport of the world. This valuable trophy was handed over to the stewards during the regatta of 1907 by Lord Desborough. The presentation of this cup, which had only been awarded once before, exemplified in a very striking way the gratitude felt by amateur oarsmen all over the world to the Henley authorities, and it could not have been made in a more appropriate year than that in which English oarsmen had testified, by the gift of a gold replica of the Grand Challenge Cup, their appreciation of the long and arduous services rendered by Mr. Herbert T. Steward in perfecting every detail of the regatta.

Another famous name in the annals of Henley makes its appearance in 1885; in that year Mr. Guy Nickalls first rowed for Eton, and won the Ladies' Plate. In 1907 the same oarsman was in the Magdalen crew which beat Leander in the final of the Stewards'; he had not rowed in every regatta between those two dates, but had taken part in thirteen successive years. After apparently retiring in 1897 he came out again with undiminished vigour and success in 1905, 1906, and 1907. No one can boast so fine a record of Henley prizes as Mr. Guy Nickalls, who has also four times held the amateur championship as winner of the Wingfield Sculls, and has rowed five times in the Oxford crew, being successful on two occasions against Cambridge.

By 1886 it had become necessary to extend the regatta to three days, and twenty years later four days were necessary to get through the programme. It was in 1886 that the greatest change in the course took place; before that year crews had to go round the point and finish near Henley Bridge, giving a palpably unfair advantage to the Berkshire shore; in this year a waterway was piled out of exactly the same

length (1 mile and 550 yards), but starting just below the tail of the island and finishing at the upper end of Phyllis Court Wall. This waterway, which is about 150 ft. wide, remains the course at the time of writing. The only other necessary improvement was added when the executive determined on the addition of long booms between each post from start to finish. This innovation has proved invaluable; not only does it keep the course clear of the vast crowd of boats, it enables two races to be rowed within the short interval of only five minutes whenever necessary, and saves the spectators in boat, punt, or canoe from the wash of the umpire's launch.

The advantage of the Buckinghamshire shore over the Berkshire station has always been a matter for discussion, but as a matter of fact this is not extraordinary, unless there happens to be a very strong breeze off the Buckinghamshire shore, when the boat on that station is able to enjoy the shelter of the bushes. In 1906—a year remarkable for fine weather and almost perfect conditions—the Buckinghamshire station won thirty-one times and the Berkshire won twenty-four times. In 1907—which was remarkable for extraordinarily bad weather—Buckinghamshire won thirty-five times and Berkshire twenty-seven times. From these figures either side can derive whatever arguments may suit them. It may be added that the natural course of the stream is direct from the bridge upon the projecting wall of Phyllis Court grounds, nearly opposite Poplar Point; then obliquely towards the gate below the point; and then still more obliquely and more quietly to the overhanging trees near Fawley Court, leaving comparatively dead water for some distance below the grounds of Fawley Court. The stream becomes stronger as it approaches the island, but is much sharper on the Buckinghamshire side than in the Berkshire channel.

In 1887 our present king and queen—then Prince and Princess of Wales—visited the new course with a large party of royalties. In 1894 the rules concerning amateurism and boat-racing received a further most important revision. In 1902, owing to the regretted retirement of Colonel Frank Willan, captain of the Oxford Four, which had beaten Harvard on the tide-way, the present umpires—Mr. Frederick Pitman, the famous Cambridge stroke and sculler, and Mr. W. A. L. Fletcher, D.S.O., of Oxford—were appointed. The judge is Mr. Frederick Fenner, who has probably held that office in various races on the Thames longer than any other living man. It was in 1902 that, in pursuance of their resolute policy of keeping rowing the purest sport in England, the Henley stewards stopped professional coaching in all except sculling races, in which such assistance is usually essential during practice. But it should be noted that Mr. Kelly, whose sculling record

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

is the finest performance at the regatta, never used professional help. In 1906 the stewards appointed as official time-keepers Mr. H. Elling-

ton, London R.C., and Mr. Theodore A. Cook, O.U.B.C. The records for the various races, corrected up to 11 July, 1907, are as follows:—

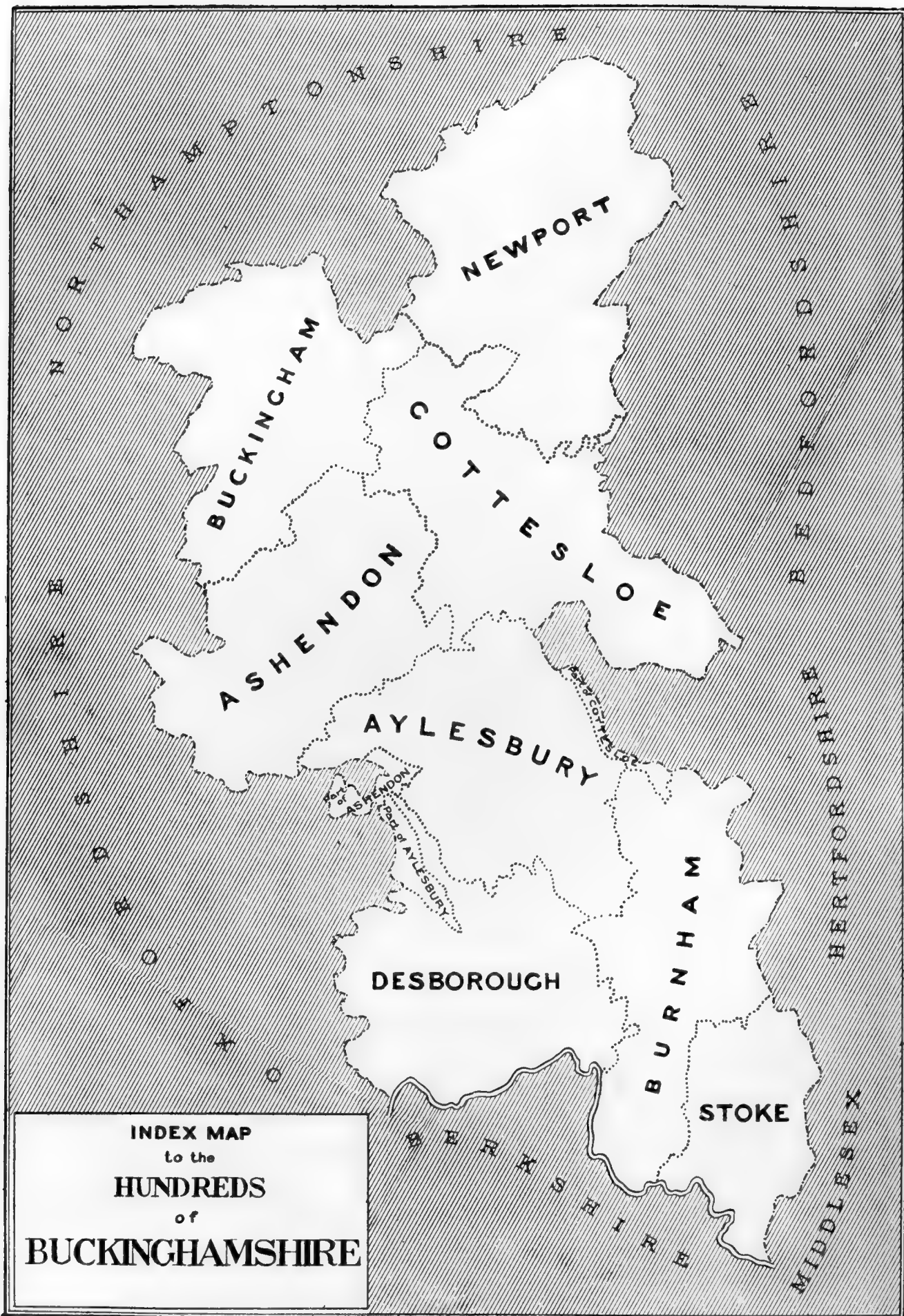
Race	Holder	Date	Finish
Grand . . .	{ Leander (v. London)	1891	6.51
	{ New College (v. Leander)	1897	6.51
Ladies . . .	Eton (v. Emmanuel)	1892	7.1
Thames . . .	London (v. Thames)	1886	7.8
Stewards . . .	{ Leander (v. New College)	1897	7.30
	{ Third Trinity (v. Winnipeg)	1904	7.30
Visitors . . .	New College (v. University College)	1898	7.37
Wyfolds . . .	Burton (v. Kingston)	1902	7.43
Goblets . . .	{ Barclay and Muttibury (v. The McLeans)	1887	8.15
	{ Johnstone & R. Powell (v. Graham & Kelly)	1906	8.15
Diamonds . . .	Kelly (v. Blackstaffe)	1905	8.10

ATHLETICS

Sports have been held in various towns and villages for very many years; but some of the older meetings have ceased to exist. Some thirty years ago, a famous fixture was held annually at Olney. The races were run on a rather rough up and down hill grass course, which militated against fast times; but the results were seldom lacking in interest. It was at the Olney sports in the early seventies that James Gibb, afterwards four mile champion of England, made his first appearance as a lad of sixteen. He was handicapped liberally on account of his youth, and easily won the mile. In the following year he was placed at scratch, and again won, a per-

formance which he repeated for two years in succession. The Bucks Constabulary meeting is a highly popular one, its open events being always well supported by athletes of good class. Other good meetings, which have been long established, are those at Aylesbury, Leighton Buzzard, High Wycombe, Newport Pagnel (whence came another famous ex-champion, C. Pearce), Stony Stratford, Chesham, Buckingham, and Amersham. The oldest of all the paper-chasing clubs, the Thames Hare and Hounds, which has been established nearly forty years, chose a route across country, from High Wycombe to Princes Risborough, for one of their outlying runs.





TOPOGRAPHY

THE THREE HUNDREDS OF AYLESBURY (RISBOROUGH, STONE, AYLESBURY)

RISBOROUGH HUNDRED

CONTAINING THE PARISHES OF

BLEDLOW WITH BLEDLOW
RIDGE

HORSENDEN
RISBOROUGH, MONKS

RISBOROUGH, PRINCES

STONE HUNDRED

CONTAINING THE PARISHES OF

CUDDINGTON
DINTON WITH FORD AND
UPTON
HADDENHAM

HAMPDEN, GREAT
HAMPDEN, LITTLE
HARTWELL

KIMBLE, GREAT
KIMBLE, LITTLE
STONE

AYLESBURY HUNDRED

CONTAINING THE PARISHES OF

ASTON CLINTON
BIERTON WITH BROUGHTON
BUCKLAND
ELLESBOROUGH
HALTON

HULCOTT
LEE
MISSENDEN, GREAT
MISSENDEN, LITTLE
STOKE MANDEVILLE

WESTON TURVILLE¹

AYLESBURY WITH WAL-
TON
WENDOVER

The county of Buckingham was divided into eighteen hundreds at the time of Domesday Survey. At the close of the 13th century, however, they had become consolidated into eight groups of three hundreds.² Of the older divisions, the Hundreds of Aylesbury, Risborough, and Stone formed the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury, containing twenty-seven parishes.³

Practically no change has taken place in the bounds of the Three Hundreds since Domesday Book, but the parishes of Cuddington, Little Hampden, Hulcott, and Lee are not named in the Survey.⁴ Marlow, however, seems to have been included under the Hundred of Stone in the entry of Walter de Vernon's lands, but this was probably merely an omission of the heading of Desborough Hundred,⁵ since elsewhere in the Survey Marlow is placed in the last-mentioned hundred.⁶ The Liberty of Brand's

¹ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 25, 26.

² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Dom. Map.

³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 89.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 260b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* i, 265b.

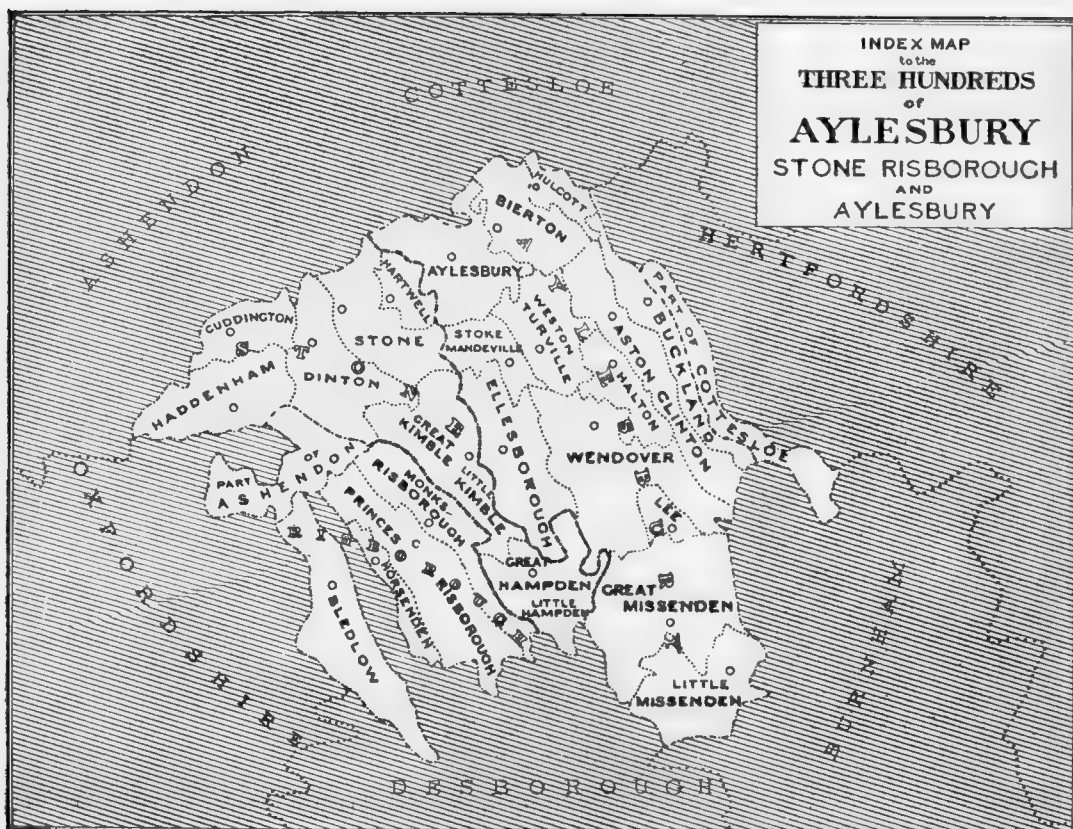
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Fee in Aylesbury Hundred is in the parish of Hughenden in Desborough Hundred (q.v.).

The Hundred of Risborough contained the four parishes of Bledlow, Horsenden, Monks Risborough, and Princes Risborough. The parishes contained in the other two hundreds varied, however, at different times ; in 1316 the Hundred of Aylesbury contained Aston Clinton, Aylesbury, Buckland, Broughton and Hulcott, Ellesborough, Halton, Great Missenden, Little Missenden, Stoke Mandeville with Halling, Wendover, and Weston Turville.⁷ The Hundred of Stone at the same date contained Dinton, Haddenham with Cuddington, Great Hampden, Hartwell and Little Hampden, Great Kimble, Little Kimble, Stone, and Upton.⁸ Dinton parish spread into the two Hundreds of Desborough and Ashendon, the liberty of Moreton being in the former and Aston Mullins and Walldridge in the latter hundred.

⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 112.

⁸ *Ibid.* 113.



HUNDRED OF RISBOROUGH

BLEDLOW

Bledelai (xi cent.); Bledelaw (xiii cent.).

Bledlow parish lies on the western boundary of Buckinghamshire. It is nearly separated from the other parishes in the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury by a piece of Desborough Hundred, which lies between the parishes of Bledlow and Horsenden. The southern end of the parish lies on the Chiltern Hills, and is called Bledlow Ridge, being between 600 ft. and 800 ft.¹ above the Ordnance datum. The lower Icknield Way runs parallel to the line of the high ground from north-east to south-west, along the north and west sides of the parish, and the village and church stand back from it about half a mile on the lower slopes of the hills. Close to the east end of the church is a steep wooded combe called the Lyde, in which several springs break out from the chalk and form a small pool. The nearness of the church to the steep banks of the combe has suggested a local rhyme—

They that live and do abide
Shall see the church fall in the Lyde,

but fortunately this disaster does not seem very imminent. The brook running from the pool is called the Lyde Brook, and is used for two paper-mills, Bledlow Mill and North Mill. The western boundary of the parish is formed by Cuttle Brook, which runs south to the River Thames.

The higher slopes of the hills are in parts well wooded, and in one of the open spaces, on the north slope of Wain Hill, is the Bledlow Cross, cut in the turf, and visible for miles as a landmark.²

The village is picturesque, its small houses, surrounded by gardens, lying for the most part along the side of the hill, but there are outlying houses in the lower ground on the side roads which join the Icknield Way.

The subsoil on the hills is chalk, and in the northern part of the parish Upper Greensand and Gault.³ The surface soil is partly chalk loam, and partly stiff clay. The inhabitants are mainly engaged in arable farming, the parish containing 2,694½ acres of arable land, and 963 acres of permanent grass.⁴ There are several poultry farms, and in the Lyde there are watercress beds. The paper-mills of Mr. A. H. James provide occupation for part of the population. Both the Upper and Lower Icknield Ways pass across the parish, and the Wycombe branch of the Great Western Railway runs through it, with a station one mile to the north of Bledlow village. There are six hamlets in the parish. Of these Bledlow Ridge has been formed into a separate ecclesiastical parish since 1868. The other hamlets are Pitch Green, Rout's Green, Forty Green, Skittle Green, Holly Green. The whole civil parish contains 4,168½ acres.⁵

Amongst the vicars of Bledlow the name of Timothy Hall (1637 ?–90) occurs. He held the livings of Horsenden, Princes Risborough, and Bledlow in succession, being presented to the last named in 1674. Three years later he became rector of Allhallows Barking. He published the *Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* in 1687, and the next year became titular Bishop of Oxford. He was consecrated, but the canons of Christ Church refused to install him. On the accession of William of Orange he refused to take the oaths, but yielding at the last moment retained his titular bishopric until his death.⁶

In the time of King Edward the **MANORS** Confessor, Edmer Atule, one of the royal thegns, held the manor of **BLEDLOW**, and could sell it at will.⁷ William the Conqueror, however, granted it to his half-brother, Robert, Count of Mortain, who held it in 1086.⁸ William the son of Count Robert joined the rebellion of Robert of Bellesme against Henry I, and in consequence forfeited his lands in 1104.⁹ The honour of Mortain was known in Buckinghamshire and the neighbouring counties as the honour of Berkhamstead,¹⁰ but it seems probable that Bledlow was separated from the honour, since it was held, at least from the time of Henry II, from the king in chief,¹¹ and not from the various grantees of Berkhamstead.¹²

The privileges attaching to the honour of Mortain however still continued in Bledlow.¹³ Henry II appears to have granted the manor to Hugh de Gurnay before 1177,¹⁴ but in 1198 Hugh made an exchange¹⁵ with the monks of Bec Hellouin in Normandy, by which the manor passed to that alien abbey, and was held in frankalmoign¹⁶ in chief of the king.¹⁷

The priory of Ogbourne was an English cell of the abbey of Bec, and the prior seems to have answered for its English lands, and at times was described as lord of the manor.¹⁸

During the French wars of the 14th and 15th centuries the lands of the alien priories were seized by the king, and Ogbourne was ultimately dissolved by Henry V. He granted the manor of Bledlow to his brother John, Duke of Bedford,¹⁹ who died in 1435,²⁰ when it passed to Henry VI as his nephew and heir. In 1462 the king granted it to his new foundation, the College of St. Mary, Eton,²¹ the provost and fellows of which college are at the present day the lords of the manor.

In the 15th century the Hampdens, of Great Hampden, held **CORHAMS MANOR** in Bledlow under the provost and fellows of Eton College.²² Thomas Hampden died seised of the manor in 1485.²³ His grandson John Hampden settled it on his younger daughter and co-heiress Barbara, the wife of Sir

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Orographical map.

² See *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 189.

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological map.

⁴ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

⁵ Ord. Surv.

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 92.

⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243b.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, 165b.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 212.

¹¹ Cf. *Feud. Aids.* i, 85, 97, 123.

¹² *Ibid.* i, 107–32; *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, 165–7.

¹³ *Feud. Aids.* i, 97.

¹⁴ Pipe R. 23 Hen. II, m. 9 d.

¹⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 356b; Assize R. 63, m. 19 d.

¹⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245.

¹⁷ *Feud. Aids.* i, 85, 97, 123.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* i, 123; *Cal. Pat.* 1381–5, p. 354.

¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 14 Hen. VI, no. 36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1461–7, p. 73.

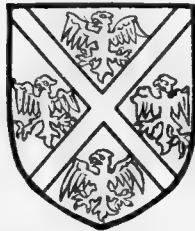
²² Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 51, no. 21.

²³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxiii, no.

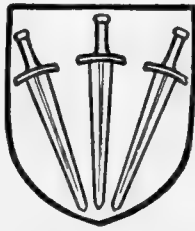
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

George Paulet,³⁴ who obtained various confirmations of the grant from the members of the Hampden family.³⁶

In 1585 Hampden Paulet³⁵ sold this manor to Roger Corham, and in 1624 it was held by William Corham and his wife Jane.³⁷ They sold it in the



HAMPDEN. *Argent a saltire gules between four eagles azure.*



PAULET. *Sable three swords set pilewise with their hilts or.*

same year to Alban Pigott and Ralph Pigott of Colwich,³⁸ in the parish of Waddesdon. Alban Pigott apparently left three daughters,³⁹ but which of them inherited Corham's manor does not appear. Daniel Cox, jun., held the manor in 1703,⁴⁰ but some years later he sold it to Richard Badcock.⁴¹ The last mention of the Badcocks is in 1823, when John Lovell Badcock, with Anne and Susannah, probably his sisters, made a settlement of the manor.⁴² The family of Spiers also seems to have had some interest at this time in Corham's manor. William Spiers, lessee of the manor,⁴³ subscribed to the building fund of the chapel at Bledlow Ridge. In 1823 Thomas Spiers was a party to the settlement made by the Badcocks.⁴⁴ It seems probable, however, that he was only a lessee under the Badcocks, though he may have owned other land in the parish. About 1826 the manor was sold, possibly by the Badcocks, to Captain Wood, who seems to have held it for more than thirty years.⁴⁵ The present owner of the manor is Mr. Robert White, of Chinnor, Oxon, but the land is for the most part enfranchised.⁴⁶

Hugh de Gurnay appears to have kept certain tenements in Bledlow after the exchange made with the Abbot of Bec, since Juliana, the heiress of the Gurnays, was summoned, when still a minor, to give warranty for certain lands in the parish.⁴⁷ She married William Bardolf, and in 1285-6 she and her husband attempted to recover the manor from the Abbot of Bec.⁴⁸ She claimed all the manor with its appurtenances except 5 messuages, 1 mill, and 2 carucates of land, which presumably she already held. Finally the abbot obtained a quit-claim from Juliana and William Bardolf for 200 marks sterling. Her descendants held

rents in Bledlow without interruption till the beginning of the 15th century, when Sir Thomas Bardolf held the tenements above alluded to.⁴⁹ The lands retained by Hugh de Gurnay were the fees of Odo of Bramoster and of John de Turri, who presumably were military tenants.⁵⁰ In 1180, before the grant to Bec, John de Turri paid 10 marks for confirmation of his land in Bledlow.⁵¹ In 1228 Richard de Turri, together with the Prior of Ogbourne, brought an action with regard to common rights over their lands in Bledlow.⁵²

The whole manor of Bledlow, which was granted to the Count of Mortain by the Conqueror, does not seem to have been included in the grant to Hugh de Gurnay.⁵³ The family of de Rual or Druel held certain land, afterwards known as *MESLES* or *DRUELS*, in Bledlow, of the honour of Mortain in the 13th century. Simon de Rual paid scutage for land in Bledlow in 1236.⁵⁴ This tenement seems to have been the hamlet of Mosleye or Mesle, which John Druel held in 1284-6⁵⁵ and in 1302-3.⁵⁶ His son John Druel made a settlement in 1333 of the messuage and rents in Bledlow,⁵⁷ by which there were remainders to Giles son of John Druel, and his wife Amabel daughter of Thomas de Reynes and their issue, and in default to William brother of Giles and his wife, another daughter of Thomas de Reynes. It is not clear whether Giles and William were the sons or brothers of John son of John Druel. In 1346 this John and Roger Puttenham held the fee formerly held by John Druel,⁵⁸ but after this date the name of Druel disappears. Like the manor of Horsenden,⁵⁹ this land has a complicated history during the Wars of the Roses. The manor of Mesles or Druels, as it was called in the 15th century, appears to have come into the possession of Edmund Hampden and John Brekenoke.⁶⁰ They demised it in 1458-9 to Sir John Fray and William Brown,⁶¹ who in turn granted it to John Leynham or Plomer and his wife Margaret.⁶² Various releases and sales were afterwards made,⁶³ and in 1528 the manor had passed into the possession of Sir Edward Don.⁶⁴ He left an only daughter and heiress who married Sir Thomas Jones,⁶⁵ and his lands descended to his two granddaughters Frances and Anne. In the division of their shares of their property the manor of Druels came to Frances, the wife of Ralph Lee.⁶⁶ Together with their son and heir Edward Donne Lee they settled the manor on Thomas Lee,⁶⁷ who died seised in 1572.⁶⁸ It then reverted to Edward Donne Lee, who sold it to William Quarendon.⁶⁹ In 1583 Quarendon and his wife Margaret held the manor.⁷⁰ Afterwards it was divided, presumably between two heiresses, since John Franklyn in 1640 died seised of half the

³⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 4 Edw. V; L. and P. Hen. VIII, xiii (1), 1000.

³⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 4 Edw. V; Mich. 3 Edw. VI; Mich. 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary.

³⁶ Recov. R. Mich. 27 Eliz.; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 27 Eliz.

³⁷ Ibid. Trin. 21 Jas. I.

³⁸ Ibid.; Close, 17 Jas. I, pt. 11; pt. 7, no. 30.

³⁹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* i, 486.

⁴⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1 Anne.

⁴¹ Ibid. Mich. and Hil. 7 Geo. I.

⁴² Ibid. Mich. 4 Geo. IV.

⁴³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii.

⁴⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 4 Geo. IV.

⁴⁵ From information obtained at Bledlow by Mr. C. O. Shilbeck.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Assize R. 55, m. 12.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 63, m. 19 d.

⁴⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. I, no. 9; 32 Edw. I, nos. 64-9; 3 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66; 13 Ric. II, no. 6; 4 Hen. IV, no. 39.

⁵⁰ Assize R. 63, m. 19 d.

⁵¹ Pipe R. Bucks. and Beds. 26 Hen. II, m. 9 d.

⁵² Maitland, *Bracton's Note Bk.* case 274.

⁵³ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 243 b.

⁵⁴ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 258b; Assize R. 56, m. 23.

⁴⁵ Feud. Aids, i, 85.

⁴⁶ Ibid. i, 97.

⁴⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 6 Edw. III.

⁴⁸ Feud. Aids, i, 123.

⁴⁹ Cf. Horsenden.

⁵⁰ Cal. Pat. 1467-77, p. 471.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Close, 14 Edw. IV, m. 7; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 14 Edw. IV.

⁵⁴ Recov. R. Mich. 20 Hen. VIII.

⁵⁵ Cf. Horsenden.

⁵⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 2 Eliz.

⁵⁷ Ibid. East. 13 Eliz.

⁵⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clx, no. 15.

⁵⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 22 Eliz.

⁶⁰ Ibid. East. 25 Eliz.

manor or farm of Mesles or Druels.⁶¹ The only trace of this manor to be found in recent times was a wood named Druels Wood, near Bledlow Ridge, which has now been grubbed up.

In the 14th century the family of Fresel held an estate known as *FRAYSSELLES* in Bledlow. James Fresel in 1316-17 made a settlement, by which he settled this on himself for life, with remainder to James his son and his issue; in default with remainder to another son, Thomas.⁶² This James Fresel was a man of some importance in the county, being a knight of the shire in 1329.⁶³

He also obtained an indult from Pope John XXII, that his confessor should give him plenary remission at the hour of death,⁶⁴ and by his will left valuable bequests to the church of Bledlow.⁶⁵ His father's name was Robert, but he does not appear as tenant of land in Bledlow.⁶⁶ In his will dated 1341 James Fresel named only two sons, Edmund and James,⁶⁷ but Thomas appears in the settlement mentioned before, and was probably his father's heir, since he succeeded to the greater part of the estates before 1343.⁶⁸

Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Fresel claimed various tenements that her father had held in neighbouring parishes in 1364 or 1365, and presumably was his heiress.⁶⁹ Some years later Richard ap Yenan held lands and tenements called 'Freselles,' in Bledlow,⁷⁰ but it does not appear how he obtained them. In 1524 Walter Curzon died seized of the manor of Frayselles,⁷¹ which afterwards came into the possession of George, Earl of Huntingdon, who sold it to Sir Michael Dormer and John Goodwyn in 1537.⁷² The Dormers held the manor⁷³ till 1584-5, when a sale took place of the site of the manor of Frayselles, which came into the hands of Edward East.⁷⁴ This sale probably included the whole manor, which was held from this time by the lord of the Rectory Manor (q.v.), and was apparently united with it.⁷⁵ In the 15th century the manor was held of the Rector of Bledlow,⁷⁶ at that time the Dean and Chapter of the Free Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.⁷⁷ After the Dissolution, however, it was apparently separated from the rectory, and held, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, of the honour of Ewelme by fealty and rent.⁷⁸

There seems to have been a *RECTORY MANOR* of considerable size in Bledlow. There is no specific mention of it until after the Restoration, though the Fresels' property was said to be held of the rector in the 15th and 16th centuries.⁷⁹ It evidently belonged first to the abbey of Grestein, and subsequently to the

Free Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.⁸⁰ After the Dissolution the Rectory was granted to Thomas East and Henry Hobblethorne, who, however, surrendered their lease in 1552.⁸¹

Edward VI then gave a lease for twenty-one years to Thomas Forster,⁸² but in 1562 or 1563 Queen Elizabeth granted the Rectory to William Revett and Thomas Bright and their heirs to hold in chief.⁸³ The following year, however, they had licence to alienate it to Edward East.⁸⁴ He made a settlement in 1609,⁸⁵ by which it was held by him for his own life, then to the use of Cecilia his wife for her life, then to the use of the executors of his will for one year, and then to the use of Edward Fitz Herbert.⁸⁶ Fitz Herbert predeceased Edward East and Brigit Fitz Herbert,⁸⁷ probably his widow. She seems to have married Sir Edmund Windsor, and to have held the Rectory in 1630.⁸⁸ William Fitz Herbert is mentioned at the same date,⁸⁹ and he and his wife Anne held it afterwards. He was sequestered during the Civil War as a recusant, and compounded for Bledlow Parsonage for £200 in 1647.⁹⁰ He seems, however, to have sold it to William Brereton and James Blanks.⁹¹ The former was one of the trustees of Sir John Fitz Herbert, father of William Fitz Herbert.⁹² Great efforts seem to have been made by William Fitz Herbert to preserve his lands by various sales,⁹³ but William Starbuck, minister of Bledlow and his parishioners made complaints against him for compounding for his estates in the parish at an undervaluation.⁹⁴

Their object seems to have been to obtain possession themselves, for they offered to pay £300 for the Rectory.⁹⁵ After many inquiries Brereton and Blanks succeeded in establishing their claim, and their lease was judged good by Chief Justice St. John at the Assizes. They were, therefore, discharged by the Committee for Compounding.⁹⁶ John Blanks retained possession of the Rectory after the Restoration,⁹⁷ when the estate was called 'the manor of the Rectory of Bledlowe.'⁹⁸ His granddaughter and heiress married Johnshall Crosse.⁹⁹ She was succeeded by her son Henry,¹⁰⁰ who married Elizabeth Jodrell,¹⁰¹ and their fourth son Thomas held the manor in 1745.¹⁰² He died without children, his heir being his sister, the wife of William Hayton.¹⁰³ Her daughter married Samuel Whitbread, who succeeded to the estate on the death of his mother-in-law.¹⁰⁴ Their son, another Samuel, sold the manor in 1801 to Lord Carrington,¹⁰⁵ whose successor holds it at the present day.

At the time of the Domesday Survey there was one mill in the parish, which yearly yielded to the

⁶¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccxciv, no. 48.

⁶² Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 10 Edw. II.

⁶³ Cal. Close, 1327-30, p. 528.

⁶⁴ Cal. of Papal Letters, ii, 392.

⁶⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. ix, App. i, 47a.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Cal. Pat. 1343-5, p. 92; Assize R. 1431, m. 50d.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 1452, m. 45.

⁷⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. V, no. 57.

⁷¹ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 22, no. 6.

⁷² Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 29 Hen. VIII; Recov. R. Mich. 29 Hen. VIII.

⁷³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 10; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Edw. VI; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xc. no. 5; ibid. clxx, no. 2.

⁷⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 27 Eliz.

⁷⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxxxv, no. 24; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 6 Chas. I; Trin. 1649; Mich. 1653.

⁷⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. V, no. 7.

⁷⁷ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 72, no. 6.

⁷⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clxx, no. 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 4 Hen. V, no. 57, file 254;

Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 22, no. 6.

⁸⁰ See 'Advowson.'

⁸¹ Acts of P.C. 1552-4, p. 209.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Pat. 5 Eliz. pt. 3.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 6 Eliz. pt. 11.

⁸⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxxxv, no. 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 6 Chas. I.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Cal. of Com. for Compounding, 68.

⁹¹ Ibid. 1489. ⁹² Ibid. 1488.

⁹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1649; ibid.

Mich. 1653.

⁹⁴ Cal. of Com. for Compounding, 1489.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 18 Chas. II.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 24 Chas. II.

⁹⁸ Ibid. East. 32 Chas. II; Trin.

12 Will. III.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. Div. Cos. Trin. 13 Geo. II.

¹⁰¹ Recov. R. Hil. 19 Geo. II.

¹⁰² Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 23 Geo. II; cf. pedigree, Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. v.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Lysons, Magna Britannia.

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lord of the manor twenty-four loads of malt.¹⁰⁸ It was presumably the same mill that Hugh de Gurnay excepted from the grant of the manor to the abbey of Bec, and which at that date, 1198, was held by



WHITTEREAD. *Argent a chevron between three hinds' heads ramed gules.*



CARRINGTON. *Or a chevron coupleclosed sable between three demi-griffons sable, the two in the chief face to face, with a molet gules for difference.*

Simon Hochede.¹⁰⁷ In 1240-1 Alice, widow of Simon, sued William Neirmuit for the third part of certain tenements, a mill with its appurtenances being specified.¹⁰⁸ A second Simon, the heir, was in wardship and Juliana de Gurnay, also a minor, was the overlord of the tenements in question.¹⁰⁹ Some years later Nicholas Hochedee appears in a suit as to land in Bledlow, but the mill is not mentioned;¹¹⁰ in 1304, at the death of Hugh Bardolf, the rent of a water-mill was held by Christiana, daughter of Reginald de Hampden.¹¹¹

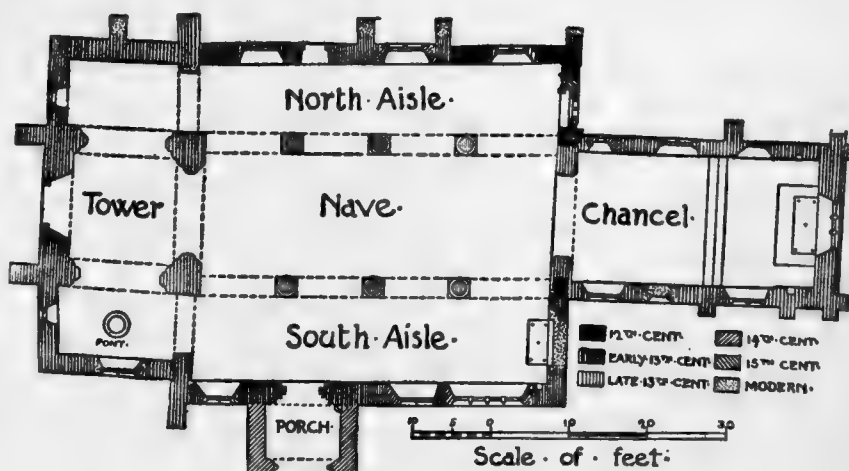
In the 13th century the Abbot of Bec claimed to hold view of frankpledge, gallows, waifs, and other regalia in the manor of Bledlow, basing his right on the grant of Hugh de Gurnay, his feoffor, and its confirmation by Henry II.¹¹²

The church of *THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCHES* consists of a chancel 31 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in., a nave 44 ft. 11 in. by 15 ft. 11 in., north and south aisles respectively 8 ft. 9½ in. and 10 ft. 10 in. wide, a western tower 13 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 4 in., and a south porch.

There is evidence of the existence at the east end of the present north aisle of a late 12th-century transept, parts of its north and east walls remaining; to the east of it there seems to have been a chapel, entered through an archway, the south respond of which is still in position. At this time the church was probably cruciform in plan, consisting of a chancel, central tower, transepts, and a nave about thirty feet by fourteen feet, the western wall of which coincided with the

position of the east wall of the present tower. During the course of the 13th century almost the whole structure was rebuilt, the first work undertaken being the north arcade and aisle of the nave. The south arcade and aisle were probably added immediately afterwards, the central tower being destroyed and a new tower begun at the west. Towards the end of the 13th century the chancel was rebuilt and enlarged to its present size, and the present tower was completed, the aisles being extended to its western wall. After this there were no further additions to the plan except that of a south porch in the 14th century, but windows were inserted at various points. The old high-pitched roof was removed, probably at a late date, and the existing roof substituted for it. The present clearstory windows appear to be completely modern, but the walls in which they are inserted belong to the 13th century, and the windows themselves may have had prototypes of that date.

The east window of the chancel is of 13th-century date, and consists of three shafted lancets with an internal reveal, the shafts having moulded circular capitals and bases. The lancets are of two chamfered orders, and stilted. In the north and south walls are small niches, with trefoiled heads, of 15th-century date, though much restored. That to the south is a piscina, and the other now contains the brass of William Herne, priest, 1525. Of the three windows in this wall, the eastern is a single trefoiled light and the second of two trefoiled lights with a sixfoil over, both probably of the date of the wall. That to the west is continued as a recess below its sill, and pierced for a low side window. A scroll-moulded string runs along the wall, and is broken downwards just west of the middle window, at which point is inserted a crocketed and finialled pinnacle of later date. The westernmost window of the south wall is of the same general design and date as the middle window of the north, but differs in having a moulded rear arch and shafted jambs to its inner reveal, with circular moulded capitals and bases. Further to the east is a window of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over, of somewhat earlier type than the others, and between the windows is a blocked priest's door, which is hidden by the organ, but externally is of 18th-century



PLAN OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, BLEDLLOW

¹⁰⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243b.
¹⁰⁷ *Assize R.* 63, m. 16 d.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 55, m. 12.
¹¹⁰ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Hil. 47 Hen. III.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Chan. Inq.* p.m. 32 Edw. I, no. 64a.
¹¹² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 88.

date, with white marble shafted jambs and moulded two-centred head of poor imitation Gothic detail. Below the window there is the same string-course as on the north, with an inserted pinnacle opposite to that in the north wall. Their intention is not clear, as they are so near to the west of the chancel.

The chancel arch is of mid-13th-century date, of rather blunt two-centred form and two square orders, with a plain roll label on the west side. Just above the haunches of the arch are two early 15th-century head corbels as supports to a rood beam which ran across the top of the arch, the label being cut away to allow for this. At the spring the label is also cut away to allow for the rood loft, here supported upon plainer corbels. The jambs of the arch are plain, with a stopped chamfer, and the inner order is supported on moulded half-octagonal capitals with corbels under, carved into a face.

The nave is of four bays, and though the south arcade is a trifle later than the north, the detail throughout is the same. The arches are two-centred, of two square orders, with a plain roll label towards the nave. The columns are round, with circular moulded bases on square plinths, and bell-shaped capitals enriched with beautiful cinquefoiled and trefoiled leaves in relief, and with octagonal abaci square edged above. The capitals are all of the same general style, but in some the leaves lie close to the bell and in others are undercut. There are no responds, but the arches at the ends of the arcades spring from corbels with semi-octagonal capitals. The corbels on the north are plain, but on the south are foliated in the same way as the capitals.

The clearstory windows are modern, of three trefoiled lights under a flat lintel, but the openings are old. They are six in number, three on either side of the nave.

In the external angle between the north aisle and chancel is the south respond of a 12th-century opening to a chapel east of the transept of the earlier church, with a chamfered and beaded abacus. The arch has completely disappeared, but a straight joint in the east wall of the aisle on the outside suggests the line of the north wall of this chapel, while a partly built-up recess on the inside is evidently the opening from the transept to the chapel. In this recess has been inserted a late 14th-century window of two trefoiled lights, with a square head and trefoiled spandrels. To the north of this window is a rich but mutilated canopied niche of early 15th-century date. In the north wall are three two-light windows. The first and last are of similar design and date to the south-east window in the chancel. Between them is a mid-14th-century window of two trefoiled lights with flowing tracery and a quatrefoil over. A little west of this is a small north doorway of early 13th-century date, with a semicircular head of one square order and rather roughly-moulded abaci. At the west end of the aisle is a half-arch buttressing the east tower arch, so much restored as to appear modern.

The south aisle has a blocked east window, which was apparently a late insertion; externally the wall has been refaced. At the east end of the south wall is a piscina with a plain two-centred chamfered head, and in the same wall are three windows. The first from the east is a very fine example of early-14th-

century date. It is of four lancet lights, with trefoiled subheads and oval quatrefoils in the lancets, the jambs, head, mullions, and tracery being moulded internally and externally, and there is an external label. Partly under it is a mid-14th-century tomb recess with jambs and a low pointed arch of two wave-moulded orders. The second window is of the same design and date as the window opposite to it in the north aisle. The south door, immediately west of this window, is of the same date as the arcade, with a two-centred head of three moulded orders, the inner being continuous and the outer pair resting upon detached circular shafts with moulded capitals and bases. The third window is of two uncusped lights, much restored, and is a 13th-century opening. At the west end of the original aisle is a half-arch similar to that on the north, but all of late-13th-century date. It is of two chamfered orders, and springs from a carved corbel capital.

The tower is of three stages, with a plain coped parapet resting on a fine corbel table with grotesque and mask corbels. The belfry openings, four in number, are of two uncusped lancet lights with a quatrefoil over, set in a moulded reveal with a two-centred head and a scroll label. In the second stage are three small lancets of two chamfered orders, and on the east face appears the steep weathering of the 13th-century roof, the ridge of which reaches to the sill of the belfry openings. In the north, south, and east walls of the ground stage of the tower are arches opening respectively into prolongations of the aisles and to the nave. These arches are of two chamfered orders, the outer continuous and the inner resting upon half-octagonal pilasters with moulded capitals and bases. The west window in this stage is of two cinquefoiled lights, with cusped tracery over; the cusping has been mutilated, but the window is apparently of 14th-century date. The west door, of somewhat later date, has continuous wave-mouldings of two orders, with an external label.

The part of the north aisle flanking the tower is lit by a small 14th-century trefoiled light in the west wall. The corresponding space on the south of the tower is used as a baptistery, and is lit on the south by a modern window of two trefoiled lights, and on the west by a small, much-restored round-headed window of doubtful date.

The south porch has a wide outer arch of two moulded orders, of good 14th-century detail, and the porch has stone benches on the east and west, and at the north-east a small square holy water stone.

The font is of late 12th-century date, of local type, with a circular scalloped bowl on a square base formed like an inverted cushion capital and ornamented with foliage in lunette panels, and the short stem is circular, with cable mouldings. The roofs throughout are very plain, of low pitch, covered with lead, and may possibly be of 15th-century date. There are no pews, the nave and aisles being filled with chairs, and the chancel stalls, rood screen, and pulpit are modern. At the east end of the south aisle is a 17th-century altar table and a late carved wood eagle lectern. In the same place is preserved a curious 18th-century carved wooden candle and candlestick. The candle is painted, and the candlestick with its clawed foot and the candle-flame are gilt.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ This appears to be one of the 'three sham tapers in candlesticks carved

and gilt' which stood in 1785 on the pediment over the altar-piece. It is now

said to have been for use at funerals. See *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 341.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The brass already referred to in the chancel bears the figure of a priest in mass vestments and the inscription: 'Hic jacet dñs Willm Herf in artibus baculari' nuper vicarius istius ecclie qui obiit anno dni millmo quingētesimo xxv. cuius aīe propicietur deus amen.'

There are considerable traces of painting throughout the church. Over the chancel arch was a painting of the Doom, and on the walls of the nave are traces of an early vine design and a masonry pattern. On the north wall of the north aisle is a large figure of St. Christopher. There is very little painted glass, but the quatrefoil in the head of the window to the south-west in the chancel is complete in 14th-century glass of conventional design.

The tower contains five bells, the treble dated 1636, and the second, third, and fourth 1683, the last bearing the inscription 'Richard Keene cast this ring.' The fifth was cast by W. & J. Taylor in 1842.

The church plate comprises an Elizabethan cup of 1569; a salver, the gift of John Cross in 1693, hall-marked for 1689; a small standing paten of which the date letter is almost illegible, but appears to be that for 1668; a flagon inscribed as the gift of John Blankes in 1672, and hall-marked for the same date; and a plated cup.

The first book of the registers contains all entries between 1592 and 1706 except in the case of burials, which run to 1705. The second contains all entries between 1707 and 1755 excepting marriages, which run to 1752. A third book has marriages between 1754 and 1787; a fourth baptisms and burials between 1756 and 1812, and a fifth marriages between 1787 and 1812.

The church of St Paul, Bledlow Ridge, is built of flint with Bath stone dressings in the 13th-century style. It consists of chancel and nave with south porch and western bell-turret containing one bell. It was consecrated in 1868, but the register dates from 1861.

The church of the Holy Spirit is *ADVOWSON* mentioned in 1284,¹¹³ and the same invocation appears in James Fresel's will in 1341,¹¹⁴ but at the present day it has been changed to the church of the Holy Trinity. It was granted to the abbey of Grestein in Normandy in the time of Robert Count of Mortain.¹¹⁵ As lord of the manor of Bledlow he granted certain tithes from his demesne lands to the abbey, then the patron of the church. The English possessions of this house were held by the Prior of Wilmington, and were seized by Edward III as part of the temporalities of an alien house before 1338 during the French War.¹¹⁶ The Abbot of Grestein, however, in 1358 or 1359 granted to John Taleworth, burgess of Wycombe, and his heirs an annuity of £50 and the advowson of Bledlow Church.¹¹⁷ This grant can only have been enjoyed for a short time, if indeed at all, since in 1361 Edward III granted the church to the Free Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster. The vicarage was ordained in 1405 under Bishop Repingdon, and appropriated to St. Stephen's.¹¹⁸

After the dissolution of the Free Chapel the rectory and advowson of the church were granted to

Thomas East and Henry Hobblethorne,¹¹⁹ since which time the advowson has always been held by the lay rectors.

James Fresel in 1341 bequeathed £20 for covering the chapel of St. Margaret at Bledlow with lead, and various smaller sums for the maintenance of lights there in the church of Bledlow.¹²⁰ No further mention of this chapel is found, but in 1590 a chapel at Bledlow Ridge, with a close called the 'chappel yard,' was granted to 'fishing grantees,' so that apparently it had fallen into disuse before that date.¹²¹ No mention of it occurs in the Buckinghamshire Chantry Certificates, so that it was apparently not merely a chantry chapel. A chapel was built in 1834 for the inhabitants of the hamlet of Bledlow Ridge. It was formed into the separate ecclesiastical parish of St. Paul's, and was endowed out of the Common Fund in 1868 and 1870.¹²² The living is a vicarage in the gift of the Peache trustees.

There are two Wesleyan chapels in the parish, one at Bledlow and the other at Bledlow Ridge.

In 1618 Henry East by his will, *CHARITIES* proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Buckingham, charged his tenement and close, called Picked Close, with an annuity of 20s. for four poor widows at Lady Day and Michaelmas. The annuity is paid by Mrs. Saunders of Maidenhead, the owner of the property charged, and 5s. a year is given to each of four poor widows.

This parish is entitled to share in Henry Smith's General Charity. In 1906 the sum of £9 was allotted from the Thurlaston estate, Leicestershire, and applied in the distribution of seventeen pairs of blankets.

In 1671 John Blanks by will demised certain lands in the parish, the rents after payment of 10s. to the vicar for a sermon on 27 December yearly, and 2s. 6d. to the parish clerk, to be distributed in bread. The property now consists of 3 a. 0 r. 38 p., known as Ford's Close, let at £4 10s. a year, and 2 a. 1 r. 17 p. adjoining the workhouse school gardens, known as the Poor's Piece, let to twenty-two allotment holders, producing £7 3s. a year. The distribution in bread is made in conjunction with the income of Edmund Slaughter's Charity mentioned below.

In 1672 Margaret Babham by will directed that £100 should be laid out in land, and that out of the profits 40s. a year should be applied in providing two poor men and two poor women with coats to be marked with her initials M. and B., and 10s. to the vicar for a sermon on the anniversary of her burial, 30 April 1672 (old style) and 2s. to the parish clerk for keeping her tomb clean. The principal sum became a charge on a farm in the parish known as Sand-pit Farm, now belonging to Mr. R. White, who pays the fixed sum of £2 12s. a year. By an order of the Charity Commissioners made under the Local Government Act, 1894, the endowments of this and the preceding charity for ecclesiastical purposes were separated from the charities for the poor, and trustees appointed for their respective administration. In 1905 the sum of 40s. was applied in the distribution of flannel to twelve poor people, chiefly women.

In 1831 Edmund Slaughter by his will, proved in

¹¹³ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 12 Edw. I.

¹¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. 47a.

¹¹⁵ De Banco R. 55, m. 50.

¹¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, p. 85.

¹¹⁷ Close, 32 Edw. III, m. 2.

¹¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Inst. fol. 457.

¹¹⁹ *Acts of P.C.* 1552-4, p. 209.

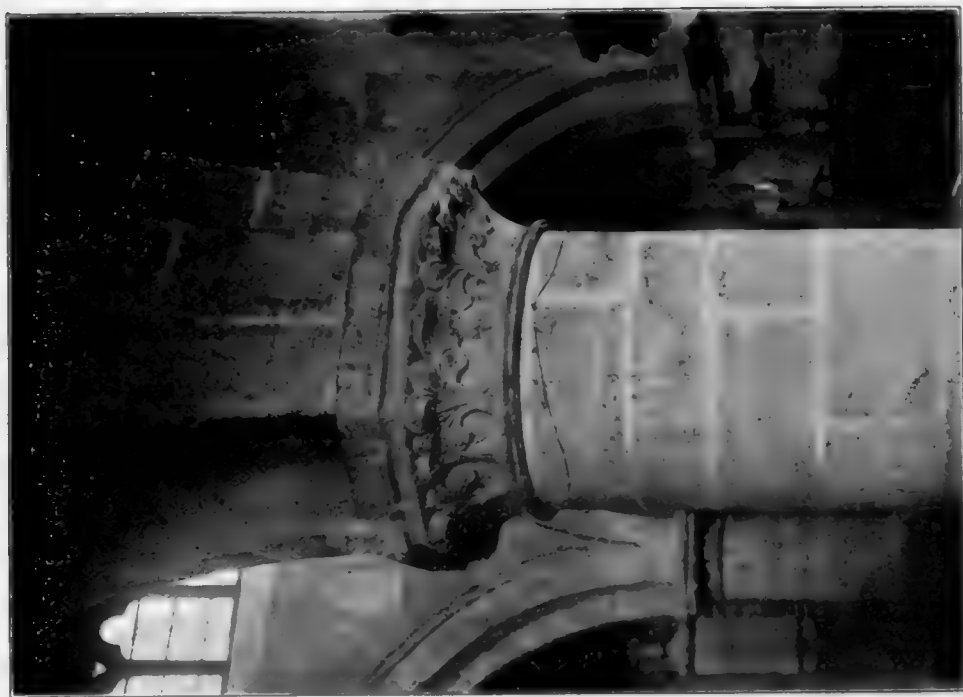
¹²⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. i, 47a.

¹²¹ Pat. 33 Eliz. pt. 1, m. 34.

¹²² *Lond. Gaz.* 18 June 1869, p. 3474; 22 July 1870, p. 3484.



BLEDLOW CHURCH : THE TOWER FROM THE SOUTH



BLEDLOW CHURCH : A CAPITAL IN THE SOUTH ARCADE OF THE NAVE

the P.C.C. on the 26 July, directed his executors to invest £100 in the public funds, the income to be applied in the distribution of bread. The trust fund consists of £119 6s. 8d. consols, with the official trustees, and the annual dividends, amounting to £2 19s. 8d., were in 1906 applied, with the net income of John Blanks' Charity mentioned above, in the distribution of 639 loaves.

Charity of Elizabeth Eustace.—See under Princes Risborough. The sum of £1 3s. is received yearly

from the trustees, of which £1 is applied in the distribution of four sheets at 5s. each, and 1s. is retained by each of the three local trustees in pursuance of the directions in the deed.

The Coal Charity, otherwise the Poor's Land, consists of about 26 acres, including five cottages known as the Colony Cottages, awarded to the poor in 1812 under the Bledlow Inclosure Act, producing about £30 a year. In 1906 a distribution of 30 tons of coal was made.

HORSENDEN

Horsendene (xi cent.)

The parish of Horsenden lies in the south-west of the Vale of Aylesbury. The land is well watered by a small stream flowing north, that breaks into many branches near the village. It forms a small lake in the grounds of Horsenden House, and supplies the water in the moat. From the village the stream flows north to Longwick hamlet. The houses are few and scattered, and there is a good deal of well-grown timber in the parish. The subsoil¹ is Upper Greensand, and the surface loamy. The occupation of the people is agricultural; there are 220½ acres of arable land, 252½ permanent pasture, and 9 acres of wood.²

A cross road from the High Wycombe and Aylesbury road runs north through Horsenden parish and meets the Lower Icknield Way in the north of the parish.

The nearest station is at Princes Risborough, on the Great Western and Great Central lines.

Horsenden House is said to have been garrisoned in the Civil War for King Charles by Sir John Denham.³ It was rebuilt in 1810, and shows nothing of antiquity beyond the lines of the moat.

Robert Braybrook was rector of the parish in the 14th century. He afterwards became Bishop of London, and played an important part in the struggle between Richard II and his barons. He supported severe measures against the Lollards, but also attempted to purify the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, denouncing those who bought and sold or played games there. He died in 1404.⁴

In the time of King Edward the Con-
MANOR fessor, the manor of **HORSENDEN** was held by three socmen.⁵ Two of these, holding 2 hides of land, were men of Earl Harold, and the third, with 4 hides and 3 virgates, was a man of Ingold. All of them could sell their land. After the Norman Conquest, however, this land was granted to the Count of Mortain,⁶ and formed part of the honour of Mortain, but it does not seem to have

followed the descent of the honour.⁷ Horsenden appears to have been granted to John de Montagu, who held many of the Mortain lands.⁸ He held the manor as mesne-lord in 1210,⁹ but joined the barons' party against King John, and forfeited his lands in 1216.¹⁰ A few years later this land was held of Robert de Cogfeud,¹¹ but the overlordship seems subsequently to have lapsed.

In 1086 the manor was held of the Count of Mortain by a tenant named Ralph.¹² He may have been the ancestor of the family who took their name from the place and held it in the 12th century. In 1210 John de Horsenden¹³ granted all his land in the parish to Robert de Braybrook, the head of the Braybrook family and sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire during part of the reign of John.¹⁴ Both he and his son and heir Henry are mentioned among the evil counsellors of John at the time of the Interdict;¹⁵ but Henry, after his father's death, joined the barons' party, and was one of those whom the pope excommunicated by name after his reconciliation with the king.¹⁶ Henry's lands were confiscated, and Horsenden was granted to Philip de Pery, and later to Philip Giser;¹⁷ however, in 1217, after the battle of Lincoln, Henry made his peace with the young king,¹⁸ and his possessions were regranted him. He held the manor in 1225, and had a long law-suit with Alice, the widow of John de Horsenden, over her dower,¹⁹ the question not being settled till 1231.²⁰

Henry was succeeded by his eldest son Wischard.²¹ Walter the son of Wischard left two daughters as his heirs, and Alice the elder married Sir William Latimer.²² He held the manor as mesne lord in 1284,²³ and his descendant, William Latimer, is mentioned in the same position in 1360.²⁴

The manor was held in demesne by a younger branch of the Braybrook family. John de Braybrook,²⁵ the younger brother of Henry, held it after the death of his father. Gerard his son held it in 1284–6,²⁶ and their descendants²⁷ held it uninterruptedly

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² *Inf. from Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

³ *Lysons, Mag. Brit.* i, 582.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vi, 243.

⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243a.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Cl. Bledlow and V.C.H. Herts.* i, 165–7.

⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 28, 36, 162, 201.

⁹ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 12 John.

¹⁰ *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), 196.

¹¹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245.

¹² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243a.

¹³ *Pipe Roll*, 12 John, m. 2 d.; *Feet of F. Bucks.* 12 John.

¹⁴ *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs.*

¹⁵ *Roger of Wendover, Flores Hist.* iii, 237.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 116, 243.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 321.

¹⁹ *Curia Regis R.* 92, m. 16.

²⁰ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 16 Hen. III.

²¹ *Dugdale, Baronage of Engl.; Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III.* 781, 916.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Feud. Aids.* i, 85.

²⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 33 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 31.

²⁵ *Chan. Misc.* 49, file I, no. 19; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254.

²⁶ *Feud. Aids.* i, 85.

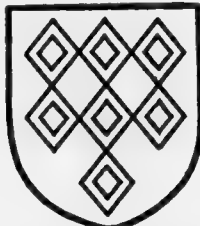
²⁷ *Ibid.* i, 112; *De Banco R.* 153, m. 66 d.; *Chart R.* 7 Edw. III, m. 7, no. 33; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 33 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 31.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

until the male line came to an end with Sir Gerard Braybrook, who died before 1432.³⁰ He demised the manor to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, and others in 1426,³⁰ and in 1432 Sir William



LATIMER. *Gules a cross paty or.*



BRAYBROOK. *Argent seven voided losenges gules.*

Beauchamp and Elizabeth his wife, the eldest co-heiress of Sir Gerard Braybrook,³⁰ released all their right in the manor³¹ to the Dean and Chapter. For nearly one hundred years the history of the manor is obscure: it appears to have been granted by the Dean and Chapter to John Ferity, Nicholas Wotton, Thomas Knolles, John Hampden of Kimble, and two others in 1437.³² In 1458-9 John Brekenok of Horsenden and others (John Hampden of Kimble being again named) granted it to Sir John Leynham or Plomer.³³ Various settlements were made by him on his marriage,³⁴ and he was jointly seised of the manor with his wife Margaret.³⁵ They had no children,³⁶ and granted the manor to Thomas Gaune and others to hold to the use of John Morton, Bishop of Ely, Lord Hastings, Ralph Hastings, and others,³⁷ presumably after the death of Sir John.³⁸

He died in 1480,³⁹ and the next year the manor was conveyed to the grantees to the uses named in the previous charter.⁴⁰ Which of these grantees had actual seisin of the manor does not appear, but early in the 16th century it came into the possession of the Donnes, probably by grant of Sir George Hastings.⁴¹ In 1529 it was held by Sir Edward Donne,⁴² but he left no son.⁴³ His daughter, who seems to have predeceased him, was the wife of Sir Thomas Jones, and had two daughters; Anne, who married John Cotton of Whittington, Gloucestershire, and Frances, who married Robert Lee.⁴⁴ Horsenden formed part of Anne's share of their inheritance,⁴⁵ and continued in the Cotton family. It was held successively by Richard,⁴⁶ William,⁴⁷ and Ralph,⁴⁸ the sons of John and Anne.

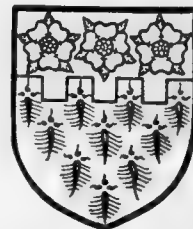
Ralph, who matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1572, and entered at the Inner Temple in 1580,⁴⁹

married Apolina Childe.⁵⁰ His only son, Don, died in his lifetime,⁵¹ leaving two daughters Anne and Apolina, who thus became their grandfather's heiresses.⁵² Anne, to whose share Horsenden fell, married Sir John Denham,⁵³ the author of *Cooper's Hill*, who had by her '£500 per annum, one son, and two daughters.'⁵⁴ Denham was active in the royal cause during the Civil War, and, consequently, lost his property and estates,⁵⁵ Horsenden being bought by John Fielder in 1654.⁵⁶ At the Restoration Denham seems to have recovered it,⁵⁷ for in 1662 he sold it to John Grubbe,⁵⁸ whose descendants⁵⁹ held the manor until 1841,⁶⁰ when another John Grubbe sold it to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. The latter mortgaged it almost immediately,⁶¹ and the holders of the mortgage, the Norwich Union Office, foreclosed and sold it in 1842 or 1843 to the Rev. William Edwards Partidge, who held it till his death in 1886.⁶² The manor then passed into the possession of his daughter and heiress, Mrs. Leonard Jaques, the present owner of the manor.

On the division of the inheritance of Sir Edward Donne between his two granddaughters,⁶³ although the manor of Horsenden passed to the eldest, £2,000 charged on the manor appears to have been part of the share of Frances,⁶⁴ the younger heiress, the wife of Robert Lee. The debt had come by assignment to William Page of Westminster in 1654,⁶⁵ when the manor was among the lands forfeited to the Commonwealth. In order to remove this obstruction in the sale of the manor, it was said to have been sold to William Page to hold during the life of Sir John Denham, but this seems incompatible with the sale to John Fielder in the same year.

Three pieces of land in Horsenden, not granted to the Count of Mortain, are mentioned in Domesday Book.⁶⁶ The Bishop of Bayeux held 1½ hides of land there, of which the hide was held by a sub-tenant named Roger and the half hide by Robert.⁶⁷ Before the Conquest this land was all held by a man of Earl Leofwine, Godwin by name.⁶⁸

A small tenant in chief named Harding also held 1½ hides here; he had succeeded Ulvured in the land.⁶⁹ This land must have been afterwards united to the main manor of Horsenden, since Gerard de Braybrook claimed that the whole of the township⁷⁰ belonged to his fee in 1285.



GRUBBE. *Ermine a chief batiled gules and three roses or therein.*

²⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 11 Hen. VI.
²⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. ix, App. i, 406.*

³⁰ De Banco R. 686, m. 137.

³¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 11 Hen. VI.

³² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. ix, App. i, 41a.*

³³ *Cal. Rot. Pat. (Rec. Com.), ii, 471.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. IV, no. 74.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Close, 20 Edw. IV, no. 16.

³⁸ In the Close Roll Philip Plomer is mentioned, but this is probably a mistake for John, since the latter left no heirs of the name of Plomer; Cf. Chan. Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. IV, no. 74.

³⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. IV, no. 74.

⁴⁰ Close, 20 Edw. IV, no. 16.

⁴¹ *Recov. R. Mich. 20 Hen. VIII.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), no. 98.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 2 Eliz.

⁴⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxcvii, no. 162.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ccxxxvi, no. 40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* (Early Ser.).

⁵⁰ *Visit. of Devon, 1564, 1622.*

⁵¹ *Genealogist, xiii, 273.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 18 Chas. I.

⁵⁴ Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark), i, 218.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding, 1793.*

⁵⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 14 Chas. II.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Mich. 14 Chas. II; Trin. 35 Chas. II; Hil. 5 Will. and Mary; Mich. 11 Will. III; Trin. 53 Geo. III.

⁶⁰ From information given by Mr. W. Grubbe, of Southwold, Suffolk.

⁶¹ From information given by Mrs. Leonard Jaques, of Easby House, Richmond, Yorkshire.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Close, 1654, pt. 9, m. 5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks. i, 235.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 276b.

⁷⁰ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 98.

Horsenden Manor was held by military service, as one knight's fee of the honour of Mortain.⁷¹ It is also described, however, as two-thirds of a fee or half a fee,⁷² but this was only in feudal assessments, when the fees of the honour were privileged to pay less than the full amount due.

When the manor passed from John de Horsenden to Robert de Braybrook, the latter was to pay John 2s. a year for all service, except forinsec service.⁷³ This rent does not seem to have been continued, and the elder branch of the Braybrooks held in chief of the king.⁷⁴ The younger branch also held by military service.⁷⁵ The Cottons, however, held of the king in chief as of his honour of Wallingford by fealty and suit of court at the honour.⁷⁶ In the 14th century the free tenants of the lord of the manor of Horsenden had pannage rights for their pigs in a wood belonging to the manor of Princes Risborough.⁷⁷ In 1574 John Cotton, who then held Horsenden, took estovers in the wood of Hellworke in Princes Risborough;⁷⁸ he also paid 1 lb. of pepper as rent to the lord of Princes Risborough Manor,⁷⁹ but whether this was for his manor or for the right to take the estovers is not certain.

Gerard de Braybrook, in 1333, obtained a grant of free warren⁸⁰ to himself and his heirs in their demesne lands of Horsenden.⁸¹ In 1285 or 1286 Gerard de Braybrook claimed the view of frankpledge in Horsenden⁸² as part of his inheritance. It had, however, then been demised for a term of years, together with the manor, to Henry de Shenholt.⁸³ Gerard answered, however, to the *Quo Warranto* inquiries himself and also claimed the right to have tumbrels. He paid nothing to the king for these rights. At the time of the Domesday Survey one mill belonged to the Count of Mortain's manor in Horsenden, but it was of no value in 1086.⁸⁴ It is not mentioned again for many centuries, but when the Cottons were lords of the manor there was a water-mill appurtenant to it;⁸⁵ in 1813 two water-mills are mentioned in connexion with the manors of Horsenden and Princes Risborough, one of which was probably in Horsenden.⁸⁶

The church of *ST. MICHAEL* having fallen into disrepair in 1765 the old nave was pulled down, with the western tower, leaving only the chancel standing. The present church consists of the mutilated remains of the

chancel 45 ft. by 20 ft., with a western tower built from the old material of the nave. It is lighted by five windows, all of the same design and of 15th-century date, though somewhat restored. They are of three cinquefoiled lights with smaller trefoiled lights over and two-centred heads. At the west end of the south wall is the blocked opening of a squint, at one time opening into the south aisle of the old church. A description of this church is preserved in a letter addressed by Dr. Browne Willis to Mr. John Grubbe,⁸⁷ as having consisted, in 1728, of a chancel, a nave with a blocked south arcade, and an embattled tower; it extended to about as far west as the present stables of Horsenden House.

The tower is of two stages with an embattled parapet. The belfry openings are square-headed, and there is a west window of two trefoiled lights, with a plain chamfered west doorway beneath. The font is modern, octagonal, and of 15th-century detail.

The roof is modern, and also all the fittings, with the exception of the upper part of a 15th-century screen, which is planted against the west wall. It is divided into rather narrow trefoiled openings by stout chamfered mullions, and the spandrels are filled with alternating rosettes and leopards' faces.

On the walls are a number of memoria's of the Grubbe family, the earliest to Bathewell Grubbe, 1666, the wife of John Grubbe, who died in 1700, and to whom there is another tablet.

There is one bell in the tower dated 1582.

The church plate consists of a cup of 1661 and a small 18th-century standing paten, of which the hall-marks are illegible.

There is only one old book of the registers, which contains baptisms from 1663 to 1809, burials from 1637, and marriages from 1707 to 1754, the latter entries being continued in a printed book from 1754 to 1841.

The advowson of the church has *ADVOUSON* been held by the lords of the manor since 1210, when it passed from John de Horsenden to Robert de Braybrook.⁸⁸ In 1660, however, the Bishop of Salisbury collated to the rectory, presumably during the forfeiture of Sir John Denham's lands.⁸⁹

The living is a rectory, and the present patron is Mrs. Leonard Jaques, the lady of the manor.

There are no endowed charities in this parish.

⁷¹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254.

⁷² *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

⁷³ Feet of F. Bucks, 12 John; Pipe R. 12 John, m. 2 d.

⁷⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

⁷⁵ Ibid.; Chan. Inq. p.m. 33 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 31.

⁷⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxcvii, no. 162.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 28 Edw. I, no. 44.

⁷⁸ Exch. Dep. by Com. East. 16 Eliz. no. 1.

⁷⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxvi, no. 40.

⁸⁰ Chart R. 7 Edw. III, m. 7, no. 33.

⁸¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxcvii, no. 162.

⁸² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 98.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243b.

⁸⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxcvii, no. 162; ccxxxvi, no. 40.

⁸⁶ Recov. R. Trin. 53 Geo. III.

⁸⁷ *Rec. of Bucks.* iv, 75.

⁸⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. 12 John.

⁸⁹ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1660.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

MONKS RISBOROUGH

Hriseberga (1006); Riseberge (xi cent.); Parva Risborwe (xiv cent.); Monks Rysborough (xvi cent.).

The parish of Monks Risborough lies on the north-western slope of the Chiltern Hills, and is remarkably long and narrow in shape. Near Green Hailey Firs the land rises to a height of 813 ft. above the ordnance datum, but in the north-west of the parish it is under three hundred feet. On the hills the subsoil is chalk, but in the lower parts it is Upper Greensand and Gault; the surface varies, consisting of hard chalk, clay, and loam. The parish is well wooded, and contains 520½ acres of wood.²

The people are mainly occupied in arable farming, but there are extensive watercress beds near the village of Monks Risborough. There are 1,128½ acres of arable land and 830½ of permanent pasture.³

The small village and church stand on the west side of the main road, which runs along the foot of the slope of the Chiltern Hills, the church standing back from the road, with the modern vicarage to the south-east. In the vicarage garden, just east of the church, is a pool fed by a spring from the chalk, from which a stream runs northward past a moated site, whose banks and ditches are now half obliterated. To the north is a farm-house, and in the field between it and the church stands a square pigeon-house, the walls of which are probably mediaeval. It has a north doorway of curious pseudo-Gothic detail.

A small stream runs from Askett hamlet to Monks Risborough Mill and Alscott. Both the Great Western and the Great Central Railways run through the parish, but the nearest station is at Princes Risborough.

The main road from Aylesbury to High Wycombe passes through the village of Monks Risborough and follows the course of the Upper Icknield Way. Grim's Dyke can be traced here, running in a south-westerly direction across the southern end of the parish.

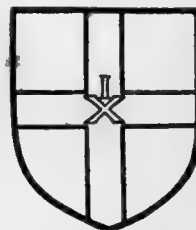
On the hills to the east of Monks Risborough is cut the probably prehistoric landmark, known as the Whiteleaf Cross, now well cared for by the owner of the Hampden estates.⁴ Two tumuli exist in its neighbourhood. There are four hamlets in the parish: Owlswick, Meadle, Askett, and Cadsdean. At Askett there is a Baptist chapel built in 1839, with a small burial-ground attached. Master John Schorne is said to have been vicar here before he went to Long Marston, c. 1290. In 1701 Humphrey Hody was presented to the vicarage of Monks Risborough. He was appointed Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford in 1697-8, and by his will left various exhibitions to Wadham College.⁵

The manor of Monks Risborough was *MANORS* granted to the monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, at an early date. In 995 Ethelred II confirmed a grant of the manor made by Archbishop Sigeric to Bishop Æscwige of Dorchester for 90 'librae' of pure silver and 200 'mancusae'.⁶ In the next year, however, Æscwige restored the manor,⁷ which apparently was only granted as security for the loan of money.⁸ It was confirmed to Christchurch by King Ethelred in 1006,⁹ and by Edward the Confessor.¹⁰ During the reign of the latter it was held by Asgar the Staller,¹¹ with the condition that he could not alienate it from the Church.

In the Domesday Survey¹² it is said to be held by the 'Archbishop himself'; this was probably because the lands of the prior had not been separated from those of the archbishop, since by the 13th century the manor was held by the Prior of Canterbury of the king in chief.¹³

The monastery held the manor without interruption until it was seized by the king¹⁴ at the Dissolution. It was not restored by him to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church, but was granted in 1541 to Sir Francis Bryan and Thomas Lawe.¹⁵ In the same year, however, these grantees obtained licence to alienate the manor to Edward Restwold and his wife Agnes.¹⁶

Agnes held the manor after the death of her husband in 1548,¹⁷ but having apparently married as her second husband Sir Thomas Waterton,¹⁸ it was sold by them to Thomas Fleetwood,¹⁹ whose widow Brigit held the manor on the death of her husband,²⁰ and was succeeded by her son George.²¹ George Fleetwood sold it in 1560²² to Richard Tredway of Beaconsfield and his son Walter, and Richard Tredway again sold it to Elizabeth Clarke, daughter of George Clarke of Monks Risborough.²³ She married Henry Ewer,²⁴ and they held the manor till 1617, when it was sold to Sir Jerome Horsey.²⁵ Before his death he had settled it on Sir John Bonner, Sir John Curzon, and John Hampden in trust for his sons,²⁶ reserving only certain tenements to himself.²⁷ Very shortly after his death, John Hampden and William and John Horsey sold the manor to John Barber *alias* Grigge of Wendover.²⁸ It again changed hands in 1633, when



CHRISTCHURCH, CANTERBURY. *Argent a cross argent with the letters I & X sable thereon.*

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 189-90.

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxvii, 77.

⁶ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* dclxxxix.

⁷ *Ibid.* dcxc.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 95.

⁹ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* dcccxi.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 233a.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245;

cf. for the division of the estates between the archbishop and the monks, *V.C.H. Kent*, ii, 'Religious Houses'; *Feud. Aids*, i, 97, 113, 123; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 86.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 18.

¹⁵ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. 4; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 947 (18).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 947 (22).

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxxvi, No. 5.

¹⁸ Feet of F. Bucks, Hil. 6 Edw. VI; East. 7 Edw. VI.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Hil. 2 Eliz.; East. 2 Eliz.

²⁰ Monks Risborough Ct. R. in the possession of Mr. G. L. Gomme.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Close, 44 Eliz. pt. 25.

²³ *Ibid.* 2 Jas. I, pt. 21.

²⁴ Monks Risborough Ct. R.; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 4 Jas. I.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Mich. 14 Jas. I.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Trin. 21 Jas. I.

²⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), D. ii, no. 40.

²⁸ Close, 1 Chas. I, pt. 7, no. 8.

John Barber and his wife Anne sold it to Edmund West.³⁹ The Wests seem to have held it for a longer period than any of their predecessors since the first grant by Henry VIII, for in 1694-5 a Roger West sold it to John Poynter,⁴⁰ in whose family it still remained in 1719.⁴¹ At the present time the Earl of Buckinghamshire is the lord of the manor.

The hamlet of OWLSWICK was apparently included in Monks Risborough in the early grants to Christchurch. After the Norman Conquest it was held by a military sub-tenant. Three such tenants are mentioned in 1210-12;⁴² Henry de Lawike, Thomas de Berewike, and Humphrey de Rede held one fee in Risborough and Newington. The first-named may be identified as a member of the family who held Owlswick of the archbishop some years later. Henry de Owlswick held half a knight's fee there in 1284-6,⁴³ and he was the ancestor of the Baldwins who held the manor of Owlswick in the next century. Baldwin son of Baldwin quitclaimed all his right in certain land⁴⁴ which had originally been granted by his ancestor Henry of Owlswick to the abbey of Missenden,⁴⁵ and John Baldwin made an agreement with the abbey as to land in the hamlet.⁴⁶

Henry Baldwin in 1332-3 held lands and tenements in Monks Risborough.⁴⁷ He also held the manor of Owlswick with his wife Alice, and after his death was succeeded by his son John Baldwin.⁴⁸ William son and heir of this John granted two-thirds of the manor to John Grise and Nicholas Bagenhale, excepting a tenement held by a life-tenant.⁴⁹ In 1390 he granted the remaining third of the manor, which his mother had held in dower, to the same grantees.⁵⁰ Nicholas Bagenhale⁵¹ enfeoffed Edmund Hampden, Thomas Swynerton, Bernard Saunterdon, John Aspley, and Thomas Durham, of the manor, probably in trust for the Hampdens, and they held it in 1401.⁵² Two years later Henry son of John Baldwin, the nephew of William Baldwin, made an unsuccessful claim to the manor as the son of the brother and heir of William.⁵³ Nicholas Bagenhale was called to give warranty and the feoffees remained in possession. William Hampden made a settlement of the manor in 1500⁵⁴ and Jerome Hampden⁵⁵ died seized of tenements in Owlswick in 1541. His son Richard⁵⁶ and grandson Alexander⁵⁷ also held the manor. The heirs of Alexander were his three nieces Anne, Margaret, and Mary, daughters of his brother Edmund.⁵⁸ He provided for the shares in this manor of Margaret and Mary, respectively the wives of Thomas Wenman and Alexander Denton, by a settlement made in 1639⁵⁹ and left their two-thirds to his brother Christopher for life.⁶⁰ The re-

maining third and the reversion of the bequest to Christopher he left to his eldest niece Anne, the wife of Sir John Trevor.⁶¹ The Trevors finally obtained possession of the whole manor,⁶² but in 1657 they sold it to William Claydon.⁶³ His daughter Bashe-well married John Grubbe of Horsenden, and the manor of Owlswick,⁶⁴ under the will of William Claydon, passed to her three daughters, Elizabeth, Lettice, and Hester.⁶⁵ These heiresses, however, sold it in 1716 to Edward Stone,⁶⁶ who had married their half sister Elizabeth Grubbe.⁶⁷ His grandson Edward Stone, rector of Horsenden,⁶⁸ held the manor in 1769,⁶⁹ and it descended to his only daughter and heiress Sarah, the wife of Charles Shard.⁷⁰

In 1847 it was in the hands of Mrs. Shard of Grimsdyke Lodge, Lacey Green. About 1861, Mr. Grey bought the manor from Mrs. Shard, but in that year he re-sold it to Mr. Humphreys, whose son, Mr. George Humphreys of Brogton Park, Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire, is the present lord of the manor of Owlswick. A small quit-rent is paid to the lord of the manor of Monks Risborough, and the copyhold lands in the manor of Owlswick are also subject to fines payable to him.

The Prior of Christchurch held the manor of Monks Risborough in frankalmoin of the king in chief.⁶¹ He held a view of frankpledge for his tenants⁶² and claimed to have waifs and strays, the chattels of felons and outlaws, and to receive the fines of his men when they were fined in the king's courts.⁶³ He also had gallows, tumbrel, and a pillory in the manor.⁶⁴

When called upon by Edward I to show his warranty for these rights he quoted a charter of William the Conqueror confirming the comprehensive rights and regalia granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Edward the Confessor.⁶⁵ The prior held the assize of ale within the manor,⁶⁶ and he obtained in 1316 a grant of free warren in his demesne lands in Risborough,⁶⁷ which was confirmed by Edward III.⁶⁸ No mills are mentioned at Monks Risborough in the Domesday Survey. In the 14th and 15th centuries, however, the millward was continually presented in the manor court for taking excessive tolls from the manorial tenants.⁶⁹ At the dissolution of the monastery there were two mills at Risborough, which were occupied by leasehold tenants.⁷⁰ These were the same two mills presumably which were described in the next century. Sir Jerome Horsey kept these in his own hands when he settled the manor on his sons, and at his death he died seized of a windmill on Brokenhill, and a water-mill, both of which had been formerly parcel of the manor of Monks Risborough.⁷¹

³⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 9 Chas. I.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Div. Cos. Hil. 7 Will. III.

⁴¹ Ibid. Bucks. East. 6 Geo. I.

⁴² Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 471.

⁴³ Feud. Aids, i, 85.

⁴⁴ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 6 Edw. III.

⁴⁸ De Banco R. Trin. 4 Hen. IV, m.

119.

⁴⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 14 Ric. II.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Or Dagenhale.

⁵² De Banco R. 579, m. 119.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ De Banco R. Bucks. Chart. Enr.

Trin. 15 Hen. VII, m. 1 d.

⁴⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxiii, no.

1; Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 35, no. 6.

⁴⁹ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Trin. 10 Eliz.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Bucks. Hil. 29 Eliz.

⁴⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi,

no. 96.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.; P.C.C. 37 Meade.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Feet of F. Bucks. East. 19 Jas. I;

ibid. Mich. 20 Jas. I; ibid. Mich. 16

Chas. I.

⁵³ Ibid. Hil. 1657.

⁵⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 332.

⁵⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 33 Chas. II;

ibid. East. 36 Chas. II; ibid. Mich. 7

Anne.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Trin. 2 Geo. I.

⁶⁷ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 332.

⁶⁸ Ibid. ii, 444.

⁶⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 9 Geo. III.

⁶⁸ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 444.

⁶¹ Feud. Aids, i, 97; Cal. Close, 1346-9,

p. 218.

⁶² Ct. Rolls.

⁶³ Plac. de Quo War. (Rec. Com.), 86.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ct. Rolls.

⁶⁷ Chart. R. 10 Edw. II, m. 24, no.

60.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 38 Edw. III, m. 8, no. 156.

⁶⁹ Ct. Rolls.

⁷⁰ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), iv, 249.

⁷¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), D. ii, no.

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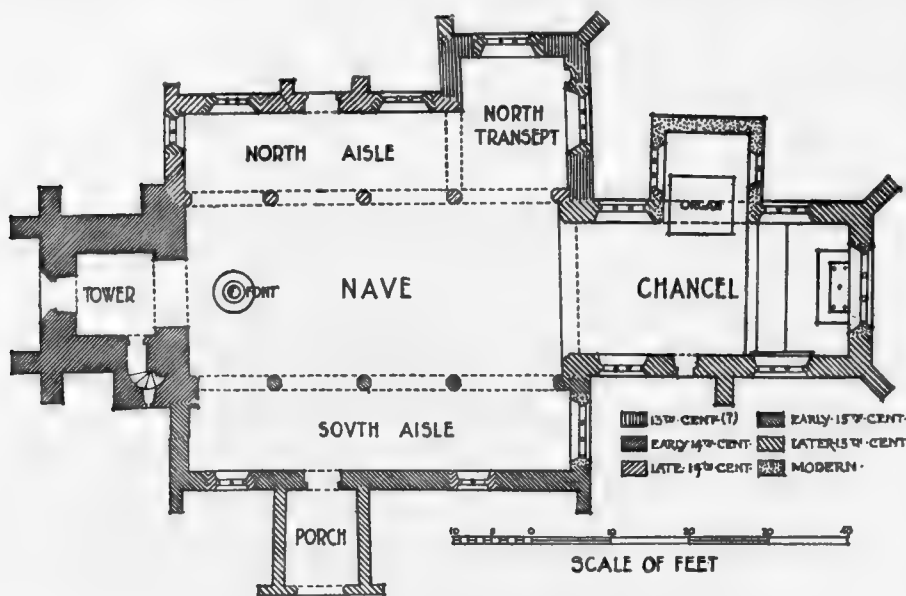
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The church of *ST. DUNSTAN* consists of a chancel 36 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft. 6 in. with a modern organ chamber on the north; a nave 47 ft. 7 in. by 21 ft. 8 in.; a north transept 16 ft. 8 in. by 13 ft. 3 in.; north and south aisles respectively 9 ft. 10 in. and 10 ft. 2 in. wide; a south porch and a western tower 10 ft. by 10 ft. 8 in., all measurements being internal. Owing to extensive rebuilding in the late 14th and in the 15th centuries the early history of the church is somewhat obscure, but the tower is of fairly early 14th-century date, and at the time of its building the church consisted of a nave of the same plan as the present one, roofed with a high-pitched roof, the traces of which are clearly visible on the east wall of the tower, and presumably a chancel within the lines of the present chancel. There is nothing to show whether the nave had aisles at this time, but the north transept evidently existed before the present north arcade was built, and is possibly of 13th-century date. Towards the end of the 14th century a period of rebuilding

the south-east window is carried down to serve as a seat. The wide chancel arch is of two hollow-chamfered orders which are continuous, being stopped on a large broach stop about 4 ft. above the floor.

The north arcade of the nave is of four bays. The arches are of two chamfered orders, the inner of which is stopped with a cone-shaped stop, the outer with a broach stop. The columns are octagonal with moulded capitals and bases. There is no west respond, but in its place a half-capital upon a corbel. At the east end is the upper door to the rood-loft, which was originally entered from the transept. The south arcade, of the same number of bays as the north, has arches identical with those on the north, but the detail of the capitals and bases is somewhat later in character. The east bay, as in the north arcade, is wider than the rest; perhaps in this case in order to correspond to the north arcade. In both cases it appears that the walls above the arcades were rebuilt. The clearstory has four 15th-century windows a side, each of three cinquefoiled lights under square heads, with deep hollow-moulded external reveals.

The north transept has a very good 15th-century east window of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a four-centred head. In the north wall is a similar window. To the south of the east window is an image bracket of 15th-century date with a carved head corbel, and on the north a mutilated niche, also of 15th-century date, with shafted jambs, a foliated projecting bracket, and the



PLAN OF ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH, MONKS RISBOROUGH

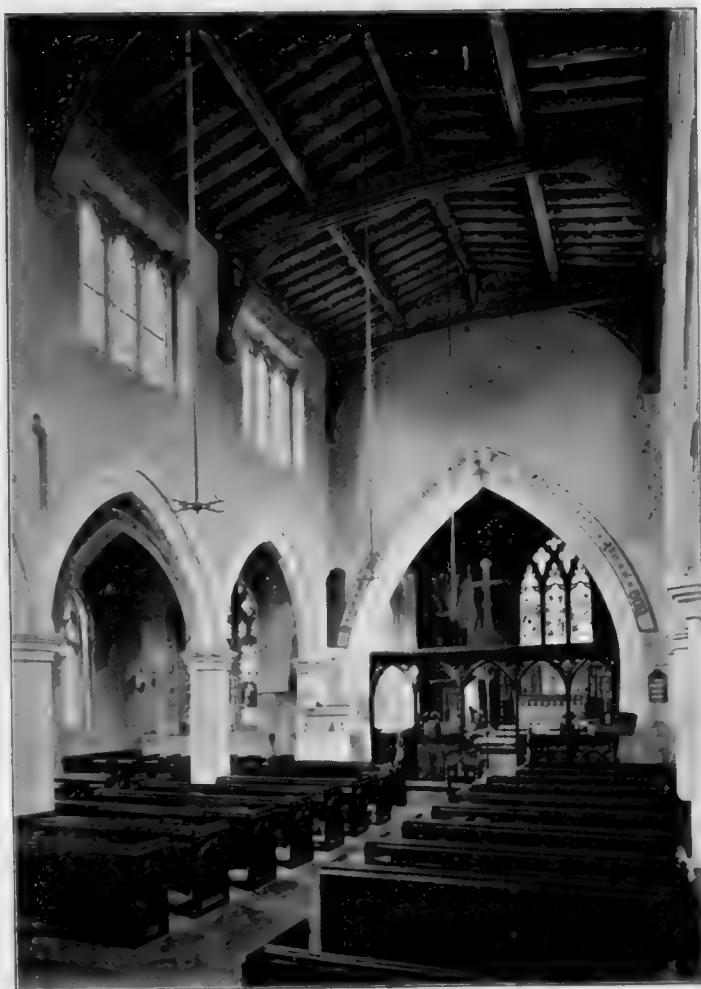
and addition was entered on which lasted well into the 15th century. The first work taken in hand was the north aisle with its arcade, the eastern bay of which is wider than the other three, in order to suit the plan of the north transept. At the beginning of the 15th century the south aisle was built, and a little later on the chancel was rebuilt and the chancel arch inserted. At the same time, or a little later, the south porch was built, while the last work undertaken was the clearstory and present nave roof. In modern times the north organ chamber was added and a certain amount of restoration carried out, including the re-roofing of the chancel.

The east window of the chancel is quite modern and of three trefoiled lights with tracery of early 14th-century detail. In the north and south walls of the chancel are two 15th-century windows of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery over, with four-centred arches. Between the pair on the north is the modern opening to the organ chamber, and between the south windows is a small modern priest's door. The sill of

remains of a crocketed canopy. The arch to the north aisle is of the same detail as the north arcade, and rests on the south upon the first pier of the latter and on the north on a corbelled half-capital.

The north aisle has two windows to the north, the first of three cinquefoiled lights, like the windows of the transept but of later detail and date, and with a straight-sided four-centred head. Following on this is the north door of the same date as the aisle, with an external label and continuously moulded jambs. West of the door is a 15th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights under a square head. The west window of the same date, or slightly later, is small, placed high in the wall and of two trefoiled lights under a square head.

The south aisle has a modern east window of three cinquefoiled lights with uncusped spandrels, of early 14th-century detail. In the south wall are two two-light windows. The first of these is of early 14th-century detail, and having been apparently reset, is probably one of the old nave windows moved out



MONKS RISBOROUGH CHURCH : INTERIOR LOOKING EAST

when the aisle was built. The internal jambs are doubly shafted and have circular capitals and bases, while the rear arch is elaborately moulded. There are both internal and external labels, and the latter is finished with mask drips just above a string-course in which are worked two grotesque heads forming secondary drips. The second window, also presumably re-used, is of later 14th-century date and much restored; it is of two trefoiled lights with two trefoils and a quatrefoil over. The south door, between these windows, is of early 15th-century date, continuously moulded in two double-ogee orders with a hollow between.

The south porch has in its north-east angle a mutilated holy-water stone, with a rounded bowl upon a short square stem. There are small cinquefoiled lights in the east and west walls, and the outer archway is of two hollow-chamfered orders with sunk spandrels and an image niche over.

The tower is of three stages, with a plain parapet and a large square south-east staircase turret. The tower arch is of three continuous chamfered orders, with an internal label which is continued as a string to the north and south nave walls. The external string between the first and second stages is carried round the east wall of the turret, which now forms part of the west wall of the south aisle, showing that the turret stood free at this height in the first instance. The belfry openings are of two cinquefoiled lights with sharp two-centred heads. Below the parapet is a corbel table, which is carried round the stair turret which rises some feet above the tower. The west door, of 14th-century date, has a two-centred head of two richly-moulded orders, the inner of which is continuous, while the mouldings of the outer die out at the springing. The west window has modern tracery of the same detail as the south-west window of the south aisle.

The font is of the local 12th-century type, with a circular scalloped bowl, moulded stem, and square base, ornamented with conventional foliage.

The chancel has a modern high-pitched tiled roof, while those of the aisles, transept, and nave are of low pitch and leaded. The last is of 15th-century date with moulded principals, purlins, ridges, and wall-brackets with cusped spandrel tracery, resting in some cases upon grotesque stone corbels. The transept roof is similar but perhaps earlier. The porch roof is also of early 15th-century date, but is of steep pitch, and a good deal of 15th-century work is incorporated in the aisle roofs. There is a much-restored rood-screen in position, and on the jambs of the chancel arch are faint traces of the coved soffit of the rood-loft. The screen itself is of 15th-century date with five wide arched bays, from the heads of which the wooden vaulting has been removed, the spandrels being filled in with modern tracery. The lower panels are solid, and painted with figures of bearded saints wearing ermine-trimmed hats and tippets; the drawing and colour can only be called barbarous, and they appear to be 18th-century repaintings of earlier work. It is quite impossible to identify any of the figures. There is a considerable quantity of 15th-

century work incorporated in the seating of the church, four bench-ends in particular having well-designed finials carved with figures standing or kneeling upon two faces, back to back, or in one case upon two pelicans. The oldest monument is the brass figure of Robert Blundele, priest, 1431, in mass vestments, and there is another brass of a civilian and his wife, c. 1460, with two sons and five daughters. The children, however, do not belong to the same monument as the two larger figures. In the eastern window of the south aisle are some fragments of 14th and 15th-century glass, the most perfect piece being a small figure of our Lady and Child. There is also some 15th-century glass in its original position in the upper lights of one of the north windows of the chancel.

The tower contains six bells, the treble cast by Warner & Sons in 1885, the second and fourth dated 1637, the third, fifth, and tenor dated 1636. They are all by Ellis Knight of Reading.

The church plate consists of a modern jewelled chalice of mediaeval design, hall-marked for 1877; a chalice inscribed as the gift of William Quarles in 1726, hall-marked for 1710, and a salver, standing paten and flagon similarly inscribed, the first hall-marked for 1697, the second with no date-letter, and the third with the date-letter for 1725.

The first book of the registers contains all entries from 1587 to 1802, except in the case of marriages, which cease at 1754. There is also a recent and beautifully-made copy of this book. Baptisms and burials are continued in another book from 1803 to 1812, and marriages, after a gap, in a third from 1778 to 1812.

The church of Monks Risborough *ADVOWSON* was one of the two benefices belonging to the deanery of Risborough, within the exempt jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁵ The deanery was abolished in 1841 at the renewal of the rural deaneries, and the church of Monks Risborough was assigned to Wendover (first division).⁷⁶ In 1865, however, it was again transferred, and now belongs to the rural deanery of Aylesbury.⁷⁴ The church does not seem to have been assigned with the manor to the monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, when the division of estates between the archbishop and the monks took place.⁷⁸ No vicarage was ordained, and the rectory was not amongst the possessions of the monastery at its dissolution.⁷⁹ The archbishop collated to the living, since during the vacancy caused by Archbishop Morton's death, the Crown instituted a new rector in 1500.⁷⁷ His successors⁷⁹ collated to it until 1837, when with the rest of Buckinghamshire, the ecclesiastical parish of Monks Risborough was transferred to the diocese of Oxford, and the Bishop of Oxford became patron of the living.⁷⁹

A chapel at Owlswick existed in the 14th century, since in 1368 Robert Testyf was 'vicar of the church of Olneswyk.'⁸⁰ Tithes were set apart for the chapel by John Wakeman, rector of Monks Risborough, in the 15th century.⁸¹ In 1631,⁸² and again during the Commonwealth,⁸³ there were difficulties as to the

⁷⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 89; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 249.

⁷⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 344, 345.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Cf. manor of Monks Risborough.

⁷⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 18.

⁷⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, pt. i, 109a.

⁷⁸ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1671-1789.

⁷⁹ *Lond. Gaz.* 30 May 1837.

⁸⁰ Feet of F. Bucks, East. and Trin. 41 Edw. III.

⁸¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 419.

⁸² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-3, p. 232.

⁸³ *Exch. Com. Mich.* 1656, no. 14.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

payment of the tithes to the vicar of Owlswick. The rectory of Monks Risborough was sequestrated in 1646, and Nathaniel Anderson had thereupon been admitted to the benefice, and had undertaken to find a curate for the chapel to whom he was to allow about £30 a year, a vicarage house, and certain tithes.⁸⁴ Whether, under ordinary circumstances, the curate of the chapel was provided by the vicar of the parish church or by the patron does not appear, since the chapel was destroyed during the Civil War. There is now a school chapel in the hamlet, built in 1866.

The charities of the Rev. Humphrey Hody, D.D., and the Rev. William Quarles, D.D., for apprenticing, are endowed with 14 acres, purchased with £100 left by will of Dr. Hody, 1706, and with £150 left by will of Dr. Quarles, 1727, and with 8 acres allotted in 1830 under the Inclosure Award.

The land is let at £12 a year, which is applied, as opportunity offers, in paying the premium on appren-

ticing one boy, selected from the Sunday school. In 1905 there was a balance in hand of £66.

The said Dr. Quarles likewise devised his close called Ives Heath to the rector in trust to pay 40s. a year for instruction of poor boys in writing English and to read their Catechism. The annuity is paid towards the support of the Sunday school.

The Poor's Allotment consists of 27 a. 3 r. 36 p., allotted under the Inclosure Act, 2 Geo. IV, cap. 17 (Private), to the poor, in satisfaction of their right of cutting and taking beech and other brushwood or fuel from the waste called the Scrubbs, the rents and profits to be laid out in the purchase of fuel to be distributed among the poor. The land is let at £50 a year, which is applied by the parish council in the distribution of coal.

An annual sum of £1, issuing out of land in Barnes Field, is paid by Mrs. Jaques of Horsenden House, in respect of a gift by a donor unknown, which is applied by the parish council in the distribution of stockings.

PRINCES RISBOROUGH

Riseberge (xi cent.); Magna Risberge (xiii cent.); Earls Rysebergh (xiv cent.); Princes Risburgh (xv cent.).

The parish of Princes Risborough lies on the western side of the county of Buckingham. It contains 3,936½ acres, the greater part, viz. 2,620 acres, being arable land.¹ There are 1,276½ acres laid down in permanent grass, and 40 acres of wood. The subsoil is chalk,² but the surface soil is variable; on the hills it is generally light and chalky, and in the lowlands either loam or strong clay. The parish lies on the north-western slope of the Chiltern Hills, rising to over 770 ft. above the Ordnance datum.

The occupation of the people is almost entirely agricultural. There is an iron-foundry at the hamlet of Looseley Row, and sequin and bead-work is done by women at Lacey Green. Water-cress beds exist near the town of Princes Risborough, where there are several springs. Princes Risborough is a small market town, lying 8½ miles south of Aylesbury on the high road from Aylesbury to Wycombe. The road from Wycombe to Thame branches off to the north-west at the northern end of the town, and the Upper Icknield Way also crosses the parish. The Wycombe branch of the Great Western Railway runs to the west of the town, the station being about three-quarters of a mile away. In 1906 the Great Central Railway opened a branch line to Aylesbury in conjunction with the Great Western Railway, and this line passes through Princes Risborough Station. The centre of the town is at the junction of the three main streets, where the square, red-brick market-house stands, with open arcades and a covered walk on its lower story, and a wooden cupola containing a bell rising from its low slate roof. There are a good many 18th-century red-brick fronts, and near the market-house a gabled half-timber house with herringbone brick filling and a fine central chimney stack. The church is at the north-west corner of the town, standing in a large

churchyard, and to the east of it is the manor-house, with remains of two sides of a deep moat in its grounds.

The manor-house is a handsome red-brick building with pilasters and mouldings in cut and rubbed brick. It appears to date from the beginning of the 18th century, but its staircase and the panelling of the drawing-room are some fifty years earlier, and may have been removed from an older building on the same site. They fit so well into their present position that it seems as if the house must have been built with a view to receiving them. The staircase is of oak with a heavy moulded hand-rail and a balustrade of scrollwork, and large square newels with ball finials and moulded pendants. The drawing-room panelling is in two ranges with tall arched upper panels, with small moulded key blocks. Above is a frieze and an elaborate cornice of many moulded members. The mantel is part of the general design, and is enriched with a small Tuscan order, a central oval panel, and flat baluster pilasters below the mantel-shelf. At the window recesses are pilasters reaching from floor to ceiling, the proportions, workmanship, and design being extremely good, and though comparatively plain, the room is a charming example of its date. The entrance hall is also panelled, but not so elaborately, and is probably of the same date as the house. The windows throughout are sashed, and have heavy glazing bars.

Henry VIII made a grant to the inhabitants of Princes Risborough in 1523 of a weekly market and two yearly fairs.³ The market was held on Wednesdays, and the fairs for three days at the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and on St. George's Day. The market day in 1792 had been changed to Saturday, and again in 1888 to Thursday. In 1792 there was only one fair held, on 6 May.⁴ A second fair has since been revived and is now held on 21 October.

The town obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1598, granting to the inhabitants immunity

⁸⁴ Exch. Com. Mich. 1656, no. 14.

¹ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

² V.C.H. Bucks. i, Geological Map.

³ Pat. 15 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 23.

⁴ Rep. Royal Com. on Markets and Tolls, vol. 1.

from serving on juries and paying tolls.⁵ The ancient earthwork called Grim's Dyke enters the parish on the north-eastern border by Lilly-bottom Farm, and reaches to Lacey Green. To the west of the churchyard of Princes Risborough there is a site of about an acre surrounded by a moat that popular tradition asserts to be the site of the Black Prince's palace. The civil parish of Princes Risborough contains the hamlets of Longwick, Lacey Green, Looseley Row, and Speen.

Before the Norman Conquest *MANORS PRINCES RISBOROUGH* belonged to King Harold.⁶ There was attached to the manor in his time a burgess of Oxford, who remained there after the Norman Conquest, and a salt-worker of Droitwich paid an unspecified number of loads of salt to the lord of the manor in 1086.⁷

William the Conqueror kept the greater part of Harold's lands, and so Princes Risborough became part of the ancient demesne of the Crown. Half of this part of Risborough seems, however, to have been granted to Ansculf de Pinchengi very shortly after the settlement of the Normans,⁸ but was exchanged for part of Ellesborough with Ralph Tallebosch or Taillebois, by the king's command. Soon afterwards Risborough again changed hands, and was held by the second Earl Walter Giffard, who made various grants from these

lands to the abbey of Notley.⁹ From 1162 to 1180 Princes Risborough is said to belong to the honour of Giffard,¹⁰ but on the death of the earl in 1164 it reverted to the Crown,¹¹ and does not appear to have been included in the grant of his honour made by Richard I to William Marshal and Gilbert de Clare, the heirs of the Giffards. Before 1165 the manor was granted to Richard de Humeto,¹² the Constable of Normandy, and from this time was reckoned among the 'lands of the Normans.' The original grant was probably made by Walter Giffard, but in 1173-4, after his death, Henry II gave a new charter¹³ to the constable. This grant was renewed on Richard's death to his son and successor, William de Humeto.¹⁴ The latter does not appear, however, to have held the manor, which went to his younger brother Engelard,¹⁵ but by what charter or right he held it is doubtful. Engelard's son, named William de Similly,¹⁶ succeeded him, and held the manor till his death, *circa* 1205, when it escheated to the king.¹⁷ While in the royal hands, various grants of land¹⁸ in Risborough were made, but only of a temporary nature, and by 1224.¹⁹ William de Similly's son, another William, was in seisin of the manor. The heirs of Earl Giffard²⁰ now made a determined attempt to recover Princes Risborough, claiming that it was part of the honour to which they had succeeded. Moreover, they denied



PRINCES RISBOROUGH: THE MARKET PLACE

⁵ This charter is now in possession of Mr. George Stratton of High Street, Princes Risborough.

⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232a.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* i, 254a.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 278.

¹⁰ *Pipe R.* vi, 17.

¹¹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 312; *Pipe R.* ix, 15; *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹² *Pipe R.* vii.

¹³ *Cal. Doc. France*, 186.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 187.

¹⁵ Maitland, *Bracton's Note Bk.* case 1734.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 86.

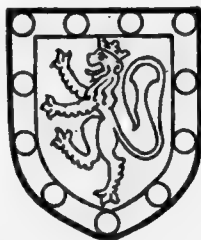
¹⁸ *Ibid.* 12b, 46, 50, 75b, 576; *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 537; *Pipe R.* 14 John, m. 14.

¹⁹ *Curia Regis R.* 85, m. 11; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 252b.

²⁰ *Curia Regis R.* 87, m. 7; Maitland, *Bracton's Note Bk.* case 1734; *Assize R.* 54, m. 9 d.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

that William de Similly could claim from the grant to the Constable of Normandy, as that grant had been made to Richard de Humeto and his heirs, and William was not his heir. No result came of their suit, since it was decided that the question must stand over till the king was of age. A second suit²¹ was subsequently brought by Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, against William de Similly, but the result is not recorded. The latter,²² however, remained in peaceful seisin of the manor²³ till his death before 1242.²⁴ The land then escheated to the king, the heir being a minor, and the rights of wardship were granted to Drogo de Troubleville.²⁵ The heir of William de Similly is never mentioned again, and presumably died before coming of age, for in 1243 Henry III granted the manor of Princes Risborough to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans.²⁶ Richard was succeeded by his son Edmund, Earl of Cornwall,²⁷ who held the manor till his death in 1300,²⁸ when it again came into the king's hands, Edward I being the next heir. The king held it in demesne in 1302-3,²⁹ but immediately afterwards he granted it to Queen Margaret for life, in exchange for certain castles and lands with which he had dowered her.³⁰ Margaret, the Countess of Cornwall, however, held a third as part of her widow's dower during her life.³¹ The reversion was granted in 1309 to Piers Gaveston and his wife Margaret,³² one of the heiresses of the Clares, and also one of the descendants of the Giffards, but this grant was surrendered in the same year.³³ Queen



CORNWALL. *Argent a lion gules crowned or in a border sable bezanty.*



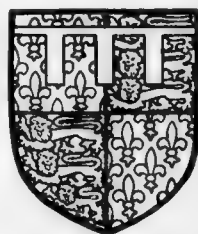
ENGLAND. *Gules three leopards or.*



OLD FRANCE. *Azure powdered with fleurs-de-lis or.*

Margaret lived till 1316,³⁴ and from the time of her death till 1327 the manor of Princes Risborough was held by the king.³⁵ At the latter date Edward III granted it to Queen Isabella in reward for her services with regard to the treaty with France and the

suppression of the Despensers' Rebellion.³⁶ In 1330 John de Eltham, Earl of Cornwall and brother of the king, obtained a grant of the manor of Risborough,³⁷ but after his death in 1337³⁸ Queen Isabella again held the manor. The reversion was granted to Henry de Ferrers,³⁹ who obtained possession after the death of Isabella, and died seised in 1344.⁴⁰ His son was a minor, and the custody of the manor was granted to the Black Prince,⁴¹ from whom it took its present name of Princes Risborough.⁴² The prince⁴³ held the manor till his death, when it passed to Richard his son and heir.⁴⁴ The latter, while still prince, granted the manor for life to Lewis de Clifford.⁴⁵ He confirmed the grant on his accession to the throne, and Lewis held it for his life. Under Henry IV the manor came into the hands of the Crown, and was again granted to the Prince of Wales.⁴⁶ Henry VI succeeded to the manor,⁴⁷ which formed part of the dower of his queen, Margaret of Anjou.⁴⁸ Afterwards,



THE BLACK PRINCE. *Old France quartered with England, a label argent for difference.*



ENGLAND. *France quartered with England.*



ANJOU. *Old France in a border gules.*

however, it seems to have been held by his son Edward, Prince of Wales.⁴⁹ It remained in the hands of the Crown apparently till Edward VI granted the manor to Princess Elizabeth for life.⁵⁰ James I granted it to Anne of Denmark as part of her dower,⁵¹ and on her death to Sir Henry Hobart to the use of Prince Charles.⁵² In 1628 Charles I conveyed the manor to the City of London in part payment of the large debts of the king.⁵³ The fee-farm rent from the manor⁵⁴ was granted in 1671 to Lord Hawley in trust for the king's heirs and successors,⁵⁵ until it was sold. This sale took place in the same year to Sir Peter Lely,⁵⁶ the painter. Under the Commonwealth the manor of Princes Risborough, distinguished at this time as the King's Manor,⁵⁷ came into the hands of Ralph Adeane.⁵⁸ He held it in

²¹ Assize R. 54, m. 9 d.

²² Cal. Close, 1231-4, p. 561.

²³ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245, 262.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 2, no. 6.

²⁵ Abbrev. Rot. Orig. (Rec. Com.), i, 5.

²⁶ Cal. of Chert. 1226-57, p. 276;

Assize R. 56, m. 43 d.

²⁷ Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, no. 808; Feud. Aids, i, 85.

²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 28 Edw. I, no. 44 (21).

²⁹ Feud. Aids, i, 97.

³⁰ Cal. Pat. 1301-7, p. 118.

³¹ Chart. R. Bucks. 3 Edw. II, m. 10, no. 27.

³² Ibid.

³³ Cal. Close, 1307-13, pp. 225, 226.

³⁴ Feud. Aids, i, 112; Abbrev. Rot.

Orig. (Rec. Com.), 240.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Cal. Pat. 1327-30, p. 68.

³⁷ Chart. R. 4 Edw. III, m. 7, no. 12;

Cal. Pat. 1330-4, p. 52.

³⁸ Ibid. 1334-8, p. 418.

³⁹ Ibid. 1343-8, p. 92.

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 17 Edw. III (1st

nos.), no. 57.

⁴¹ Cal. Pat. 1343-5, p. 115.

⁴² Cal. Close, 1343-6, p. 32.

⁴³ Feud. Aids, i, 122.

⁴⁴ Cal. Pat. 1377-81, p. 157.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 1422-9, p. 94.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 1461-7, p. 146.

⁴⁸ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. 18, m.

50 d. (pt. 2).

⁴⁹ De Banco R. Mich. 6 Hen. VII, m.

307.

⁵⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. 3, m. 25; ibid.

5 Edw. VI, pt. 3, m. 31.

⁵¹ Ibid. 1 Jas. I, pt. 20.

⁵² Ibid. 17 Jas. I, pt. 1.

⁵³ Ibid. 4 Chas. I, pt. 35; Cal. S.P.

Dom. 1628-9, p. 426.

⁵⁴ Close, 24 Chas. II, pt. 9, no. 23.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Close, 1653, pt. 39, no. 33.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

RISBOROUGH HUNDRED

PRINCES
RISBOROUGH

1653⁶⁰ and 1655,⁶⁰ and after the Restoration Thomas Adeane, a minor, was lord of the manor as heir of Ralph.⁶¹ In 1684, however, Edward Bigland and George Pelham appear to have been in seisin.⁶² In



DENMARK. Or powdered with hearts gules three leopards azure with golden crowns.



CHARLES, Prince of Wales. The royal arms of the Stuarts, FRANCE and ENGLAND quartered with SCOTLAND and IRELAND, with the difference of a label argent.

1702 and in 1729 Henry Penton held this manor⁶³ In 1766 it was sold by the Penton family to John Grubbe of Horsenden.⁶⁴ In the same year he, together with his next brother Samuel, sold it to Edward, the third brother.⁶⁵ Edward's grandson John held the manor in 1813,⁶⁶ but in 1841 it was advertised for

sale by auction.⁶⁷ It was, however, purchased privately by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos on the day previous to the sale.⁶⁸ The duke's lands were sold very shortly after the purchase of this manor, which, in 1862, was in the hands of Mr. James Cuddon.⁶⁹ At the present day Mr. Humphrey Brill, of Aston Clinton, claims to be lord of the manor of Princes Risborough.

This manor in Princes Risborough was held by William de Similly by the service due from one knight's fee,⁷⁰ and the same service was performed by the Earls of Cornwall.⁷¹ In later grants the service is not defined. The lords of the manor under the Commonwealth paid a fee-farm rent, which in 1671 was given as £82 4s. 7½d.⁷² It is interesting to note that this rent had hardly varied from the yearly value of the manor 300 years before. In 1303 it was £82 9s. 3d.,⁷³ and in 1337 £84,⁷⁴ and 1381 £90.⁷⁵

Earl Walter Giffard and Countess Ermengarde granted a wood called Lullested in Princes Risborough to the abbey of Notley, on its foundation.⁷⁶ This grant was confirmed by Henry II and John and by Edward III.⁷⁷

In 1291 the temporalities of the abbey in Princes Risborough were lands and meadows worth 12s. 9d. a year.⁷⁸ The abbey probably obtained further grants of land in the parish, since at the Dissolution it held



PRINCES RISBOROUGH : CHURCH STREET

⁶⁰ Recov. R. Hil. 1653.

⁶¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 1655.

⁶² Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 26 Chas. II, no. 46; Mich. 29 Chas. II, no. 18.

⁶³ Recov. R. Hil. 36-7 Chas. II.

⁶⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 13 Will. III; Recov. R. Hil. 3 Geo. II.

⁶⁵ From information supplied by Mr. W. J. Grubbe, Southwold, Suffolk.

⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 6 Geo. III.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Trin. 53 Geo. III.

⁶⁸ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 333; *Times*, 23 Aug. 1841.

⁶⁹ From information supplied by Mr. W. J. Grubbe.

⁷⁰ Sheaham, *Hist. and Topog. Bucks.* 191.

⁷¹ *Test. de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 252b.

⁷² *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. III*, no. 808; *Fend. Aids*, i, 97.

⁷³ Close, 24 Chas. II, pt. 9, no. 23.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 118.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 1327-30, p. 68.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 1377-81, p. 157.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), i, 46; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 278.

⁷⁸ *Pope Nick. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 32.

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the manor and rectory of Princes Risborough, valued at £40 a year.⁷⁹ Henry VIII granted this manor, known as the *ABBOT'S MANOR*, to the dean and chapter of Oxford,⁸⁰ but they forfeited it not long afterwards. Edward VI on his accession to the throne gave it to Robert King, Bishop of Oxford,⁸¹ but Elizabeth recovered the manor from the bishop in 1589.⁸² In the same year she had already granted it to Thomas Crompton, Robert Wrighte, and Gilley Merick.⁸³ Crompton sold it to John Jackman,⁸⁴ who held it at his death in 1622,⁸⁵ when it passed to his son. The latter sold it in 1624 to Joan Chibnall and Vincent Barry,⁸⁶ who was the steward of the King's Manor.⁸⁷ During the Civil War this manor presumably came into the hands of Ralph Adeane, who certainly had the rectory.⁸⁸ In a suit as to the customs of the manor in 1675,⁸⁹ the King's Manor and the Abbot's Manor are both mentioned; the former is said to belong to the ancient demesne of the Crown, and not the latter, but both seem to be held by Thomas Adeane, and from this time continued to be held together.

In Elizabeth's grant to Thomas Crompton,⁹⁰ a mansion-house called 'Broke House' is specially mentioned, and appears in the majority of the deeds relating to the manor. The latter indeed is sometimes called Brooke, the description in 1813⁹¹ being the 'manor of Risborough or Princes Risborough or Brooke or Abbot's Risborough commonly called the Abbots' hold.' By Walter Giffard's grant the wood was held by the abbey in frankalmoign,⁹² and the Bishop of Oxford held the manor in the reign of Edward VI on the same tenure, but also paid rent for it.⁹³

CULVERTON is first mentioned in 1247.⁹⁴ Stephen son of Hugh of Culverton then held 1 hide of land of Philip son of Oliver. He had formerly paid the yearly rent of 1 mark, but it was changed by agreement to the payment of a clove gilly-flower yearly. In 1317 Hugh of Culverton made an exchange of land in Princes Risborough with John de Foxle and his wife Constance. Hugh by this settlement was to hold his land and tenements for life, with remainder to John and Constance and the heirs of John.⁹⁵ The other piece of land which changed hands was to be held by John and Constance and the heirs of John.⁹⁶ These arrangements suggest that Constance was possibly the heiress of Hugh de Culverton. John de Foxle died, in 1324-5, seised jointly with his wife of land at Culverton.⁹⁷ Constance then held them alone and presumably was succeeded by Thomas de Foxle.⁹⁸

In the next century Richard de la Hay held the manor of Culverton, which in 1443 was settled intact

on Matthew de la Hay and his wife Anne.⁹⁹ It was sold in 1516-17 by Thomas a Botre and his wife Joan to Robert Bonner.¹⁰⁰ It had apparently been the inheritance of Joan.¹⁰¹ In 1633-4 the manor of Culverton *alias* Frogmore House passed from Charles Alden and his wife Alice to Ralph Baldwin; ¹⁰² five years later the latter conveyed it to Francis Steevens.¹⁰³ John de Foxle held his land in Culverton of the king in chief, of the manor of Princes Risborough.¹⁰⁴ He did suit of court at Risborough every three weeks, and paid a yearly rent of 33s. 9d.¹⁰⁵

In 1316-17 the king granted him and his heirs the right of free warren in all his demesne lands in Princes Risborough and Saunderton.¹⁰⁶

The manor of Princes Risborough *THE PARK* in 1086 was assessed at 30 hides, and of these 20 were then contained in the demesne of the king.¹⁰⁷ This suggests that even in the 11th century the nucleus of a park already existed, and a few years later the wood of Earl Walter Giffard is mentioned in the foundation charter of Notley Abbey.¹⁰⁸ The park is mentioned in the inquisition taken at the death of Richard Earl of Cornwall,¹⁰⁹ and the Abbot of Notley had various rights in it,¹¹⁰ to maintain which he was continually making complaints to the king.¹¹¹ Edward II and probably his predecessors used the park of Risborough as a stud-farm. The buildings in the manor were repaired in 1318,¹¹² so that the horses of the king's stud could be properly kept there, and a special inclosure was made in which the horses might be exercised. Orders were given that the keeper of the stud should have whatever was required for the horses.¹¹³ The colts are particularly specified in some of the orders, and in the appointment of William de Framesworth as keeper of the stud it is specially mentioned that he was to have the custody of the colts as well as of the horses already broken in.¹¹⁴ The deer in the park are also mentioned in 1337,¹¹⁵ when orders were given that thirty-two should be taken from the parks of Risborough and Cippenham, and sent to Westminster for the funeral expenses of John Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother. The park was however, always granted with the manor until Henry VIII granted an inclosure, called Risborough Park, to Sir Edward Don.¹¹⁶ The Dons had already held the parkership of Risborough; Edward IV had granted it to Sir John Don, who retained his office after the accession of Henry VII.¹¹⁷ In 1520 the office of parker was granted to Sir Edward himself, and to Sir John Daunce in survivorship.¹¹⁸ Sir Edward's daughter and heiress Anne married George Cotton of Whittington,¹¹⁹ Gloucestershire, and she held the park for her life.¹²⁰ The reversion, to fall in

⁷⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 278.

⁸⁰ Pat. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 6, m. 12.

⁸¹ Ibid. 1 Edw. VI. pt. 5, m. 31-6.

⁸² Feet of F. Div. Cos. Hil. 32 Eliz.

⁸³ Pat. 32 Eliz. pt. 9, m. 9.

⁸⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 36 Eliz.

⁸⁵ Chan. Inq. (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi, no.

95.

⁸⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 22 Jas. I.

⁸⁷ Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 29 Chas. II, no. 18.

⁸⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1658.

⁸⁹ Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 26 Chas. II, no. 46.

⁹⁰ Pat. 32 Eliz. pt. 9, m. 9.

⁹¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 53 Geo. III.

⁹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 278.

⁹³ Pat. 1 Edw. VI. pt. 5, m. 31-6.

⁹⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 32 Hen. III.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Trin. 10 Edw. II, no. 20.

⁹⁶ Ibid. no. 24.

⁹⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, no. 32.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 388.

⁹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 21 Hen. VI.

¹⁰⁰ Close, 8 Hen. VIII, m. 43.

¹⁰¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 9 Hen.

VIII.

¹⁰² Ibid. Hil. 9 Chas. I.

¹⁰³ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 14 Chas. I.

¹⁰⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, no.

32.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 388.

¹⁰⁶ Chart. R. 10 Edw. II, m. 12, no.

26.

¹⁰⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232a.

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), i, 46.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. III*, no. 808.

¹¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 32 Edw. I, no.

241.

¹¹¹ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 232; *ibid.*

1333-7, p. 628.

¹¹² *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 147.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 60; *ibid.* 1330-7, p. 448.

¹¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1343-5, p. 368.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, p. 640.

¹¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 733 (12).

¹¹⁷ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 341b.

¹¹⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 967 (8).

¹¹⁹ See Horsenden.

¹²⁰ Com. Pleas Deeds Enr. East. 4 Eliz. m. 11.

after her death, was sold in 1562 by Edward Daunce to Sir William Dormer.¹⁵¹ Robert Lord Dormer, the son of Sir William, died seised of the Risborough Park¹⁵² in 1617, his heir being his grandson Robert, whose estates were sequestered during the Civil War.¹⁵³ In 1561 George Gosnald, of Colston Basset, Notts., obtained the estate of Lord Dormer in Princes Risborough on a lease, paying £230 a year.¹⁵⁴ Lord Dormer was said to have held it at a yearly rental of £100.¹⁵⁵ This estate was not definitely called the Park of Princes Risborough, but it seems probable that it may be identified with it. No mention of the park is made after the Restoration, and it seems to have been recovered by the lords of the manor. When Ralph Adeane held the property in 1653¹⁵⁶ there were 800 acres of wood and 60 of furze and heath attached to the manor, the total acreage of land of all kinds being 1,360 acres, and rents being paid further to the value of £15 a year. The Abbot's manor was not included in this.



DORMER. *Assure ten
billets or and a chief or
with a demi lion sable.*

In the Domesday Book there were two mills at Princes Risborough, worth 14s. 8d. a year.¹⁵⁷ They may probably be identified with the two water-mills mentioned in the reign of Henry III. Geoffrey Neyrnut held one of these of the King of Almain, then Richard Earl of Cornwall, the lord of the manor, and the second of Richard de la Forde.¹⁵⁸ One water-mill was held in the 17th century by William Hampden.¹⁵⁹ It was left under his will to his cousin Richard Hampden.¹⁶⁰ It was then called Longwick Mill, a name which is still used for the water-mill in the hamlet of Longwick at the present day. A water-mill was also held by Robert Lord Dormer, early in the 17th century,¹⁶¹ and a water-mill and a windmill are mentioned in 1712, being then in the possession of Charles Dormer.¹⁶²

In the 14th century there was a water-mill at Culverton.¹⁶³ A mill was first mentioned in the settlement made between Hugh of Culverton and John de Foxle in 1317,¹⁶⁴ and the latter died seised of a water-mill.¹⁶⁵ In the conveyances of the manor of Culverton in the 17th century the water-mill passed with the manor.¹⁶⁶

The church of *OUR LADY* consists **CHURCH** of a chancel 32 ft. 9 in. by 17 ft. 10 in., with a modern organ chamber on the north; a nave 60 ft. 9 in. by 26 ft. 3 in.; north and south aisles 11 ft. 3 in. and 8 ft. wide respectively; a south porch and a western tower. Up to the first quarter of the 13th century the church consisted of a chancel and an aisleless nave of the same width as at present, but some 10 ft. shorter. About 1220 north and south aisles were added, and about 1300 the nave and aisles were lengthened by one bay, a tower being probably begun at the same time. A

little later, in the 14th century, the chancel was rebuilt, and the clearstory was a 15th-century addition. In modern times the church has been drastically restored, few of the windows remaining untouched. The clearstory and north aisle were rebuilt, and the east responds of the nave arcades, which were of some depth, pierced with small arches in continuation of the arcades. In 1907 a new tower and a tall stone spire were begun from the designs of Mr. Oldrid Scott.

The east window of the chancel is modern and of geometrical detail. In the north wall is a much-restored early 14th-century window of two uncusped lights, with an uncusped circle over and shafts to the internal splay. West of this is the opening to the modern organ chamber. At the south-west of the chancel is a trefoiled piscina, *circa* 1330, with a shelf and a double drain. The two windows in the south wall, of 14th-century style, and the door between them, are all much restored but in part ancient. Below the western window is a blocked low side window, with a square head and plain chamfered jambs and with its iron bars still in position. The chancel arch is modern and of late 13th-century style.

The nave is of seven bays, and the two arcades are practically identical, the arches throughout being of two chamfered orders. The first arch on either side is modern, and also the first column, circular in plan and with moulded capital and base. The second, third, fourth, and fifth columns and arches, and the sixth arch are of 13th-century date, the columns being octagonal and the arches having plain chamfered labels, with moulded capitals and plain bases. The seventh pair of arches, *circa* 1300, have a filleted roll label, and the sixth columns and the western responds are of the same time and are of quatrefoil plan, with moulded capitals and bases of the same form and date, but varying from each other in the details of moulding. The tower arch is modern and of early 14th-century design. The clearstory has five modern sixfoil circles on either side, and is shown by Lipscomb to have originally had two-light windows in this position.¹⁶⁷

The north aisle opens to the organ chamber by a modern arch, and the north wall of the aisle has been completely rebuilt; but in the main with old materials. The windows are four in number, the first two of three trefoiled lights with tracery over, the others of two lights, and all with segmental heads and of 14th-century detail. Some old stones are set in their jambs and splays, but the tracery in all cases is quite modern. The blocked north door in the middle of this aisle is of 14th-century date but very much restored, with continuously moulded jambs and two-centred head of two orders. There is no west window to either aisle.

The south aisle has a much-restored east window of 14th-century date, with two uncusped lights. The shafted jambs, mullion, and splays are old, and have circular moulded capitals and bases. In the south wall, at the east end, are a much-defaced piscina and sedile of 14th-century date, with the remains of

¹⁵¹ Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. 10, m. 5.

¹⁵² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclviii, no.

99. ¹⁵³ Cal. of Com. for Compounding, 1785.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Recov. R. Hil. 1653.

¹⁵⁷ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 232a.

¹⁵⁸ Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, no. 903.

¹⁵⁹ Exch. Dep. by Com. East. 2 Jas. I,

no. 8.

¹⁶⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclx, no.

188.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. ccclviii, no. 102.

¹⁶² Recov. R. East. 11 Anne.

¹⁶³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, 32.

¹⁶⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 10 Edw. II,

no. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, no. 32.

¹⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 9 Chas. I;

ibid. East. 14 Chas. I.

¹⁶⁷ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 336.

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elaborate projecting canopies with shafted jambs; in the piscina is a stone shelf. Immediately west of this is a very remarkable three-light window, which looks like 13th-century work reused and altered *circa* 1320. The lights are uncusped, and have a square inner reveal and stilted moulded rear arches resting on free-standing shafts with octagonal moulded capitals; there are engaged shafts to the tracery orders also. Partly under this window is a 14th-century tomb recess with a sub-cusped cinquefoiled ogee head, and another like it to the west; both are now empty. Close to the south door is a small plain much restored holy water recess, and from this point to the sedile runs a string-course on the level of the sill to the window last described. The south door is of late 13th-century date, with a deeply-moulded two-centred head and shafted jambs with circular bases and capitals. West of the south door is a window of three cinquefoiled lights, repaired, but of 14th-century date, and there is a contemporary moulded string-course forming its sill and extending some distance on each side of it. Below are two tomb recesses similar to those already described, but having shafted jambs.

The south porch is modern and has a small lancet on either side.

The new western tower is of three stages, with a tall stone spire, and incorporates the old tower, which has been refaced.

The font is modern, with a plain octagonal bowl. There are no monuments of interest in the church, and the roofs and seating are modern. There is, however, a 17th-century oak pulpit.

There is only one bell, dated 1838, and a small 'ting-tang,' dated 1805.

The church plate consists of a communion cup of 1752, given by Thomas Penn, rector; a plated paten; and a flagon of 1629, given by Miss Mary Chibnall.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1561 to 1695 and burials from 1561 to 1678. Burials are continued in a second book from 1678 to 1727, and baptisms and marriages in a third from 1695 to 1721. A fourth book contains baptisms and marriages from 1721 to 1754; a fifth and sixth burials from 1721 to 1786 and from 1786 to 1812. Baptisms, after a gap, are continued from 1788 to 1812, and three books containing marriages with banns run from 1754 to 1776, from 1776 to 1803, and from 1803 to 1812.

The church of Princes Risborough was granted by Walter Giffard to Notley Abbey¹³⁸ at its foundation, with the tithes of his demesne lands there. A vicarage, however, was not ordained. In 1258 the abbot obtained leave from the pope that the churches and chapels belonging to his abbey should be served by the canons or other priests, who should be answerable to the abbot and convent.¹³⁹ This method of serving the churches caused various complaints in the 14th and 15th centuries,¹⁴⁰ but the privilege was confirmed by Boniface IX in 1402.¹⁴¹ The rectory belonged to the abbey of Notley at the dissolution of the monasteries.¹⁴² It was afterwards granted by Henry VIII

to the Dean and Chapter of Oxford,¹⁴³ and was held with the Abbot's Manor till the 19th century. A vicarage is mentioned in the grants of Henry VIII¹⁴⁴ and Edward VI,¹⁴⁵ but this was probably a mistake. The advowson of the church was granted with the rectory to Thomas Crampton,¹⁴⁶ and the church was served by a perpetual curate appointed by the impropiator of the rectory. The patronage was transferred to the Bishop of Oxford in 1860,¹⁴⁷ and finally the benefice was declared a rectory in 1868.¹⁴⁸

A chapel of St. John the Evangelist was built at Lacey Green early in the 19th century,¹⁴⁹ the plan being mainly carried through by the exertions of the Rev. Richard Meade, rector of Horsenden and perpetual curate of Princes Risborough. It was consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1825.

The hamlet, with Looseley Row and Speen, was, however, formed into an ecclesiastical parish in 1851;¹⁵⁰ the living is a vicarage in the gift of the rector of Princes Risborough.

The Abbot of Notley, at the time of the Dissolution, was bound to distribute certain charities to various poor persons at the church of Princes Risborough, to the value of 20s. a year, for the benefit of the souls of the Earl Walter Giffard and the Countess Ermengarde.¹⁵¹ An acre of land was also granted to provide a light at Princes Risborough, presumably within the church.¹⁵² A Baptist chapel was built in 1707 in Bell Street, and a second chapel was opened at Looseley Row in 1862. There is a branch of the Bell Street chapel at Longwick, where there is also a Wesleyan chapel. The Wesleyan Methodists have a chapel in Princes Risborough, built in 1869. At Speen there is a Baptist chapel opened in 1813, and the Primitive Methodists have a chapel at Lacey Green.

For many years there was an ancient custom at Princes Risborough by which the impropiator gave a bull and a boar on Christmas Day for the use of his parishioners. They were distributed 'in large pieces, smoking hot from the copper at five o'clock in the morning for breakfast on Christmas Day.'¹⁵³ Four bushels of wheat and four bushels of malt were also made into bread and beer and given away. The custom however was given up before 1847.¹⁵⁴

In 1615-16 William Smith by his **CHARITIES** will left £40 for the use of the poor.

The legacy was laid out in land, in respect of which 3 a. 2 r. 36 p. in Near Side Field were allotted on the inclosure in 1820. The land is let in allotments, producing about £7 a year, which is applied in the distribution of money, 2s. 6d. to each recipient.

An annual payment of £32 a year is made by Lord Rothschild out of the Manor Farm, Tring, in respect of Joan Chibnall's Charity, by will, 1646, for providing gowns, &c., for poor widows or ancient ladies of Princes Risborough, and other parishes in this county and Oxford. In 1905 thirteen women of this parish were provided with gowns at a cost of £8; 2s. were given to fifty-one recipients and 10s. paid to the rector for a sermon.

¹³⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 278; *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), i, 46.

¹³⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 508.

¹⁴⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 377.

¹⁴¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 509.

¹⁴² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 233.

¹⁴³ Pat. 34 Hen. VIII, pt. 6, m. 12.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 1 Edw. VI, pt. 5, m. 31-6.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 32 Eliz. pt. 9, m. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Lond. Gaz.* 10 Mar. 1860.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 25 Feb. 1868.

¹⁴⁹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 441.

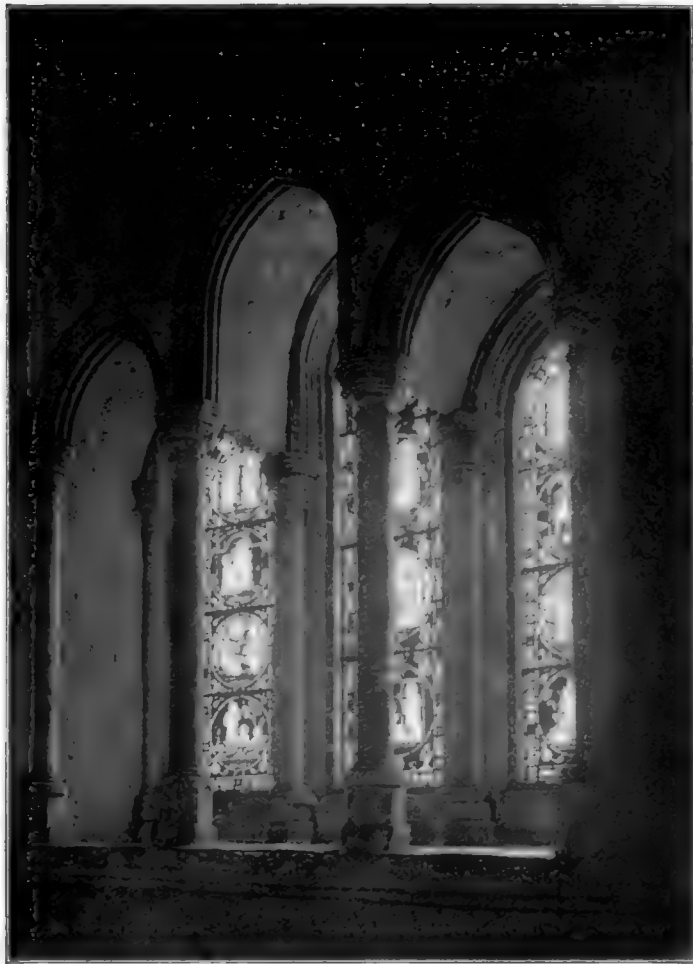
¹⁵⁰ *Lond. Gaz.* 1 Aug. 1851.

¹⁵¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 233.

¹⁵² Chant. Cert. 5, Bucks. no. 71.

¹⁵³ Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* i, 627.

¹⁵⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 435.



PRINCES RISBOROUGH CHURCH : WINDOW IN SOUTH AISLE



PRINCES RISBOROUGH : PANELLING IN THE MANOR HOUSE

STONE HUNDRED

CUDDINGTON

In 1684 Thomas Meade left £100 to be laid out in land, the rents and profits to be applied in apprenticing to trades (except husbandry). The legacy was laid out in the purchase of land, in respect of which at the inclosure in 1820, 3 a. 0 r. 10 p. in Near Side Field were allotted for the poor. The land is let at £3 10s. a year.

In 1713 Mrs. Katherine Pye by deed settled lands in Towersey for educational and eleemosynary purposes in the parishes of Bradenham, Towersey, Princes Risborough, Hughenden, and West Wycombe. The land, known as Quash Farm, contains about fifty-three acres awarded under the Towersey Inclosure Act, 1822, producing a net income of about £60 a year. By an order of the Charity Commissioners, dated 15 March 1904, made under the Board of Education Act, 1899, the part of the endowment applicable for educational purposes was determined to be an annual sum of £36 for schooling certain children of the said parishes, and an annual sum of £1 1s. 8d. for books for such children leaving school. The yearly sum of £12 is payable under the deed of foundation to six poor widows, or widows and maids of Bradenham, Towersey, and West Wycombe, 40s. to each; £5 to the treasurer, and 40s. for the expenses of the trustees, and the surplusage, if any, in apprenticing.

The sum of £8 10s. is received as the share of

Princes Risborough, and applied to general school expenses.

In 1772 Richard Stratton by will bequeathed £500 to the governors of Christ's Hospital, to secure the nomination of one poor boy belonging to Princes Risborough.

Elizabeth Eustace, by deed 5 July 1784, gave certain lands for providing 'lots of linen' for the poor. On the inclosure 1 a. 0 r. 27 p. were allotted in respect thereof, which is let at £4 10s. a year, of which the sum of £1 3s. is paid to the parish of Bledlow. In 1905 linen to the value of 5s. was given to each of twelve recipients, and 1s. was retained by each of the five trustees in pursuance of the provisions of the deed.

The Poor's Land allotted on the inclosure contains 39 a. 3 r. 11 p., let to fifteen tenants at £30 a year. The net proceeds are distributed in coal among the cottagers.

The Church Land consists of 32 p. at Longwick, let at £1 1s. a year, which is applied towards the church expenses.

The Baptist Chapel in Bell Street, erected in 1707, in addition to the Minister's House, is possessed of a house at Parkfield, let at £12 a year. By an order of the Charity Commissioners, dated 11 March 1898, new trustees of the trust property, including the old and new burial-ground, were appointed.

THE HUNDRED OF STONE

CUDDINGTON

Cudintuna (xii cent.); Codyntone (xiv cent.)
Cuddington (xvi cent.).

Cuddington is a small parish, bounded on the north by the River Thame and on the south by its tributary Dad Brook. It contains 1,307½ acres,¹ and the land varies from 200 ft. to 400 ft. above the Ordnance datum. The subsoil is Portland Beds and London Clay.² The people are entirely engaged in agriculture. There are 620 acres of arable land and 627½ of permanent grass.³

No main road passes through the parish, and the village lies at the point where the cross road from Haddenham meets that from Chearsley and Dinton. The ground falls from south to north towards the River Thame, and the church is at the north end of the village, with the school close to it on the west, and Tyringham House, now used as a reading-room, a little beyond it to the north. The country in general is open, with little timber except in the neighbourhood of the village.

Tyringham House at the present day is a small two-story building, standing east and west, with wrought stone window frames and quoins, containing a hall with a room over it and a staircase on the south. It is an early 17th-century building, and the date over the doorway to the staircase, 1609, is probably that of its erection. The hall is a handsome room with a square-headed bay window of five lights, and on either side of the bay a two-light window, all having mullions and transoms, and the same arrangement is

repeated on the first floor, where there is a room of the same size as the hall. Both have fireplaces in the north wall, opposite to the windows, and the rooms have been formerly panelled in wood. The entrance to the house is through a cottage built against its east wall.

The nearest station is 4½ miles away, at Thame on the Great Western Railway.

CUDDINGTON is not mentioned in *MANOR* Domesday Book, but was probably included in the vill of Haddenham, which was assessed at 40 hides.⁴

The manor appears first in the confirmation by Archbishop Theobald of a grant, made by William Rufus, to the priory of St. Andrew, Rochester.

Haddenham was granted 'cum manerio quod appendit Cudintuna nomine,' and this manor presumably had been included in the previous grants of Haddenham.⁵ Before the dissolution of the priory, Cuddington Manor is mentioned separately amongst its possessions, and was valued together with the rectory at £34 6s. 8d. a year.⁶

It was granted, however, by the prior to Sir Edward North, and was recovered by the Crown at the same time as the manor of Haddenham (q.v.).⁷

The history of Cuddington Manor diverges from that of Haddenham from this time, and becomes obscure. Queen Mary granted it to Thomas White, John White, Roger Martin, and William Blackwell to hold to them, their heirs and assigns.⁸ Queen

¹ Ord. Surv.

² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological map.

³ Information from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232b, 233a.

⁵ Sloane MS. 940, fol. 108.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 101.

⁷ See Haddenham; Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 35.

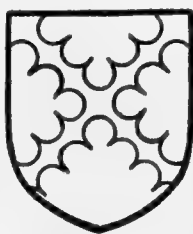
⁸ Pat. 5 & 6 Phil. and Mary pt. 3.

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Elizabeth, however, seems to have recovered possession of the manor, which she sold to Lord Cheyne,⁹ and at his request granted it to John Dudley and John Ascoughe in 1575.¹⁰ From these grantees it appears to have come into the possession of the Tyringhams of Lower Winchendon. This, however, is not definitely stated in any of the documents in which the manor of Cuddington is mentioned. The family certainly had land in the parish,¹¹ and one branch probably resided in the house now called Tyringham House, close to the church. In 1654 Thomas Tyringham of Lower Winchendon sold the capital messuage or site of the manor of Cuddington, called 'the Farme House,' with land in the parish to Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Prebendary of Christ Church, Oxford, and Lady Vere his wife, for £1,800.¹²

An attempt is said to have been made by James Herbert, lord of the manor of Haddenham, who died in 1721, to obtain possession of the manor of Cuddington, but evidently without success.¹³

The manor is mentioned in 1805, apparently being in the possession of William Clarke,¹⁴ but some years



TYRINGHAM. *Azure a saltire engrailed argent.*

later the Rev. David Jones, curate of Cuddington, said that there was no manor there and all the tenures were freehold. This seems to have been in 1826.¹⁵ The Prior and Convent of St. Andrew held the manor of Cuddington in frankalmoign.¹⁶ They also obtained a grant of free warren in their demesne lands there from Edward I in 1295.¹⁷

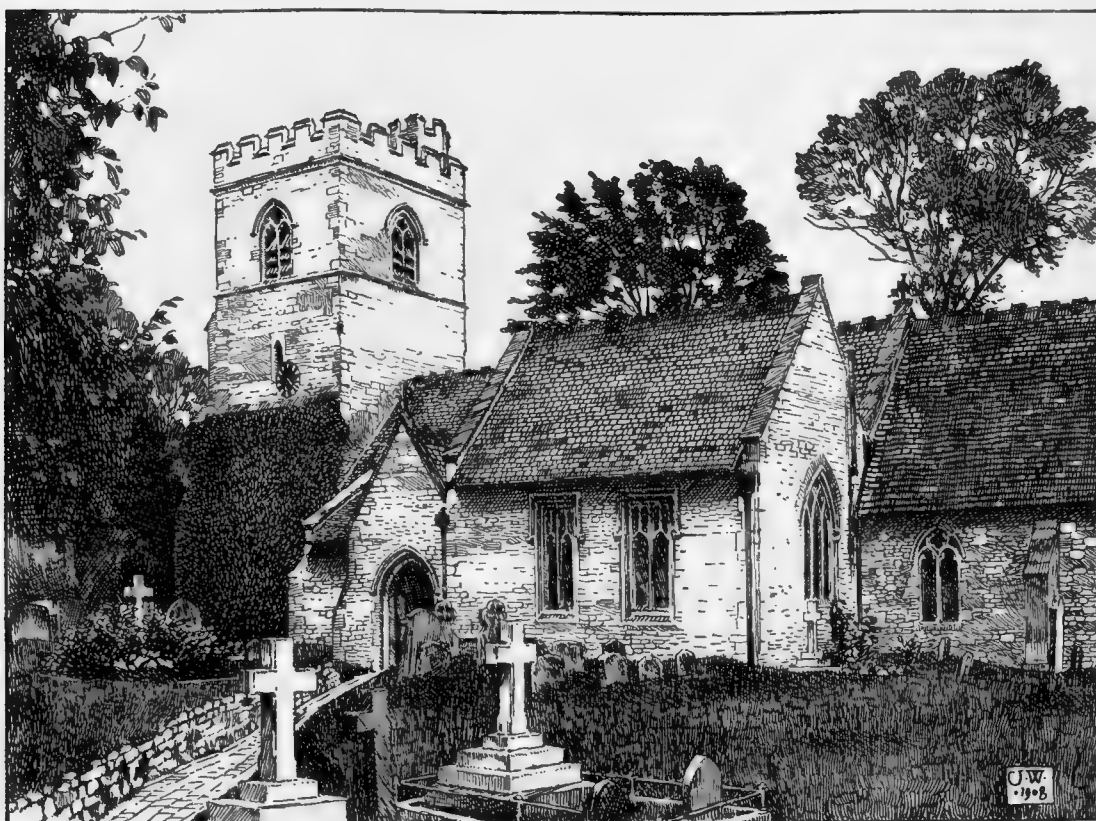
In Cuddington, as in Haddenham,¹⁸ a military tenant of the priory of St. Andrew paid homage to the Bishop of Rochester, and therefore is found amongst the bishop's tenants.

His land apparently is mentioned in 1210-12, but the name of the tenant is not given.¹⁹

In the reign of Henry III John son of Miles held certain lands of the bishop, for which he paid scutage at the rate of 40d. whenever the bishop paid 40s.²⁰ It is not definitely said that this land was in Cuddington, but it seems probable that it was the land that Richard Franklyn held in 1302-3.²¹

His land was held in 1346 by John Franklyn, Roger Beel, John de Saunterdon, and John atte Asshe.²²

In the 14th century Geoffrey Darches held land in Cuddington. In 1321-2 he granted a messuage there, with land and rent, to Robert de Upton, clerk, for his life.²³ This land descended to his son Richard,²⁴ and finally to Joan, the heiress of Darches.²⁵ She married Sir John Dinham, who died in 1457-8,



CUDDINGTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

⁹ Exch. Dep. Mich. 25 & 26 Eliz. no. 29.

¹⁰ Pat. 17 Eliz. pt. 5, m. 15, 27.

¹¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 38 Eliz.

¹² Close, 1654, pt. 7.

¹³ Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* i, 547.

¹⁴ Recov. R. East. 45 Geo. III, rot. 342.

¹⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 131.

¹⁶ Cott. MS. Dom. x, fol. 105; cf. Haddenham.

¹⁷ Chart. R. 23 Edw. I, no. 88.

¹⁸ See Haddenham.

¹⁹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 474.

²⁰ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245.

²¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

²² *Ibid.* 122.

²³ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 15 Edw. II.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, no. 18.

²⁵ See Little Kimble.

seised of a toft, cottages, and land in Cuddington, held in right of his wife.³² On the death of their son Lord Dinham, his lands, including these tenements, were divided amongst his four sisters and heiresses.³³ About this time, however, their possessions in Cuddington were called the manor of Cuddington.³⁴ In 1502 Elizabeth, the widow of Lord Dinham, recovered seisin of one-third of this manor³⁵ to hold in dower. The manor was divided into four parts after her death, and it is impossible to trace their later history.³⁶ Two of these parts were however bought by Ralph Redman, William Hawtrey, and Richard Holyman in 1576 and 1576-7,³⁷ and probably came into the possession of Richard Holyman. He and another Richard Holyman were defendants some years later³⁸ in a lawsuit as to the customs of the manor of Haddenham.

Their family had, however, been settled in Cuddington many years before this, for John Holyman, Bishop of Bristol from 1554 to 1558, was born there, and must have belonged to the same family.³⁹ In 1620-1 Robert Holyman, sen., held a messuage, land, and various rights in Cuddington.⁴⁰ At the present day there is a farm called Holyman's Farm in the parish.

The Dinhams held this land of the Prior of Rochester, as of the manor of Haddenham.⁴¹ The service due from it is not given, but as a third part was assigned in dower, it was probably held by military service.⁴²

A water-mill in Haddenham is mentioned in the grant of the manor of Cuddington to John Dudley.⁴³ At this time Cuddington seems to have been included in Haddenham parish, so that the mill may have been at Cuddington. In 1588 a water-mill called Cuddington Mill was held by Richard Holyman the younger.⁴⁴ He had let it on lease for twenty-one years to Thomas Tyringham in 1582; Tyringham, however, bought the freehold, with its appurtenances, for £650 in 1588.⁴⁵ His son, Thomas Tyringham, together with Sir John Dormer, sold this water-mill to Richard Mills in 1617.⁴⁶

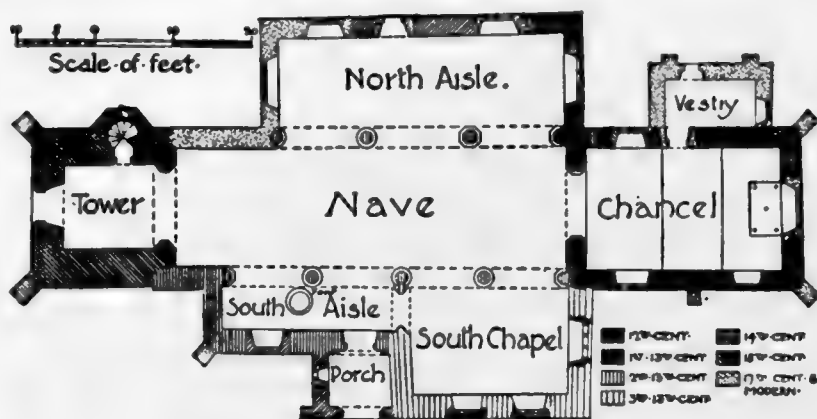
Ellen, the only daughter and heiress of Richard Mills, married Sir Francis Knollys, kt.⁴⁷ After her death Cuddington Mill came to her son Richard Knollys,⁴⁸ who sold it again to Thomas Tyringham of Lower Winchendon and his wife Ellen. They paid £1,100 for two water-mills under one roof, with their appurtenances, called Cuddington Mills.⁴⁹

Attached to these mills were rights of free fishing in the water of Cuddington. The Holymans however retained their right to a free fishery in Cuddington after the sale of the mill.⁵⁰

A free fishery in the water of Evershipp in Cuddington is also frequently mentioned. In 1577 it was in the possession of the Burnands,⁵¹ but in 1611 John Burnand, sen., and John Burnand, jun., sold it to Simon Mayne.⁵² His descendants held this fishery till 1679, when it was sold to William Lambourne,⁵³ who had already acquired other fishing rights in Cuddington.⁵⁴

A century later, in 1772-3, Richard Lambourne held a free fishery here.⁵⁵

The church of *ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH* consists of a chancel 24 ft. 7 in. by 15 ft. 5 in., with a small vestry; a nave 49 ft. 4 in. by 15 ft. 2 in., with north aisle 36 ft. 2 in. by 11 ft. 6 in., a south aisle 5 ft. 4½ in. wide, south-east chapel 13 ft. 3 in. by 19 ft. 5 in., and south porch; and a western tower 11 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 7 in., all measurements being internal. The development of the building appears to have been as follows:—In the 12th



PLAN OF ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, CUDDINGTON

century there existed an aisleless nave of the same width as now, but perhaps a little shorter from east to west, with a chancel smaller in both dimensions than that now in existence. A series of enlargements began in the early years of the 13th century, the first being probably the building of a transept chapel at the north-east of the nave, and the rebuilding of the chancel. North and south aisles were soon afterwards added, the south aisle having an arcade of four evenly spaced bays, while the north arcade seems to have been set out with the idea of not disturbing the arch of the north transept, and there was in consequence a break between the first and second bays of the arcade. At a later date the arcade was made continuous, the west respond of the east bay (the former transept) being made into an octagonal column by adding a half-octagon to it on

³² Chan. Inq. p.m. 36 Hen. VI, no.

39.

³³ Ibid. vol. 15, no. 58.

³⁴ De Banco R. Mich. 18 Hen. VII, m. 115.

³⁵ Ibid. Mich. 19 Hen. VII, m. 116.

³⁶ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 1 Hen. VIII; Chan. Inq. p.m. vol. 31, no. 21; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 21 Hen. VIII.

³⁷ Ibid. Trin. 18 Eliz.; ibid. Hil. 19 Eliz.

³⁸ Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 25 & 26 Eliz. no. 29.

³⁹ Dict. Nat. Biog. xxvii, 214-15.

⁴⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 18 Jas. I.

⁴¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 36 Hen. VI, no. 39; ibid. vol. 15, no. 58; ibid. vol. 31, no. 21.

⁴² De Banco R. Mich. 18 Hen. VII, m. 115.

⁴³ Pat. 27 Eliz. pt. 5, m. 15.

⁴⁴ Close, 31 Eliz. pt. 15, no. 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 14 Jas. I; Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. i, 519.

⁴⁷ Ibid. i, 528.

⁴⁸ Close, 1649, pt. 26, m. 22. ⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 18 Jas. I.

⁵¹ Ibid. East. 19 Eliz.

⁵² Ibid. 8 Jas. I.

⁵³ Ibid. 31 Chas. II.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Mich. 24 Chas. II.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Hil. 13 Geo. III.

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the west side. The second bay in the north arcade is therefore wider than those to the west of it, and while copying the details of the rest has a label of early 14th-century section, giving a clue to the time of the alteration. In the latter part of the 13th century a further enlargement took place, the east bays of the south aisle being widened to form a south chapel. At a later date, difficult to fix, but perhaps in the 17th century, the north aisle was shortened by one bay, the western bay of the north arcade being replaced by a solid wall. The south porch is an addition of c. 1340, and the west tower is of 15th-century date. The small north vestry is modern.

The east window of the chancel is a modern one of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery of 14th-century style. In the north wall is a small plain modern door to the vestry and at the west a square-headed 15th-century window of two cinquefoiled lights with tracery over. In the south-east angle of the chancel is a small hexagonal moulded bracket with a shallow pin-hole in its upper surface. In the south wall is a square-headed 14th-century window with two cinquefoiled lights and quatrefoiled spandrels, and to the west of it another window of the same date but of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over and a two-centred head. The chancel arch is of two roll-moulded orders with an undercut label to the west, which is continued as a string north and south to the walls of the nave. The responds of the arch are half-octagonal, with moulded capitals and bases of the same details as the eastern responds of the nave arcades. The nave is of four bays, the first bay of the north arcade having an arch of two chamfered orders, with a filleted roll for a label. The first column of this arcade is octagonal, having been made up, as already noted, from the respond of the transept arch. All the other columns of the arcades are circular, and the arches are of two hollow-chamfered orders with the angles of the chamfers bevelled off, the workmanship being rather rough and uneven. This is particularly the case with the wider arch (the second), in the north arcade, which, as already explained, is probably an early 14th-century alteration. The first column of the south arcade, and the second of the north⁵⁰ have circular capitals with fluted scallops, a survival of Romanesque forms, while all the other columns have plainly moulded capitals. The present west respond of the north arcade, which is of three bays only, is really a round column half buried in the walling of the blank western bay. The west respond of the south arcade is a half-octagon, like that at the east.

The north aisle has an early 14th-century east window of three cinquefoiled lights with modern tracery and an external scroll-moulded label. In the north wall of the aisle, to the east, is a modern window in an old opening, with two trefoiled lights and tracery of 14th-century style. The north door is also modern, with plain chamfered jambs and two-centred head, and west of this is a two-light window of 17th-century date with rounded uncusped heads and a flat lintel. The west window is probably of the same date, and is of three uncusped lights with smaller uncusped lights over and a four-centred head.

The south chapel has a late 13th-century east win-

dow of three uncusped lights with much-restored interlacing tracery. There are internal and external labels, and jamb-shafts with moulded capitals and bases, both having a member ornamented with a cable pattern. In the south wall are two windows, the openings of which are of the same date as the east window, but have been cut back in the 15th century and filled with tracery of two narrow trefoiled lights with smaller lights over under a square head. On the internal jambs portions of the 13th-century jamb-shafts and the cable-moulded capitals and bases are still visible. At the east end of the south wall is a 15th-century piscina with chamfered jambs and trefoiled head. The chapel opens to the south aisle by an arch of two moulded orders, of rough late 13th-century workmanship, with responds of three half-round shafts separated by square projections, having coarsely-cut and moulded capitals and bases. The north respond is somewhat clumsily set against the second column of the south arcade, and the south respond is pushed back into the south wall of the nave to make the passage-way from the aisle as wide as possible.

The south doorway of the nave is of the date of the south aisle, and has a pointed arch of two orders with filleted rolls and a band of dog-tooth ornament on the outer order. In the jambs are circular shafts with coarsely moulded capitals and bases. The south porch has a small modern west window, and an outer archway of two moulded orders c. 1340.

The tower, of the 15th century, is of three stages with an embattled parapet, above which rises the turret of a north-east staircase. The belfry openings are of two cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over, and the west window of the ground stage is of three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, the second stage being lighted by small trefoiled openings. The west doorway has a four-centred head, and jambs with continuous mouldings.

The font is of late 12th-century date, having a slightly tapering circular bowl, carved with narrow pointed flutings, and a short stem with a roll-moulded base.

The roofs throughout the church are modern, and though there is a good deal of old material used up in the open seating there is no woodwork of any particular interest. A plain 17th-century altar-table has been preserved. In the east window of the south aisle are two heads of angels in 15th-century glass.

The tower contains six bells, all cast by John Warner & Sons in 1884, and a sanctus which is blank.

The plate is modern, and comprises a silver-gilt chalice, paten and flagon, and a silver paten.

The first book of the registers contains burials between 1653 and 1812; the second baptisms between 1663 and 1811, and the third marriages from 1698 to 1750; while the first printed book of marriages contains entries from 1754 to 1812.

The chapel of Cuddington was ap-
ADFOVSON pendant to the church of Haddenham, and was held by the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, until its dissolution in 1540.⁵¹ The vicarage of Haddenham was ordained by Bishop Hugh of Wells (1209-35) and appropriated to the

⁵⁰ These are really the corresponding columns in the two arcades, as that on the north was the first from the east as origin-

ally set out, the transept arch not being reckoned as part of the arcade.

⁵¹ Cott MS. Dom. x, fol. 105; Dugdale, Mon. i, 169.

Priory.⁵³ It consisted of the whole altarage of Haddenham Church and all the chapel of Cuddington, the vicar finding a chaplain to celebrate at the latter place.⁵⁴

The advowson of the vicarage of Cuddington, together with that of Haddenham, was granted by Henry VIII to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, who are the patrons at the present day.⁵⁵ Queen Elizabeth in 1579 granted to Edward Thomlynsen and Anthony Page, their heirs and assigns, all the late free chapel of Cuddington, commonly called Cuddington Chapel, with all land belonging to it, but this grant does not seem to have taken effect.⁵⁶ There is a Baptist chapel in Cuddington, built in 1831, and a Wesleyan chapel which was built in 1894.

Nicholas Almond, by deed of feoffment bearing date 4 April 18 Charles I, conveyed a parcel of land, part of Middle Moor, containing between five and six acres, upon trust that the rents and profits should be applied for apprenticing or otherwise for the benefit of the poor, subject to the payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the minister for

preaching a sermon every Easter Monday. In 1906 the sum of £14 15*s.* was received as rent of the Moor, which, after payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* for a sermon, was applied, together with a sum of £1 charged in 1695 by William Almond on land called Nunheyes, in the distribution of 1*s.* to each recipient.

The poor are also entitled to receive one sack of wheat, and two sacks of barley out of the Great Tithes, being also the gift of the said Nicholas Almond.

Thomas Hill, by will, proved in the P.C.C. 7 January 1804, charged his estate with the payment of a certain quantity of wheat and barley, which was formerly distributed with the last-named charity, but the distribution was discontinued on the ground that the bequest was void under the Mortmain Act.⁵⁷

The Rev. John Willis, a former rector, by will proved in 1855, left £600 consols (with the official trustees). The annual dividends, amounting to £15, are applied in accordance with the trusts in the distribution of coal, 3½ cwt. being given to each recipient.

DINTON

Daniton (xi cent.) ; Dunigton (xiii cent.) ; Donyngton (xiv cent.) ; Dynton (xvi cent.).

Dinton is a large parish in the Vale of Aylesbury and it lies in three hundreds. The village of Dinton and Upton hamlet are in Aylesbury Hundred ; Moreton Farm or Liberty is in Desborough Hundred, and Aston Mullins Farm and Waldrige hamlet in Ashendon Hundred.

The River Thame forms part of the northern boundary, and Bonny Brook flows from Marsh hamlet through Dinton parish near Ford. There is water in the grounds of Dinton Hall.

The subsoil is Kimmeridge Clay, Portland Beds and Gault ;¹ the surface soil is Clay, Sand, and Limestone. The occupation of the inhabitants is entirely agricultural, 2,288 acres being laid down in permanent pasture and 1,177½ in arable land.² Duck and poultry breeding is also carried on. The village of Dinton lies on a side road running parallel to the main road from Thame to Aylesbury, at a short distance to the south. A lower road from Thame also crosses the parish. The nearest railway station is at Aylesbury, 4 miles away, for the Great Western, Great Central, and Metropolitan Extension lines. The common fields were inclosed under Act of Parliament, the award being made in 1804.³ Various Anglo-Saxon remains have been found, and are preserved at Dinton Hall. The parish is celebrated for having been the place of residence of two regicides in the 17th century, Simon Mayne at Dinton Hall and Sir Richard Ingoldsby at Waldrige.

John Bigg, joint secretary to the two regicides, also lived at Dinton. Tradition names him as the actual executioner of Charles I. After the Restoration, apparently pursued by remorse, he became a hermit and lived in a cave in the parish, without ever changing his clothes. He died in 1696, and one of his shoes is preserved at Dinton Hall, the other

being in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. There are four hamlets in the parish : Ford, Upton, Westlington, and Gibraltar. Westlington is the most considerable of these, and lies to the west of the grounds of Dinton Hall, the church and village of Dinton adjoining the same grounds on the east. Upton is a little farther to the north-east, all three settlements being built on the southward slope of the narrow ridge of land along which the Aylesbury road runs. All this part of the parish is very well timbered, especially near the church and Hall. On the southern boundary of the churchyard are some disused almshouses of 18th-century brickwork, with a little timber work of earlier date, the south entrance to the churchyard being by an archway through the buildings. They face on to a pretty green, with the boundary wall of the Hall gardens on the west, and a line of tall trees, beneath which the village stocks and whipping-post yet stand. The road runs on the east side past two small houses with half-timbered gables of early 17th-century date, which are the two wings of an H-shaped house, whose central block has been destroyed, leaving two fireplaces exposed on the wall of the south wing. The hamlet of Ford, as its name implies, lies to the south at the point where the road from Dinton village crosses the Ford Brook, and farther to the south stand the farm-houses of Upper and Lower Waldrige. The small collection of houses known as Gibraltar is on the main Aylesbury road, north-west of Dinton village, and about half a mile to the west of the ridiculous 18th-century ruin known as Dinton Castle, built in 1769 by Sir John Vanhattem. Though in itself of no importance, it stands on a Saxon burial mound from which a number of valuable objects have been dug out. Besides the church there are two buildings of historical interest in the parish, Dinton Hall and Upper Waldrige. Of these the former, said to have been in great part

⁵³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Bishop Bek's Inst. 1342-7.
⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. 9, m. 44.
⁵⁶ Pat. 21 Eliz. pt. 7, m. 38.
⁵⁷ Char. Com. Rep. xxvi, 73.

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geol. Map.
² Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).
³ Com. Incl. Award.

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built by Archbishop Warham *c.* 1500, has been much modernized, but shows a few traces of work as early as the 14th century, though the main part of the building appears to be of 17th-century date. In the cellars, under the present drawing-room, is a curious structure apparently designed to support a projecting fireplace above (the present fireplace is over it), and constructed of arched ribs of stone stiffened by horizontal slabs, and springing from corbels carved with the masks characteristic of 13th and 14th-century Gothic work.

The plan is quite abnormal, the situation, on the side of a fairly sharp southerly slope, probably accounting for this. It is possible that there were at one time wings extending northwards at either end of

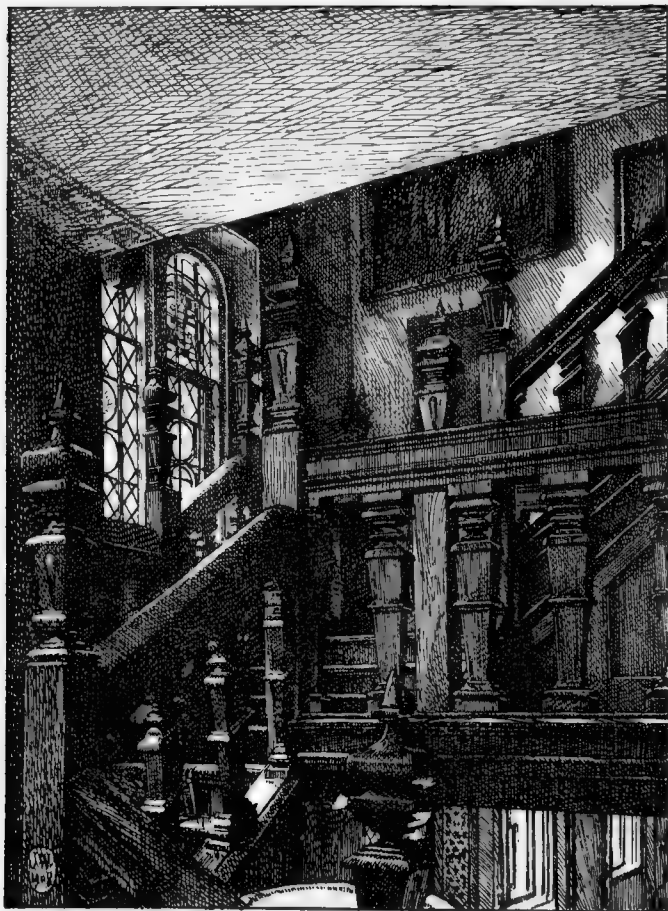
East of this central portion are the kitchen and offices, on the north elevation of which is a brick cloister with plain three-centred arches. West of the hall, and at a higher level, is the drawing-room, which has been completely redecorated in comparatively modern times. Opening out of it to the west is a small room of one story, once used as a chapel, and probably mediaeval, though its open timber roof is of 18th-century date, and there are no masonry details of an earlier period now visible. Above the drawing-room is a large room partly in the roof, extending from north to south of the house, in which are preserved a number of curiosities more or less connected with the Hall.

The south front was largely rebuilt in the 18th century, a contemporary drawing showing it fitted with sash windows. In comparatively recent times, however, this front was restored to what must have been, approximately, its original condition, with stone mullioned casements.

Upper Waldridge, now a farmhouse, is a picturesque example of early 17th-century design. The main feature of the plan as it now exists is a large central stack of chimneys, the shafts of which are set anglewise above the tiled roof. Round this the rooms are grouped, opening out of each other with no attempt at corridor or suite planning, the staircase being on the south side. As the house evidently extended farther to the east, it is possible that what remains is one wing and half the main block of an H-shaped house. The original work is all half-timber filled with herring-bone brickwork, but the south and west faces have been refronted later in the 17th century with a thin skin of brickwork, with stone mullioned and transomed windows set in projecting brick panels with ribbed brick cornices and base-moulds. The north gable remains in its original state, and has a very pretty projecting gabled window on the first floor, of five latticed lights with wooden mullions and a transom.

In the time of Edward *MANORS* the Confessor *DINTON* was held by Avelin, one of his thegns, but after the Norman Conquest it was granted to the Bishop of Bayeux.⁴ It was assessed in Domesday Book at 15 hides of land.⁵ Bishop Odo lost all his lands under William Rufus, and

many of them afterwards came into the possession of the family of Munchesney. Dinton presumably followed the history of Swanscombe in Kent, which belonged to the barony of the Bishop of Bayeux, and was held by the same under-tenant, Helto, in 1086.⁶ Swanscombe was the head of the honour of the Munchesneys, and in the early 12th century was held by Geoffrey Talbot.⁷ He died in 1140 during the civil wars of the reign of Stephen,⁸ and his barony passed to Walter of Meduana. Walter's widow, Cecilia, Countess of Hereford by her first husband, Roger Fitz Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford,



DINTON HALL: THE STAIRCASE

the existing house, which runs east and west, and is entered from the north. The north face has been much restored in modern times and little or none of the old masonry, whether stone or brick, remains. The entrance doorway opens to a corridor running east and west, at either end of which is a 17th-century staircase. On a level with the corridor are two rooms facing south, the western of which is panelled from floor to ceiling with very fine moulded oak panels of large size and late 17th-century date. In a bedroom over these rooms is a mantel of 16th-century date, with carved ornament which seems a later addition.

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234*b*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See *V.C.H. Kent*, iii, Topog.

⁷ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 195.

⁸ *Chron. of Steph. Hen. II, and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 37, 38, 68.

and daughter of Payne Fitz John, held his barony after her husband's death. She seems to have been succeeded in the barony by her nephews, the sons of her sister, Agnes de Munchesney,⁹ but in 1185 Agnes herself held Dinton.¹⁰

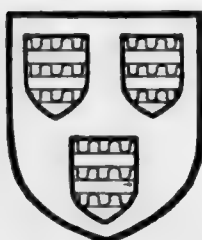
In 1190-1 the latter was a tenant in chief in Buckinghamshire,¹⁰ but she must have died very shortly afterwards. Possibly she held as a sub-tenant of her eldest son, Ralph de Munchesney,¹¹ who obtained various privileges in Dinton during the reign of Henry II.¹² He seems to have died before 1196, when Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, and William de Munchesney, the second son, answered for 29 knights' fees of the honour of Walter de Meduana.¹³ He was succeeded by his son William, a minor in 1204.¹⁴ The latter only lived till 1213, and was succeeded by Warine de Munchesney,¹⁵ presumably his brother, who held the manor 'by ancient tenure by the gift of the king.'¹⁶ He was living in 1253,¹⁷ but in the next year William de Valence had obtained a grant of the manor.¹⁸ He had married Joan, daughter of Warine de Munchesney,¹⁹ and tried to wrest the inheritance from her brother William, of whose lands and person he had custody.²⁰ This latter William, however, obtained seisin of his lands,²¹

of Dyonisia, and further efforts to oust her from her inheritance also failed.²² She married Hugh de Vere,²⁴ but had no children, so that Dinton finally came to the Valences, as the heirs of Joan de Munchesney,



DINTON : UPPER WALDRIDGE

Dyonisia died about 1314,²⁵ and Aymer de Valence, son of the above-mentioned William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Joan his wife, succeeded to her possessions.²⁶ Aymer, some time between 1316²⁷ and his death in 1324,²⁸ granted the manor to his wife Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, who held it for life.²⁹ Subsequently his lands were partitioned amongst the heirs of his sisters,³⁰ and Dinton came to Elizabeth Comyn, who married Richard Talbot.³¹ Talbot granted the reversion of the manor to Thomas Talbot, clerk, and his heirs,³² and on the death of the Countess of Pembroke in 1377-8 the manor passed to Gilbert Talbot, the great-nephew of Thomas.³³ Finally in 1384 this Gilbert Talbot granted the manor to Sir John Devereux,³⁴ who had already become his tenant for a term of years.³⁵ Sir John died in 1392-3, and was succeeded by his son John, a minor.³⁶ The latter, however, died three years later, his sister Joan, wife of Walter, Lord Fitz Walter, inheriting his lands.³⁷ Joan died in 1409, having survived her husband, and left two sons, Humphrey and Walter.³⁸ Humphrey died while still under age, and was succeeded by his brother, who in 1423 sold the manor to John Barton, sen., and John Barton, jun.³⁹ The latter died in 1433-4,⁴⁰ having held it in common with John Longville and others, who, however, do not appear to have had any



MUNCHESNEY. Or three scutcheons barry vair and gules.



VALENCE. Burelly argent and azure an orle of martlets gules.

and died leaving an only daughter Dyonisia.⁴¹ William de Valence again attempted to get possession of her lands, casting doubts upon her legitimacy. The Bishop of Worcester gave his judgement in favour

⁹ Rot. de Dominabus (ed. Grimaldi), 26.

¹⁰ Ibid. 20.

¹¹ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 71.

¹² Rot. de Dominabus, 26.

¹³ Plac. de Quo War. (Rec. Com.), 85.

¹⁴ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 96.

¹⁵ Cal. Rot. Chart. (Rec. Com.), 133 ;

Pipe R. 6 John, m. 2.

¹⁶ Fine R. 15 John, m. 2.

¹⁷ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245b.

¹⁸ Cal. of Chart. R. 1226-57, p. 428.

¹⁹ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

²⁰ Hist. Angl. (Rolls Ser.), iii, 301.

²¹ Ibid. 346.

²² Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 260.

²³ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 44.

²⁴ Rot. Parl. (Rec. Com.), i, 38 ; Feud. Aids, i, 97.

²⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. II, no. 51.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Feud. Aids, i, 113.

²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 17 Edw. II, 75.

²⁹ Feud. Aids, i, 122 ; Chan. Inq. p.m. 51 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 28.

³⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 17 Edw. II, no. 75.

³¹ Ibid. 51 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 28.

³² Ibid.

³³ Close, 8 Ric. II, m. 28 d.

³⁴ Cal. Pat. 1381-5, p. 471.

³⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 17 Ric. II, no. 18.

³⁶ Ibid. 20 Ric. II, no. 24 ; ibid. 21 Ric. II, no. 20.

³⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. IV, no. 40.

³⁸ Close, 2 Hen. VI, m. 2, 3, 7 ; ibid.

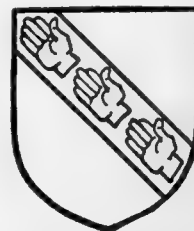
³⁹ Hen. VI, m. 18.

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. VI, no. 35.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

right in the manor after his death.⁴¹ His sisters were his heiresses, but Dinton was settled on his wife Isabella.⁴² A certain Andrew Sparlyng was seised of the manor to the use of Isabella and sold it to Sir Robert Whitingham⁴³ and other feoffees, Isabella holding it for her life by a grant from the new tenants. Sir Robert was a strong Lancastrian partisan, and on the success of the Yorkist cause he forfeited all his lands, which were granted by Edward IV to Sir Thomas Montgomery, first for life and finally in fee-tail.⁴⁴ Margery Whitingham, Sir Robert's heiress, had however married John Verney, the son of Sir Ralph Verney, a Yorkist, who had rendered great service to his party. Consequently many attempts were made to recover the Whitingham lands. Sir Ralph first obtained a grant of the reversion of the manor of Dinton, a prudent measure since Montgomery was elderly and childless.⁴⁵ Long law suits ensued and⁴⁶ the Verneys, on the accession of Henry VII, changed the ground of their claim from the Yorkist services of Sir Ralph to the faithfulness of Sir Robert Whitingham to the Lancastrian cause. John Verney finally obtained his wife's lands,⁴⁷ and his son, Sir Ralph Verney, jun., held them in peace.⁴⁸ The Whitingham and Verney monument in Aldbury

stated that Charles II granted the Mayne estates to James Duke of York, but there is no other record of the grant.⁴⁹ Simon Mayne the younger certainly obtained office after the Restoration. He was sub-commissioner of Prizes at Portsmouth till 1689,⁵⁰ and Commissioner of Victualling until the Accession of Queen Anne.⁵¹ He also sat in Parliament in the reigns both of William III and Anne.⁵² In a petition for a renewal of his Crown lease of the tithes issuing out of 'the demesne lands of the manor of Dinton,' Mayne was stated to be the owner of the lands in question.⁵³ This certainly suggests that he had recovered possession of the manor.



MAYNE. *Argent a bend sable with three right hands argent thereon.*

It is possible that this occurred after the flight of James II, since Mayne represents himself as having been devoted to the Protestant interest.⁵⁴ He died in 1725, and his son, another Simon, inherited the manor,⁵⁵ which he, together with the Hon. Edward Harley, of Iwood, Herefordshire, Auditor of the Imprest, sold to Sir John Vanhattem in 1727.⁵⁶ Sir John Vanhattem died in 1787, and left an only daughter and heiress, who married the Rev. William Goodall. Her descendant, Lieut.-Colonel Goodall, is the present owner of the manor of Dinton.⁵⁷

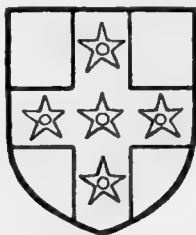
The homage of the manors of FORD and WESTLINGTON is said to be included in the manor of Dinton, while a small manor called BLOMERS belonged at one time to the Hampdens, lying intermixed with Ford.⁵⁸ It is said to have passed from the Hampdens to the Claytons and in 1813 was the property of the Earl of Chesterfield.⁵⁹ It now belongs to the lord of the manor of Dinton.

The manor of Dinton was held by military service as one knight's fee.⁶⁰ At one time one mark was paid on St. Nicholas' Day for hidage and suit to the shire court, but this payment was remitted by a charter granted by Henry III either to Warine de Munchesney or William de Valence before 1254.⁶¹ The latter held the view of frankpledge for his tenants at that date,⁶² and Dyonisia de Munchesney also held the Assizes of Bread and Ale.⁶³ In 1253 Warine de Munchesney obtained a grant of free warren for himself and his heirs in the demesne lands of Dinton.⁶⁴

ASTON MULLINS, otherwise known as ASTON BERNARD, was probably included in the Domesday Survey either in Ilmer or in Aston Sandford. Both these townships were in the hands of the Bishop of Bayeux, and the same under-tenant Robert held both in demesne.⁶⁵ It lay in the hundred of Ashendon. Afterwards Aston Mullins was held with Ilmer, and like Ilmer did not pass to the Munchesney family.



WHITINGHAM. *Argent a fesse vert with a lion gules over all.*



VERNEY. *Azure a cross argent with five pierced molets gules thereon.*

Church, Hertfordshire, is a complete record of this phase of the family history.⁶⁶

Early in the 17th century the Verneys sold the manor of Dinton to Simon Mayne. Between 1585-6 and 1604, Thomas Saunders appears to have had some right in the manor, but presumably only as trustee or mortgagee,⁶⁷ since there is no record at Dinton of his ever being lord of the manor.

Simon Mayne bought the manor in 1604,⁶⁸ but he does not seem to have settled there till two years later.⁶⁹ He was succeeded by his son, Simon Mayne, the regicide, who died in the Tower in 1661. By a special provision he was excepted from enjoying the benefits of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion passed by the Restoration Parliament,⁷⁰ and his estates were forfeited to the Crown. It seems probable, however, that his son and with their recovered possession of the manor of Dinton. In a dispute as to tithes in 1794 it was

⁴¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. VI, no. 35.

⁴² Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 9, no. 207.

⁴³ Ibid.; Cal. Pat. 1436-41, pp. 31, 51.

⁴⁴ Cal. Pat. 1461-7, pp. 121, 367.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 1467-77, p. 309.

⁴⁶ Verney Memoirs, i, 41, 42.

⁴⁷ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 12 Edw. IV; ibid. Hil. 2 Ric. III.

⁴⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 44, no. 91.

⁴⁹ V.C.H. Herts. ii, 146.

⁵⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 28 Eliz.

⁵¹ Ibid. Trin. 1 Jas. I.

⁵² From information supplied by Lieut.-Colonel Goodall of Dinton Hall.

⁵³ Treas. Bks. Early Entry Bks. vi, fol. 64-8.

⁵⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 143, quoting *Dec. of Tithes Causes*, iv, 443.

⁵⁵ Cal. S.P. Dom. 1689-90, p. 295.

⁵⁶ Treas. Papers, lxxxix, no. 51.

⁵⁷ Ibid. ccxlviii, no. 41.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 153; Dinton Par. Registers.

⁶⁰ From information given by Lieut.-Colonel Goodall of Dinton Hall.

⁶¹ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

⁶² From information given by Lieut.-Colonel Goodall.

^{63a} Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* i, 551.

⁶⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

⁶⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 44.

⁶⁸ Cal. of Chart. 1226-57, p. 428.

⁶⁹ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 236f.

How long they remained in the king's hands after the forfeiture of Bishop Odo does not appear, but in the 12th century they were held by the family of Rumenel.⁷⁰

David de Rumenel held Aston Mullins and died, probably leaving two daughters.⁷¹ Of these Aubrey married William de Jarpenville,⁷² and brought to her husband her father's office of marshal of the king's falcons.⁷³ William died before 1203-4, leaving as his heir his daughter, Alice de Jarpenville.⁷⁴ She married Thomas Fitz Bernard, from whom the manor first took its name, and by grant from Aubrey he became marshal of the royal falcons.⁷⁵

During the lifetime of Aubrey, Thomas held Aston Mullins, while she kept Ilmer in her own hands.⁷⁶ In 1222 Aubrey de Jarpenville was involved in a lawsuit with Robert Achard, Roger de Cauz, Almaric de Nowers, and Gilbert de St. Clare, who claimed a moiety of Ilmer and Aston as part of the inheritance of David de Rumenel,⁷⁷ their common ancestor. Presumably they were the descendants of the second daughter of David de Rumenel, since they claimed half his inheritance. The suit, however, resulted in their yielding their rights to Aubrey.⁷⁸ She died before 1226, and her daughter Alice succeeded to her lands.⁷⁹

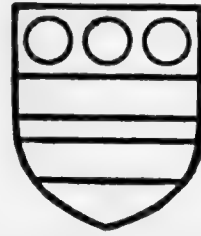
Ralph Fitz Bernard, the son of Alice and Thomas, recovered his father's lands in 1214 from the hands of Isaac of Norwich, a Jew.⁸⁰ He was succeeded by John Fitz Bernard. Land in Aston Mullins, however, was held by Joan, the widow of Ralph Fitz Bernard, who afterwards married Humbert Pugeys.⁸¹ John Fitz Bernard was in seisin of the manor in 1254,⁸² but he died a few years later, leaving his son Ralph as his heir.⁸³ Ralph was still a minor,⁸⁴ and Humbert Pugeys obtained Aston by a grant of Henry III, presumably to hold in wardship.⁸⁵ In 1284-6 Ralph was himself holding the manor.⁸⁶ He died between 1302⁸⁷ and 1307,⁸⁸ his heir being his nephew Thomas, a ward of the king.⁸⁹ Aston Mullins formed part of the dower of Ralph's widow Agatha,⁹⁰ but the reversion of the manor on her death was granted by Thomas Fitz Bernard to Sir John Blacket in 1313.⁹¹ The final conveyance took place in 1315,⁹² and Sir John held it until his death before 1328-9.⁹³ His widow Gille married Sir John de Molyns,⁹⁴ and the latter acquired the manor of Aston Mullins from John the son and heir of Sir John Blacket.⁹⁵ De Molyns obtained further security in this manor by releases of their respective rights from John Fitz Bernard⁹⁶ and Giles⁹⁷ and Isabel Blacket.⁹⁸ Various letters patent⁹⁹ and charters

from the king were also obtained, one amongst them granting leave to Sir John de Molyns and his wife to embattle the house at Aston Mullins.¹⁰⁰

In 1344 the manor was seized by the king with the other lands of Sir John de Molyns,¹⁰¹ but the next year he regained the king's favour and obtained fresh grants.¹⁰² Gille de Molyns died in 1367-8 seized of the manor of Aston Mullins, which then passed to her son Sir William de Molyns.¹⁰³ The family held it until 1440, when Sir William de Molyns died, leaving an only daughter Eleanor.¹⁰⁴ She married Sir Robert Hungerford, Lord Hunger-



MOLYNS. *Sable a chief or with three longenges gules therein.*



HUNGERFORD. *Sable two bars and in the chief three roundels all argent.*

ford and de Molyns.¹⁰⁵ He was taken prisoner in Gascony during the French War, and to raise his ransom of £3,000 Aston Mullins with various other manors was given in surety to the Bishop of Winchester and other feoffees.¹⁰⁶ Eleanor, after the death of her husband, had some difficulty in recovering possession of these manors.¹⁰⁷ Her son Thomas, Lord Hungerford, succeeded to his mother's possessions. He was attainted as a Lancastrian, but the sentence was reversed by Act of Parliament on the accession of Henry VII, and his daughter Mary recovered her inheritance.¹⁰⁸ She was in the wardship of Lord Hastings, and was married to his son Edward.¹⁰⁹ The family of Hastings held the manor of Aston Mullins till 1537, when George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and his heir Francis, sold it to Michael Dormer.¹¹⁰ Geoffrey Dormer made a settlement of the manor in 1561, by which he was to hold it for seven years, the reversion being granted to Elizabeth, widow of William Serjeant, with reversion to Richard Serjeant her son and his wife Marian Boller.¹¹¹ Marian survived her husband, and held the manor till 1614.¹¹² Her son William Serjeant also predeceased her, and Richard her grandson succeeded to the manor.¹¹³ The

⁷⁰ Cart. Antiq. I, 301 Feet of F. Bucks. 6 Hen. III.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Cart. Antiq. I, 30.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Pipe R. (Pipe R. Soc.), xiv, 130; Feet of F. Bucks. 6 Hen. III.

⁷⁷ Ibid.; Maitland, *Bracton's Note Bk.* case 302.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 152.

⁸⁰ *V.C.H. Kent*, iii, Topog. Manor of Kingsdown; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254b; *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 181b.

⁸¹ Assize R. 56, m. 42 d.

⁸² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

⁸³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 44 Hen. III, no. 24 (3).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Assize R. 56, m. 42 d.; 57, m. 3 d.; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

⁸⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 84.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 94.

⁸⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. II, no. 25.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13 p. 551.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 9 Edw. II.

⁹³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 114; Chan. Inq. p.m. 2 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 27.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 41 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 42.

⁹⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 9 Edw. III.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Mich. 13 Edw. III.

⁹⁷ Close, 21 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 29.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 32 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 27.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, pp. 195, 222.

¹⁰⁰ Chart. R. 10 Edw. III, m. 26, no. 55.

¹⁰¹ *Cal. Close*, 1343-6, pp. 192, 429.

¹⁰² Ibid. pp. 603-6.

¹⁰³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 41 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 42.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 18 Hen. VI, no. 38.

¹⁰⁵ Feet of F. Div. Cos. East. 38 Hen. VI.

¹⁰⁶ Close, 38 Hen. VI, m. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 28, no. 111.

¹⁰⁸ *Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.), i, 132.

¹⁰⁹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

¹¹⁰ *Recov. R. Mich.* 29 Hen. VIII;

Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 29 Hen. VIII.

¹¹¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. and Mich.

3 Eliz.

¹¹² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxliii,

no. 143.

¹¹³ Ibid.

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Serjeants held Aston Mullins till the 18th century, and the last members of the family who are mentioned as holding it were Jane Serjeant, widow, and Winwood Serjeant.¹¹⁴

In 1793 Matthew Raper and his wife Anne owned the manor,¹¹⁵ and in 1827 Henry Raper had succeeded them.¹¹⁶ General Raper was lately in possession of a farm called Aston Mullins in Dinton parish, but it has now passed into other hands.¹¹⁷

The manor of Aston Mullins was held in grand serjeanty, together with Ilmer, the holder being the marshal of the king's falcons.¹¹⁸ This service was unchanged until the abolition of feudal tenures, the last mention of it being in 1613, on the death of William Serjeant. The manor was then held of the king-in-chief 'by the service of serjeanty, viz., Marshal of the goshawks and birds of the King.'¹¹⁹ Sir John de Molyns, owing to the high favour in which he stood with Edward III, obtained the grant of many liberties and franchises within his manors, the chief being the return of writs, in-fangthief, out-fangthief, gallows; freedom from toll, murage, pavage, and pontage, throughout the kingdom, for himself and his tenants, and free warren in his demesne land.¹²⁰

Early in the 13th century, a considerable number of alienations of this serjeanty seem to have taken place. Though only Ilmer is mentioned, the alienations in Aston Mullins seem to have been included under this heading. Robert Passelewe, in the reign of Henry III, recovered these alienations for the king. The tenants paid a fixed yearly rent, while military service was substituted for serjeanty.¹²¹

Robert Pykoc held 1½ virgates of land and pasture of this serjeanty, and had also granted another half virgate to Richard Pykoc.¹²² This land was probably in Aston Mullins, since a conveyance was made between John Pykoc and Robert Pykoc of messuages and land in Aston Mullins and Waldrige in 1310.¹²³

After the Norman Conquest Miles Crispin obtained the grant of 1½ hides of land in Upton,¹²⁴ the origin of the estate of *NETHER UPTON*. In the Confessor's time it had been held by a thegn named Albric, and he remained in possession of this land as a sub-tenant of Miles Crispin.¹²⁵ The lands of Miles Crispin, together with those of Robert Doyle afterwards formed the royal honour of Wallingford,¹²⁶ to which this part of Upton belonged.¹²⁷ In the 12th century William de Upton appears to have been the tenant of this land. In 1197 there was a lawsuit between Samson de le Pomeræ and his wife Christian and William as to the service due from 6 virgates of land in Upton, of which Samson appeared to be the mesne tenant between William de Upton and the honour of Wallingford.¹²⁸ Geoffrey, son of William or Geoffrey de Upton, succeeded his father,¹²⁹ but in 1235 another William de Upton paid the feudal

dues from the land.¹³⁰ He was succeeded by Geoffrey de Upton,¹³¹ who, however, granted all his land in Upton to William Giffard in 1267.¹³² The heirs of Geoffrey de Upton attempted to recover their possession and seized the land.¹³³ Long law-suits ensued, the pleadings being rather obscure. The jurors said that Geoffrey de Upton never enfeoffed William Giffard with the tenements in question, namely, one messuage and 183 acres of land, 8 acres of wood, and 8 acres of meadow, but that the latter entered on the tenement shortly after the battle of Evesham. William demised it to Adam de Caudes for life, but afterwards resumed it into his own hands.¹³⁴ In spite of this evidence it was acknowledged that in 1267 Geoffrey de Upton came before the Chancellor and quit-claimed for himself and his heirs his manor of Upton to William Giffard.¹³⁵ Geoffrey's heirs were two nieces, Cecilia de Gatesdon and Alice Haket, and John de Middleton, John de St. Owen, and Robert Covert. The three last-named were presumably the nephews of Cecilia and Alice.¹³⁶ Finally William Giffard appears to have recovered possession of the manor.¹³⁷ During the disseisin of Giffard, John de Middleton and his co-parceners enfeoffed John le Waleys and his wife Maud with half of the land in question. After the death of John, Maud married Simon de Kingesmede.¹³⁸ In 1290 they were disseised of their land by Hamo Hawtreay, the descendant of William Giffard.¹³⁹

They petitioned the king, and presumably recovered seisin, since in 1302-3 Master William Bernel and Simon de Kingesham (or Kingesmede)¹⁴⁰ held this part of Upton. In 1346 it was held by Michael atte Watre and John le Waleys,¹⁴¹ the son and heir of John le Waleys and Maud.¹⁴²

The later history of Nether Upton cannot be traced. In 1346 John de Handlo died seised of rents in Upton by Aylesbury, which he held of the honour of Wallingford.¹⁴³ Hence the land from which they were paid was presumably in Nether Upton. His heir was a minor, Edmund, son of Richard de Handlo.¹⁴⁴ Edmund died before 1363, and his lands were divided between his two sisters Margaret the wife of Sir John Appleby and Elizabeth the wife of Edmund de la Pole.¹⁴⁵

The land in Upton belonging to the honour of Wallingford was held as the twentieth part of a knight's fee.¹⁴⁶

Before the Norman Conquest Alwin, a thegn of Queen Edith, held 3½ hides of land in *UPTON*, which he could sell as he pleased.¹⁴⁷ At the time of the Domesday Survey this land had passed to William Peverel,¹⁴⁸ and formed part of the honour of Peverel of Nottingham.¹⁴⁹ William Peverel had granted this land to a sub-tenant named Robert,¹⁵⁰ but later it was held by the family of Hussey.

¹¹⁴ Recov. R. Hil. 2 Anne.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. East. 33 Geo. III.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 8 Geo. IV.

¹¹⁷ From information supplied by Lieut.-Colonel Goodall.

¹¹⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

¹¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxliii, no. 143.

¹²⁰ Chart. R. 11 Edw. III, m. 27, no. 56.

¹²¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

¹²² Ibid. 31; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 257b.

¹²³ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 3 Edw. II.

¹²⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 260a.

¹²⁵ Ibid. ¹²⁶ Ibid. 214.

¹²⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 261.

¹²⁸ *Fines* (Rec. Com.), i, 161.

¹²⁹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b;

Curia Regis R. (Rec. Com.), ii, 87, 160;

Pipe R. (Pipe Roll Soc.), xiv, 137.

¹³⁰ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 257b,

261, 258.

¹³¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹³² *Cal. of Chart.* ii, 71.

¹³³ *Coram Rege R.* no. 20.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 14, 20.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 20.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 52b.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 122.

¹⁴² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 281-2.

¹⁴³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 51.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Close, 36 Edw. III, m. 38.

¹⁴⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 257b;

Feud. Aids, i, 97, 122.

¹⁴⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 253a.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hartwell

¹⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 253a.

The first mention of Upton after the entry in Domesday Book occurs in 1207, when one knight's fee in Upton was in the king's hands, but three years earlier William Hussey held one fee in the county.¹⁵¹ About 1210 Henry Hussey held Upton,¹⁵² and in 1211 or 1212 William Hussey is mentioned as the tenant.¹⁵³

Not long after this, however, another Henry Hussey held it.¹⁵⁴ In 1302-3 it was held by a sub-tenant of his heir,¹⁵⁵ but after this the name of Hussey does not appear in connexion with land in Upton.

Henry Hussey granted his fee in Upton to the abbey of Osney.¹⁵⁶ This grant was confirmed in

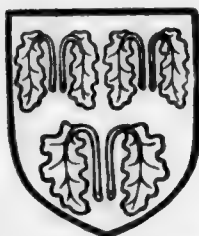


HUSSEY. *Barry ermine and gules.*



OSNEY ABBEY. *Azure two bends or.*

1238,¹⁵⁷ and in 1276 the abbot was said to hold the manor of Upton of Henry Hussey, doing suit at the court of the honour of Peverel.¹⁵⁸ In 1346, however, he held a knight's fee in 'Upton cum Stone' of the king in chief,¹⁵⁹ and it belonged to the abbey till its dissolution.¹⁶⁰ The manor of Upton was granted in 1541 to Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice of Com-



BALDWIN. *Argent three pairs of oakleaves vert with stalks sable.*



BORLASE. *Ermine a bend sable and thereon two arms coming out of clouds, the hands grasping a horseshoe or.*

mon Pleas.¹⁶¹ In his will it was left to the king 'for the wardship and primer seisin' of his heirs, Thomas Pakington and John Borlase.¹⁶² The latter was the son of the younger daughter of Sir John, and Upton formed part of his share of the inheritance.¹⁶³ The

Borlases held the manor¹⁶⁴ until the death of Sir John Borlase, bart., without heirs male in 1688-9,¹⁶⁵ when the four daughters of his uncle, William Borlase, inherited Upton.¹⁶⁶

John Wallop, who had married Alice, the eldest sister, apparently bought the other three shares of the manor. His second son John, who afterwards became Earl of Portsmouth, inherited it in 1762.¹⁶⁷ The second earl held it in 1789-90,¹⁶⁸ and his son and successor was said to hold it in the first part of the 19th century.¹⁶⁹

Upton is at the present day a sub-manor appendant to the manor of Dinton, the land being owned by Mrs. Parker.¹⁷⁰

The manor of Upton was held by the military service due from one knight's fee.¹⁷¹ The Abbot of Osney held it in frankalmoin of Henry Hussey and his heirs, paying 5s. a year¹⁷² at Michaelmas. This rent was afterwards paid to the bailiffs of the honour of Peverel.¹⁷³ The abbot, however, was answerable for the service due to the honour, and paid the feudal dues from his fee.¹⁷⁴ In 1254 the bailiff held the view of frankpledge, pleas of *namio vetito*, and the return of writs within the manor.¹⁷⁵ The abbot claimed the view of frankpledge and waifs in the reign of Edward I. He presented a charter of Henry III, which confirmed rights granted by Henry II as warranty, but he renounced his claim to waifs.¹⁷⁶ The Borlase family and their successors also claimed to hold the view of frankpledge and a court-leet in their manor of Upton.¹⁷⁷

In the time of Edward the Confessor two socmen held WALDRIDGE. They were respectively the men of Avelin and of Alveva, sister of Earl Harold, and they could sell their land at will.¹⁷⁸ After the Conquest this land, containing 1 hide and 2 virgates, was granted to the Bishop of Bayeux.¹⁷⁹ It passed with the manor of Dinton in succession to the Munchesneys¹⁸⁰ and the Earl of Pembroke;¹⁸¹ the last mention of the overlordship of Waldrige occurs in 1316, and was then held by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.¹⁸²

Helto, the steward of the Bishop of Bayeux, held Waldrige as an under-tenant in 1086.¹⁸³ In 1254, 9 virgates of land were held by John de Stoke and Richard de Middleton.¹⁸⁴ Geoffrey de Upton also held 3 virgates of land, but his overlord was said to be Adam Rumbald.¹⁸⁵ No further mention of this mesne tenancy appears. Geoffrey, how-



WALLOP, Earl of Portsmouth. *Argent a bend wavy sable.*

¹⁵¹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 181, 137.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 536.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 585.

¹⁵⁴ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹⁵⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

¹⁵⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b, 258-9, 261b.

¹⁵⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 22 Hen. III.

¹⁵⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31, 44.

¹⁵⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.

¹⁶⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 703 (8).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*; Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. 8.

¹⁶² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 7.

¹⁶³ Feet of F. Div. Coa. East. 5 Edw. VI.

¹⁶⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), ccclix, no. 48; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 33 Chas. II.

¹⁶⁵ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*.

¹⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 33 Chas.

II; and Mich. 2 Will. and Mary.

¹⁶⁷ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁶⁸ *Recov. R.* Hil. 30 Geo. III.

¹⁶⁹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 159.

¹⁷⁰ From inf. given by Lieut.-Col.

Goodall.

¹⁷¹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 585.

¹⁷² Feet of F. Bucks. East. 22 Hen. III.

¹⁷³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.),

¹⁷⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31; *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

¹⁷⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹⁷⁶ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 93.

¹⁷⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 33 Chas.

II; Mich. 2 Will. and Mary; *Recov. R.*

Hil. 30 Geo. III.

¹⁷⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 236b.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ See manor of Dinton; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

¹⁸¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 114.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 236b.

¹⁸⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

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ever, held more land in Walldridge,¹⁸⁶ and in 1267 he granted it as a member of the manor of (Nether) Upton (q.v.) to William Giffard.¹⁸⁷ The latter, together with John le Waleys, held 11 virgates of land in 1284-6.¹⁸⁸ The heirs of Geoffrey de Upton attempted to recover Walldridge as well as Upton (q.v.), with presumably the same result, and its history at that time is very obscure.¹⁸⁹ Five virgates of land in Walldridge were granted by Edward IV to Sir Thomas Montgomery in 1464.¹⁹⁰ The reversion in the event of his dying without heirs male was obtained by Ralph Verney and Richard Fowler.¹⁹¹ The manor of Walldridge, however, came into the possession of the Hampdens. In 1487 Margery, the widow of Thomas Hampden, claimed a third as her dower and recovered her seisin.¹⁹²

Land in Walldridge was held by the family until the death of Sir Alexander Hampden,¹⁹³ a fine of messuages, lands, and rents in Walldridge being levied in 1622 between two of his heiresses, Anne the wife of Sir John Trevor, and Margaret the wife of Sir Thomas Wenman.¹⁹⁴

The manor, however, appears to have come into the possession of the Serjeants before this time. In 1615 William Serjeant died seised of a capital messuage or farm in Walldridge.¹⁹⁵

In 1650 Sir Richard Ingoldsby the regicide purchased the manor of Walldridge from the Serjeants and lived there.¹⁹⁶ The family remained as residents in the parish for many years, and presumably held the manor of Walldridge.

In 1849 it was purchased by the lord of Dinton Manor, the father of Lieut.-Col. Goodall, and is now appendant to the main manor.¹⁹⁷

In 1254 John de Stoke and Richard de Middleton paid 20s. a year to Warine de Munchesney for the 9 virgates that they held of him.¹⁹⁸ They held the view of frankpledge for their tenants, but made a yearly payment of 2s. to the king for this right.¹⁹⁹ Geoffrey de Upton, however, paid 15s. a year to his immediate lord, and did no forinsec service to the king.²⁰⁰

The manor or liberty of MORETON belonged to the hundred of Desborough. It is not mentioned separately in the Domesday Survey, but it may have been included in West Wycombe,²⁰¹ since it was afterwards held by the Bishop of Winchester,²⁰² and was appendant to his manor of West Wycombe.²⁰³ Bishop Richard Pope held a court-leet for Moreton in the reign of Henry VII,²⁰⁴ but in 1551 Bishop Poynt surrendered his manors of West Wycombe, Moreton, and Ivinghoe to the king.²⁰⁵ The two last-mentioned manors were, however, restored to the see of Winchester. The bishop held the manor in 1613,²⁰⁶ and in

1797 it still belonged to the bishopric.²⁰⁷ Moreton was held in frankmoign of the king-in-chief.²⁰⁸

John Duncombe held a capital messuage in Moreton in the 16th century.²⁰⁹ It passed into the hands of John Saunders of Long Marston, Hertfordshire, who sold it to Richard Saunders.²¹⁰ The latter died in 1601, leaving a son John as his heir,²¹¹ from whom Robert Waller bought two messuages, a garden, an orchard, and 90 acres of land in Moreton and Dinton.²¹²

Edmund Waller was his son and heir, but was a minor at the time of his father's death in 1617.²¹³ His descendant, Edmund Waller, held Moreton under the Bishop of Winchester in 1797,²¹⁴ and the Wallers still own Moreton at the present day.²¹⁵ In 1606 Sir Thomas Lee died seised of a farm called Moreton Farm in Dinton, which had previously been held by Edmund Waller.²¹⁶ How Sir

Thomas had obtained this farm does not appear, nor the date of its recovery by the Wallers. Moreton is, however, best known as the first place of residence of the Lees in Buckinghamshire. Thomas and Ralph Lee held lands in Moreton, which they granted on lease to Francis Lee for twenty-six years.²¹⁷ Thomas Lee, the son of the lessee, held the remainder of this lease at the time of his death in 1572.²¹⁸ He left in his will the house in which he lived at Moreton to his wife, together with all lands belonging to it and other tenements there.²¹⁹ The Lees had probably settled there in the 15th century, a brass to William Lee, of Dinton, who died in 1485, still existing in the church.

The family of Compton held land under the Bishop of Winchester in the 15th century. There is a brass in Dinton Church commemorating members of the family, and bearing the date 1424, and John Compton held land in Moreton in 1407.²²⁰ Sir Ralph Verney (jun.) died seised of COMPTON'S MANOR in 1525 and it formed part of the jointure of his wife Elizabeth.²²¹ His son and heir Ralph succeeded him.²²² William Serjeant, however, held this manor at the beginning of the 17th century.²²³ Compton's Piece and Compton's Lane are mentioned in 1714,²²⁴ and Compton's Farm is mentioned in the early part of the 19th century.²²⁵

The tenure by which the Comptons held their land does not appear. Sir Ralph Verney, however, held the manor of the Bishop of Winchester,²²⁶ and



WALLER. Sable three walnut leaves or between two bends argent.

¹⁸⁶ Assize R. 56, m. 18d.
¹⁸⁷ Coram Rege R. 20; *Cal. of Chart.* ii, 71.
¹⁸⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 84.
¹⁸⁹ Cf. Nether Upton.
¹⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 367.
¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* 1467-77, p. 309.
¹⁹² De Banco R. Mich. 3 Hen. VII, m. 501.
¹⁹³ See Owlswick in Monks Risborough; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cclxxvii, no. 96.
¹⁹⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 19 Jas. I.
¹⁹⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccxliii, no. 142.
¹⁹⁶ From inf. given by Lieut.-Col. Goodall.
¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*
¹⁹⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 25.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
²⁰⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 233a.
²⁰¹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 246.
²⁰² *Feud. Aids*, i, 92.
²⁰³ *Eccl. Com. Ct. R. Ref.* no. 155657§ (3), bdle. 85, no. 1.
²⁰⁴ *Acts of P.C.* 1550-2, p. 359.
²⁰⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccxliii, no. 142.
²⁰⁶ Thos. Langley, *Hist. of the Hund. of Desborough*, 435.
²⁰⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 92.
²⁰⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cclxx, no. 129.
²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
²¹⁰ *Ibid.*
²¹¹ *Ibid.*
²¹² *Ibid.* cccxxix, no. 136.

²¹³ *Ibid.*
²¹⁴ Langley, *Hist. of the Hund. of Desborough*.
²¹⁵ From inf. given by Lieut.-Col. Goodall.
²¹⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccxxiv, no. 77.
²¹⁷ *Ibid.* clx, no. 15.
²¹⁸ *Ibid.*
²¹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 8 Hen. IV.
²²⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xliv, no. 91.
²²¹ *Ibid.*
²²² *Ibid.* cccxliii, no. 142.
²²³ *Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich.* 1 Geo. I, no. 25.
²²⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii.
²²⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xliv, no. 91.



DINTON CHURCH : SOUTH DOORWAY OF NAVE



CUDDINGTON : TYRINGHAM HOUSE

William Serjeant held it of the bishop as of his manor of Moreton by fealty and a yearly rent of 16s.²²⁷

The church of *ST. PETER and ST. CHURCH PAUL* consists of a chancel 39 ft. by 17 ft.

8 in.; a nave 56 ft. 9 in. by 23 ft. 1½ in.; a south aisle 14 ft. 3 in. wide with south porch, and a western tower 15 ft. 2 in. by 12 ft. 2 in. The church seems to have been almost entirely rebuilt in the 13th century, but the walling above the south arcade is probably older than the arcade, and at the east end a shallow pilaster buttress shows in the east wall of the south aisle, which looks like 12th-century work. The south doorway is also of this date, and was doubtless removed to its present position from the wall of an aisleless nave.

In the first half of the 13th century the nave was brought to its present plan by the rebuilding of its north wall, perhaps a little outside the line of the former north wall, and the addition of the south aisle and its arcade. The present chancel arch was built about the same time, and the chancel was rebuilt as it now appears, except in the matter of length. This has been increased by some feet in modern times.

In the north wall of the nave pilasters were set to take the ends of the roof timbers, corresponding with the spacing of the south arcade, but all the windows of this date have been replaced by later work. At some time in the 14th century four buttresses were built to support this wall, spaced symmetrically on the outer elevation, without regard to the pilasters within, and in the 15th century three large square-headed windows were inserted, also set with regard to the outside elevation, as far as the internal pilasters allowed. The tower is of the 15th century, the 13th-century west door of the nave being removed to serve in the west wall of the tower, and the south porch is also of the 15th century. The church is covered externally by an almost complete coat of rough-cast, the only part not so treated, the chancel, having been largely re-pointed and re-faced in modern times. The church was 'restored' by Street in 1868.

The east windows of the chancel, three lancets, are entirely modern. There are three lancets also in the north and south walls, which though re-tooled are in the main old. The south doorway, between the first and second lancets, is also in part old, and now blocked with masonry. At the east end of the north wall is a square locker rebated for a door, and in the same position on the south a much-scraped and restored piscina of 13th-century date with a trefoiled head and label. At the west end of the south wall is the opening of a squint which passes through the south respond of the chancel arch, giving a view of the former position of the high altar from the south aisle.

The chancel arch appears to be of the same build as the nave arcade, and is of three plain chamfered orders set centrally with both nave and chancel. The responds are semi-octagonal with moulded capitals and bases, the abaci being continued as a string across the west face of the wall, and ranging with those of the south arcade. The pilasters in the north wall are semi-octagonal and very slender in form, with small moulded capitals, which are probably 15th-century additions to take the feet of the wall brackets of the principals, a purpose they continue to fulfil in the case of the modern roof. The south arcade is of five bays with octagonal

columns having moulded capitals and bases; the arches are of two chamfered orders struck from a point well below the springing line. All the north windows are square-headed, the first from the east being of two trefoiled lights under a square head; it is of the same section as the others in the wall, though its tracery has a somewhat earlier character. The others are three in number, with ogee cinquefoiled lights under a square head with small quatrefoils in the spandrels. Above the crowns of the three eastern bays of the south arcade are 15th-century clearstory openings with quatrefoil heads in a square frame, the wall above the arcade being set out on a chamfered string on account of the irregularity of the old wall face below.

The east window of the south aisle is of three trefoiled lights, with tracery of 15th-century detail, and almost entirely modern. At the east end of the south wall is a piscina with a hollow-chamfered two-centred head and an old drain, and above it a much restored three-light 15th-century window with modern tracery. The south door, nearly opposite the middle bay of the south aisle, is of 12th-century date, c. 1140-50, a very fine specimen, with a semicircular arch of two orders with zigzag ornament, a continuous label with triple billet ornament, spirally fluted shafts to the inner order, and a carved tympanum and lintel. The capital of the western shaft is scalloped, and that of the eastern has a bird with outspread wings.

On the tympanum is a conventional tree between two monsters, and on the lintel below are St. Michael and the Dragon, the underside of the lintel and the upper border of the tympanum having bands of interlacing ornament. On the lower part of the tympanum and the upper edge of the lintel is the inscription

✠ PREMIA PRO MERITIS SI Q(U)IS DESP(ER) ET HABENDA
AUDIAT HIC PREC(E)PTA SIBI QVE SI(N)T RETINENDA ✠

The jambs of the inner order appear to have been altered, and have stops of modern classical character immediately below the lintel.

West of the door is a three-light 15th-century window of the same design as that on the east of the door, and, like it, much restored. The west window, of two lights with tracery of 15th-century design, is almost completely modern, the sill and a few stones in the jambs alone being old. The porch has a good 15th-century roof with moulded timbers resting on four stone carved corbels; the inner tie-beam being cut away to show the details of the inner doorway.

The tower is of three stages, with an embattled parapet and belfry windows of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head. The tower arch is two centred, of three chamfered orders, dying out at the springing. The west window of the ground stage is of 15th-century date, with three cinquefoiled lights and tracery over in a four-centred head. The west door has a two-centred head of three deeply-moulded orders and double-shafted jambs, the inner order being continuous. The label has mask drips, and the doorway is a fine piece of 13th-century detail.

The font has a large cup-shaped bowl on a wide circular moulded base, and much resembles in outline a type of late 12th-century font common in the neighbourhood. The base appears to be of that date, but the details of the bowl look like 14th-century work, and it is possible that it is in reality a 12th-century font recut. It has a scroll moulding on the lip, and

²²⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m (Ser. 2), cccxliii, no. 142.

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below it a band of quatrefoiled circles, the lower part of the bowl being fluted, with trefoiled ogee heads to the flutes.

The roofs, except that of the porch, are modern, those of the nave and aisle being of low pitch and covered with lead, while that of the chancel is of steep pitch and tiled. The seating is also modern, but there is a fairly good 17th-century pulpit, and in the vestry, at the west end of the aisle, is a table with large carved baluster legs dated 1606, and an inscription cut on the top,

FRANCIS HUNTT'S GIVEN BY THE YOUTH OF UPTON

the initials, presumably, of the donors being cut on the front of the frame. There is also a chest with linen panels and styles carved with detail of c. 1540, but a lid of 17th-century date, and under the tower a cupboard made up of similar materials. At the north-east of the nave is a tablet to Simon Mayne of Dinton, 1617, who married Collubery, the daughter of Richard Lovelace of Hurley, Berkshire, and had one son and one daughter. In the tower is a small wall monument to Richard Ingoldsby, 1703, his wife Mary (Colmore), seven sons and seven daughters. In the same place is a large monument of black and white marble with Ionic columns carrying an arched pediment, commemorating Richard Serjeant, 1661, and his two wives Anne (Ingoldsby) and Jane (Harrington); on the plinth is an inscription to the last with blanks left for the age and date of death. Above are the arms: Gules a bend wavy argent between two dolphins or impaling Sable fretty argent, which are the arms of his second wife. In the floor at the west end of the south aisle are the following brasses: John Compton, 1424, and his wife Margery (Hurley), with four sons and five daughters; William Lee of Moreton in the parish of Dinton, 1486, and Alice his wife; John Lee of Moreton, 1500 (inscription plate only); Francis Lee, 1558, and Elizabeth his wife; Elinor, wife of Sir Thomas Lee of Moreton, who had twenty-four children and died 1633; Simon Mayne, 1617, and Collubery his wife, 1628 (see above); Thomas Grenewey, 1538, and his wife Elizabeth, 1538; and their son and heir Richard Grenewey, 1551, and his wife Joan (Bulney). On the last named are the arms of Grenewey: Gules a fesse and a chief or with three martlets vert in the chief. In the chancel are some 18th-century monuments to the Vanhattem family. Under the tower hangs a funeral helm of 16th-century type. In the south-east window of the south aisle is a shield of old glass bearing Barry . . . in chief three griffins' heads.

There are six bells; the treble, second and third of 1656, the fourth by Richard Chandler, 1682, the fifth of 1658, and the tenor of 1892. The bells of 1656-8 are from the Knights' foundry at Reading.

The church plate is very handsome, and consists of a large covered cup of Elizabethan design bearing the date letter for 1569; a salver inscribed as the gift of Thomas Ingoldsby in 1721 and hall-marked for that

year; and two large flagons, the gift of Sir John Vanhattem in 1772, hall-marked for 1771.

The first book of the registers contains all entries between 1562 and 1648; the second all between 1653 and 1742, and a third book contains burials in woollen from 1689 to 1737. After 1742 there is a gap, baptisms and burials being continued in one book from 1773 to 1812, while two books contain the marriage entries between 1754 and 1768, and 1768 and 1812.

The church of Dinton was *ADVOWSON* granted by Agnes de Munchesney to the convent of Godstow, Oxfordshire, in the reign of Henry II.²⁸⁶

The rectory was impropriated and the vicarage ordained by the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells.²⁸⁹ After the dissolution of the convent, Henry VIII in 1545 granted the rectory and church with the advowson of the vicarage to Robert Brown, Christopher Edmesdes, and William Windlow.²⁹⁰ They enfeoffed Robert and John Doyley,²⁹¹ the former of whom sold the rectory and advowson in 1556 to Richard Shrimpton.²⁹² From Shrimpton they passed to John Duncombe,²⁹³ who together with his son Edward granted the rectory,²⁹⁴ and apparently the advowson also, to Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Saunders, for life, with remainder to Richard and to his son John.²⁹⁵

After the death of her first husband Elizabeth married Sir — Hoddesdon,²⁹⁶ and John Saunders seems to have entered into possession of the rectory and advowson.²⁹⁷ The latter he granted separately in 1623, with the consent of his mother, to William Carter of Offley, Hertfordshire.²⁹⁸ John died in the same year, leaving an only daughter Elizabeth, aged seven at the time of her father's death.²⁹⁹ She probably married Sir Walter Pye,³⁰⁰ and they were in possession of the advowson of the church of Dinton in 1639.³⁰¹ Elizabeth died seised of the rectory and advowson, which were inherited by her son Walter.³⁰²

He sold the advowson of the vicarage about 1650 to Simon Mayne the regicide,³⁰³ so that after the Restoration it was forfeited to the Crown. It was not alienated,³⁰⁴ and the patronage of the vicarage of Dinton is in the hands of the Lord Chancellor at the present day.

The rectory was not sold by Sir Walter Pye with the advowson, but he conveyed it to John Harrington and Richard Serjeant (jun.) in 1655.³⁰⁵

The warrant for a grant of the rectory and tithes of Dinton was made out in 1662 to the Bishops of London and Winchester and others, to be held in trust for the maintenance of a minister.³⁰⁶ The rectory was then said to have come to the Crown by the forfeiture of the lands of Simon Mayne;³⁰⁷ but this presumably was a mistake, since he does not seem ever to have bought the rectory. In 1705 Winwood Serjeant and his wife Martha held the

²⁸⁸ Cart. Antiq. G.G. 6.

²⁸⁹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 284, n. 1.

²⁹⁰ Pat. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. 13.

²⁹¹ Com. Pleas D. Enr. East. 20 Eliz.

m. 29.

²⁹² Ibid.; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich.

3 & 4 Phil. and Mary.

²⁹³ Ibid. East 13 Eliz.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. 42 Eliz.

²⁸⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cclxx, no.

129.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. cccxliii, no. 142.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid. cccci, no. 100.

²⁹² There is considerable confusion as

to the identity of the wife of Sir Walter

Pye; cf. Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* i, 382;

ii, 151.

²⁹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 15 Chas. I.

²⁹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc. dxxxvi,

16 Chas. I, pt. 31, no. 12.

²⁹⁵ Treas. Bks. cccxlviii, no. 41.

²⁹⁶ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1660, 1662, 1684,

1692. In 1717 Hatch Moody, gent.,

presented, but in 1773 the Crown again

presented.

²⁹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 1655.

²⁹⁸ Cal. S.P. Dom. 1662-3, p. 489.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

rectory, hence his family had presumably owned it without interruption since its purchase in 1655.³⁰⁰

There is a Baptist chapel at Ford in this parish, built in 1716, with a mission chapel attached to it at Dinton.

Dame Elizabeth Hoddesden, who **CHARITIES** died 11 March 1637, by will left £15, the interest to be given yearly on the day of her death to ten or twelve poor old persons by the direction of the minister and churchwardens. The principal sum appears to have been received and spent by the parish, but no sum by way of interest has been distributed for many years.

Mrs. Matilda Phelps by will, proved in 1867, left £100 to be invested and income applied by the vicar of Dinton, and the owner of Dinton Hall, in the distribution of coals to poor and aged widows and spinsters. The legacy is represented by £103 18s. 9d. India 3 per cent. stock with the official trustees. The dividend, amounting to £3 2s. 4d., was in 1905-6 distributed in coal to eight widows and two spinsters.

In 1876 Miss Eliza Goodall by will left £200 consols (with the official trustees), the dividends to be applied annually in the month of January for the

benefit of all or such of the poor as should be then residing in the cottages known as the 'Church Houses,' and in such shares as the owner of the Dinton Hall estate should think well. By a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 1901, it was provided that so long as there should be no inmates of the Church Houses the income should be applied for the benefit of deserving and necessitous persons in such way as might be considered most conducive to the formation of provident habits. In 1906 coal, articles of clothing, and money were distributed to twenty recipients.

Mrs. Sarah Maria Clotilda Roper by will 1866, proved in 1881, among other charitable legacies, bequeathed specific sums and share of residue for the benefit of this parish. The estate was administered in the Chancery Division of the High Court, and in the result £89 consols (with the official trustees) and £450 17s. 4d. consols (in court) were assigned for the benefit of the organist; £89 15s. 6d. consols (with the official trustees) for the poor; £558 3s. 5d. consols (in court) for the poor schools; and £507 17s. 5d. consols (in court) for the benefit of the Dinton school-house. The amount applicable for educational purposes, about £26 a year, is received by the national schools.

HADDENHAM

Nedreham (xi cent.); Hedrehan (xi cent.); Hedenham (xiii cent.).

The parish of Haddenham lies in the Vale of Aylesbury towards its western limit. Its boundaries are formed on all sides, except the east, by the River Thame and its tributaries, the Dad Brook on the north, the Ford Brook on the south, and the Thame on the west. There are two mineral springs in the parish, one at Dadbrook and the other at Manor Farm. The parish is fairly level, lying at an altitude of between 250 ft. and 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum; there is little timber, and the land is in parts bleak and exposed. The subsoil is partly gault and partly Portland beds.¹ There are 1,596½ acres of arable land and 1,214½ acres of permanent pasture.²

Besides agriculture, the inhabitants are occupied in duck and poultry breeding, and at the Haddenham brick works. Two branches of the road from Thame to Aylesbury pass through the parish, the village of Haddenham lying across the line of the southern branch. There is a station on the Great Central Railway a short distance from the village, and a branch of the Great Western Railway passes through the parish.

The village is large and straggling, having at its south end, known as Church End, a large green with a pond, and the church on the south side of the green. There are a few good Georgian houses and many thatched cottages. The larger houses in the parish, Scottsgrove House, Grenville Manor House, and the Hall are of no architectural interest. At the north-east angle of the churchyard is an old house,

which has in its ground-floor rooms some early 17th-century panelling, and the upper story, which partly overhangs, was originally one large room with an open roof. It may have been the church house. Stud partitions have, however, been inserted in the first floor dividing it up into several bedrooms, and the house has, especially to the south, been greatly modernized.

In the Domesday Survey the manor **MANORS** of **HADDENHAM** appears under the name of 'Nedreham,' and Cuddington was also probably included in it.³

It had been held in the time of King Edward by Earl Tostig, but William the Conqueror had given it to Archbishop Lanfranc. It was assessed at 40 hides and valued at £40, and there were said to be eight days' hay (*per viii^{da} dies fenum*) for the 'ferm' of the archbishop.⁴

William II gave the manor, at Lanfranc's request,⁵ to the church of St. Andrew, Rochester, the grant being confirmed by the archbishop.⁶ On the latter's death in 1099 a dispute arose between the king and Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, concerning Haddenham, the king demanding that £100 should be paid before the grant was confirmed, and the bishop protesting that he did not even possess so large a sum.⁷ It was finally agreed that Gundulf should, at his own cost, fortify the enceinte of Rochester Castle with a stone wall,⁸ in return for which William gave the manor to Rochester Cathedral.⁹ Gundulf introduced the rule of St. Benedict at Rochester,¹⁰ and Haddenham appears amongst the lands of the reformed

³⁰⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 3 Anne.

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² Information from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cott. MS. Dom. x, fol. 105.

⁶ *Ibid.* 107; Rymer, *Feodera* (Syllabus), 2.

⁷ Campb. Chart. vii, 1; *V.C.H. Bucks.*

i, 211.

⁸ Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 337.

⁹ Campb. Chart. vii, 1.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 155.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

monastery, being mentioned in confirmatory grants by Archbishops Anselm¹¹ and Theodore.¹²

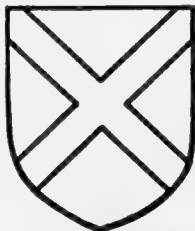
Haddenham remained in the hands of the Prior and Convent of Rochester, without intermission, until the Dissolution, except for a short period early in the reign of Edward III, when, owing to the deposition of John, then Prior of Rochester, the escheator of Buckinghamshire took the manor into the king's hand.¹³

In December 1333, he was ordered not to intermeddle further with the manor, but apparently the command was not obeyed, for in March 1334 a further order was sent that he should 'amove the King's hand without delay,' and restore the issues of the manor to the Prior of Rochester. It was stated at the same time that the manor had never been out of the control of the monastery since the grant of William II.¹⁴ In May 1539, the Prior of St. Andrew's, Rochester, obtained a licence to alienate the manor to Sir Edward North,¹⁵ who apparently exchanged for it some lands in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire of the yearly value of £40.¹⁶

The king confirmed this exchange, but three years

later, in 1543, he obtained possession of the manor from Sir Edward North and his wife Alice.¹⁷ The manor was from time to time leased out by the Crown until the reign of James I.¹⁸ A Mr. Anstell is the first lessee mentioned, but in 1583 he had been succeeded by Richard Beake, who had married Colluberry Lovelace.¹⁹ Another Richard Beake,²⁰ his son, held the remainder of his lease, but in 1618 it was said to be defective, and a new lease for forty years of the mansion house and the site of the manor was made.²¹

James, however, granted the manor to Henry Prince of Wales in 1611.²² On the death of the prince it was sold to Francis Poulton and Thomas Plumpstead, who held the manor, site and mansion house, lands, rents, &c., at a fee-farm rent of £115 15s. 10d.²³ This rent was granted to Prince Charles in 1617 for the term of ninety-nine years.²⁴ Poulton in 1616²⁵ sold the manor to Sir John Dormer and John Wakeman. In 1625 Sir Robert Spiller held it and settled it on his son Sir Henry.²⁶ The latter made a settlement of three manors in



ROCHESTER PRIORY.
Argent a saltire gules.



HENRY, Prince of Wales. FRANCE and ENGLAND quartered with SCOTLAND and IRELAND, with the difference of a label argent.



HADDENHAM CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

¹¹ Add. MS. 29437, fol. 25.

¹² Stowe MS. 940, fol. 108.

¹³ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, p. 167.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 206.

¹⁵ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (i), 482 (1056).

¹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 34 Hen. VIII.

¹⁸ Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 25 & 26 Eliz. no. 29; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1611-18, p. 596.

¹⁹ Exch. Dep. by Com. Hil. 37 Eliz. no. 12; *ibid.* Mich. 25 & 26 Eliz. no. 29.

²⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1611-28, p. 596.

²¹ Pat. 16 Jas. I, 6.

²² *Ibid.* 8 Jas. I, pt. 41, no. 2.

²³ *Ibid.* 12 Jas. I, pt. 2, no. 2, m. 24.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 14 Jas. I, pt. 20; Orig. R. 14 Jas. I, no. 4, roll 126.

²⁵ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 13 Jas. I.

²⁶ *Recov. R. Hil.* 1 Chas. I; *Close*, 10 Chas. I, pt. 27, m. 15.

1642,³⁷ after his death on another Henry Spiller, probably his eldest son, and then in tail male on the ten sons of Henry Spiller, with various other remainders and a power of revocation in the case of the manor of Haddenham. In 1645, however, Sir Henry Spiller, being imprisoned at Gloucester by the Parliamentarians, was approached by the attorney of the Earl of Pembroke, who proposed a marriage between the earl's son James Herbert and Jane, the granddaughter of Sir Henry.³⁸ Sir Henry obtained leave to go to London to discuss the matter, but could come to no satisfactory arrangement with the earl and would not consent to the marriage. Hence he was sent to the Tower, and while there the marriage took place without his consent.

It is not clear what settlements were finally made, but when Sir Henry Spiller died in 1649,³⁹ James Herbert and his wife entered on the manors and kept them, in spite of the persistent efforts of Henry Spiller to recover possession under the settlement of 1642, efforts that were still continued in 1690.⁴⁰ The Herberts, however, had, in 1675, conveyed the manor to Peregrine Bertie⁴¹ and Charles Bertie, who in the same year conveyed it to Lord Danby, the high treasurer, and his son and heir, Edward Osborne.⁴² It remained in their hands until 1709, when it was conveyed to John Whishaw together with the manor of Kingsey.⁴³ Haddenham passed from John Whishaw to Thomas Falkner in 1737,⁴⁴ but in 1751 it appears to have been held by Sir Philip Wenman, bart., Viscount Wenman in Ireland.⁴⁵ His daughter and heiress, Sophia, married William Humphrey Wykeham, of Swadcliffe (co. Oxon.), in 1768.⁴⁶ She was succeeded by her son, William Richard Wykeham, whose lands passed to his daughter and heiress Sophia, created Baroness Wenman in 1834. She died unmarried, and the family estates passed to her cousins. The eldest, Philip Wykeham, died unmarried, and by his will his estates passed to his eldest nephew, Mr. Wenman Aubrey Wykeham-Musgrave, of Thame Park,⁴⁷ the present lord of the manor of Haddenham.

In the 13th century it was claimed that Haddenham had of old belonged to the king's manor of Brill, and so formed part of the ancient demesne of the Crown.⁴⁸ In the technical sense the claim does not appear to be tenable since Lanfranc held Haddenham at the time of the Domesday Survey, but there may have been some connexion between the two manors under the Saxon kings. In the time of Edward the

Confessor the king held Brill⁴⁹ and Earl Tostig, the brother of Harold, held Haddenham.⁵⁰

In 1254 the township of Haddenham was reckoned as 40 hides and assessed at £40,⁵¹ being accounted of the same size and of the same value as at the time of the Domesday Survey.⁵² In the taxation of 1342 it was assessed at 50 marks, but it was able to pay only 46½ marks, as owing to the dryness of the season the hay crop was unusually small.⁵³

In 1295 the Prior of Rochester received a grant of a weekly market, and of a yearly fair to be held on the eve, day, and morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of free warren in both Haddenham and Cuddington.⁵⁴ At the dissolution of the monasteries the manor and rectory of Haddenham were valued at £92.⁵⁵

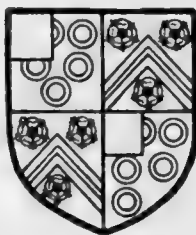
In 1210-12 Richard de Haddenham held land of the bishop,⁵⁶ which was afterwards apparently known as *GRENVILLE'S MANOR*; some years later it was in the hands of Geoffrey son of Richard, who may be identified with Richard de Haddenham.⁵⁷ Various members of the same family are mentioned in documents relating to Haddenham. A John de Haddenham⁵⁸ was murdered about 1274. John, son of William de Haddenham, acquired land in the parish in 1286,⁵⁹ and was the bishop's tenant of his family lands in 1302-3.⁶⁰

Geoffrey de Haddenham, the son of John de Haddenham, is mentioned in 1316,⁶¹ but he had died before 1337, leaving apparently only daughters to succeed to his lands.⁶² His widow Christina held part of these in dower in 1337, the reversion to her lands being the right of Joan, the widow of Richard de Grenville, of Wotton.⁶³ His wife is said to have been a daughter of Lord Zouche of Harringworth, but if so it does not appear what right she could have in this land.⁶⁴

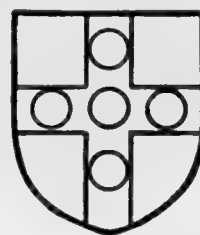
In 1346 John Sergeant, John Marshall, and Agnes and Nicholaa Grenville held the lands that once had been held by John, son of William [de Haddenham].⁶⁵

The descent of the Grenville lands only, however, can be traced, and it does not appear whose daughters Agnes and Nicholaa were.

Joan, the widow of Richard de Grenville, in 1337 held the reversion of 13 messuages, 2 tofts, 339 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 30s. rent in Haddenham, and released her right in them to William de Grenville.⁶⁶ He and his wife Margaret obtained a quitclaim from Ralph Cras of White Waltham and his wife of tenements in Haddenham in 1347,⁶⁷ but he had died before 1351.⁶⁸



WYKEHAM-MUSGRAVE. Azure six rings or and a quarter argent for Musgrave, quartered with argent two chevrons sable between three roses gules for Wykeham.



GRENVILLE. Vert a cross argent with five roundels gules thereon.

³⁷ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xiii, App. v, 127.

³⁸ Ibid. ³⁹ Ibid. ⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Hil. 27 & 28 Chas. II.

⁴² Recov. R. Hil. 26 Chas. II.

⁴³ Ibid. East. 8 Anne, rot. 77.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 10 Geo. II, rot. 11.

⁴⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 24 & 25 Geo. II.

⁴⁶ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31, 36.

⁴⁹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232b.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 233a.

⁵¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁵² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232b.

⁵³ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 328.

⁵⁴ *Chart. R.* 33 Edw. I, 88, m. 1, no.

7; *Cal. Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), 126.

⁵⁵ *Dugdale, Mon.* i, 188.

⁵⁶ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 474.

⁵⁷ *Tissa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 245, 262.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 73.

⁵⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 14 Edw. I.

⁶⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

⁶¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 9 Edw. II.

⁶² Ibid. Mich. 10 Edw. III.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ *Collins, Poetage* (ed. Brydges), ii, 400-1.

⁶⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.

⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 10 Edw. III.

⁶⁷ Ibid. East. 20 Edw. III.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1349-54, p. 378.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The Grenvilles held this land with apparently no interruption until the 16th century. In 1536 Edward Grenville died seised of tenements in Haddenham, leaving Edward, then a boy of eleven, as his heir.⁶⁰ The latter sold this land in 1548 to William Wright, of Winchester,⁶⁰ and ten years later it was again sold to Thomas Rose of Waddesdon and John Goodwin of Upper Winchendon.⁶¹ On 10 December 1569 it was conveyed to Robert Rose, John Ross, and Robert Morse jointly,⁶² but Robert Rose seems afterwards to have obtained possession of the whole. The Grenvilles' land by this time was known as 'Grenville's Manor.' These purchases seem to have been confirmed to Robert Rose in 1571,⁶³ when a quit-claim was obtained from Edward Grenville, Richard Grenville and his wife Mary, and William Wright and his wife Elizabeth. Robert Rose, by his will dated 1598, left the manor to his son Edward,⁶⁴ and died in 1606-7.⁶⁶

The descendants of Robert Rose have owned the manor since 1569. It seems to have descended to Thomas Rose, who died in 1715, and was buried at Haddenham. Some time after this date the manor passed to another branch of the same family, to which the present owners of Grenville's Manor belong. This family resided for more than 200 years at another house in the village.⁶⁶

Robert Rose, the father of the present owner, Joseph Rose, came into possession of Grenville's Manor on attaining his majority in 1826.⁶⁷

The Haddenhams held their land of the Bishop of Rochester by military service, as three-fourths of a knight's fee.⁶⁸ Robert Rose at the time of his death in 1606-7 held one messuage and 89 acres of land,⁶⁹ presumably Grenville's Manor, of the king as of his manor of Haddenham in free socage by fealty.⁷⁰

Appurtenant to the manor is the right to fish, hawk, or fowl throughout the whole parish of Haddenham.⁷¹ Previous to the inclosure of the common fields of the parish the owners of Grenville's Manor paid a dog-rose yearly for this right. It was placed on the front entrance gate of the manor place each Midsummer Day.⁷²

BIGGESTROP appears to have been a hamlet or farm in Haddenham, held of the Bishop of Rochester. In 1210 Mathias at Biggestrope held this land in Haddenham.⁷³ He seems to have died shortly after this, since his land, early in the reign of Henry III, was held by Adam de Spaldington, probably holding in wardship.⁷⁴ Geoffrey de Biggestrope was the tenant in 1302,⁷⁵ and the same name again occurs in 1346,⁷⁶ but after that date this land is not mentioned again in any document.

A freehold farm called Bigstrup Farm, in the parish

of Haddenham, was advertised for sale by public auction in 1797. It appears to have then been in the possession of the owner of the manor of Upton, in the parish of Dinton,⁷⁷ and a farm in the parish still bears the same name. The land was held in 1210 for the service due from a fourth part of a knight's fee,⁷⁸ but in the 14th century the service had been considerably reduced.⁷⁹

Two mills are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and were worth 20s.⁸⁰

A water-mill in Haddenham was granted for forty years to Richard Beake by James I.⁸¹

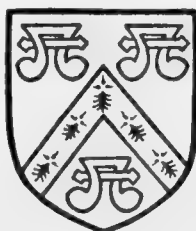
The church of **OUR LADY** consists of a chancel 16 ft. 10 in. by 35 ft., with north chapel 17 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft. 2 in., and small south vestry; a nave 20 ft. by 58 ft.; north and south aisles 10 ft. 6 in. wide; north porch, and west tower 12 ft. 6 in. square within the walls. There is some evidence of an aisleless nave earlier than the end of the 12th century, but the general character of the church is of later date, and apparently due to a complete rebuilding begun in the opening years of the 13th century, and carried on slowly, the tower being the latest part of the work, and belonging to the latter part of the century. The chancel arch has half-round responds with capitals of very late Romanesque detail, that on the south having small scallops, c. 1200, and the other being perhaps a clumsy later copy of it. Its bell sets back from the face of the respond, and the carving on it may be of very much later date. The responds have been thrust outwards, but the pointed arch, of two chamfered orders, shows no signs of dislocation, and is either a rebuilding or a successor of the original arch.

The aisles were probably rebuilt and widened in the 14th century; and the north porch is of the same date. In the 15th century the north chapel and the western bays of both aisles were rebuilt, and the rood-stair at the east end of the north aisle is also of this time. The original south chapel has disappeared, but parts of its east wall exist in that of the vestry now on its site.

The proportions of the church are very good, both nave and chancel being fine and lofty; the latter has no buttresses, and its eastern angles, quoined with large stones, give a great effect of height.

The walls of the chancel have been lately repointed on the outside, but within retain their old plastering in a very perfect condition, with a masonry pattern in red lines, which has been treated to represent courses of Purbeck marble, or something of the kind, round the windows. Little of this particular detail remains, as the dressings of the windows have been unfortunately cleared of the plaster with which they were from the first covered.

In the east wall are three modern lancet windows, with tall detached banded shafts on the inner face, and in each of the side walls are two lancets, much shorter and narrower. The heads of those on the south are cut out of unusually large single stones,



ROSE of Waddesdon.
*Azure a chevron ermine
between three water-
buckets argent.*

⁶⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xlix, no. 52.

⁶¹ From information kindly given by Mr. Walter Rose of Grenville's Manor.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 13 Eliz.

⁶⁴ From information given by Mr. Walter Rose.

⁶⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxcviii, no. 78.

⁶⁶ From information given by Mr. Walter Rose.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 474; Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245, 262.

⁶⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxiv, no. 87.

⁷⁰ Ibid. ccxcviii, no. 78.

⁷¹ From information given by Mr. Walter Rose.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 674.

⁷⁴ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245.

⁷⁵ Feud. Aids, i, 27.

⁷⁶ Ibid. i, 122.

⁷⁷ Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. ii, 161.

⁷⁸ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 474.

⁷⁹ Feud. Aids, i, 97, 122.

⁸⁰ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 232b.

⁸¹ Pat. 16 Jas. I, pt. 6.

which make a permanent centring for the relieving arches, but the north windows are treated in a more ordinary manner. At the north-west and south-west of the chancel pointed arches of two chamfered orders with half-round responds and plainly-moulded capitals open to the north chapel and south vestry; the roll string, which runs round the chancel below the window-sills, is level with the capitals of the arches. In the east wall, behind the altar, is a large rectangular recess which doubtless served as a place to keep some of the church possessions, and on either side of the altar are smaller recesses, with arched heads, that to the south having at the back a wooden beam, and in it a sinking which may have served as the base of a flue.

The piscina, at the south-east, has a trefoiled head, and may be of the 15th century.

The north chapel has an east window of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery, of 15th-century date, containing a good deal of contemporary glass, mostly in jumbled fragments. The tracery lights are in better condition, and have St. Bartholomew and St. Matthew in the two middle lights, with St. John Baptist and St. Paul on either side, and seraphs in the outer lights. The canopies in the main lights are in fairly perfect condition, but all the rest of the centre light is filled with fragments, many of which are inscribed with parts of the Apostles' Creed.

The north window is of the same character, but of four lights, with a transom in the tracery above, and at the north-west is a small four-centred doorway with a square label and carved spandrels. In the south wall is a very beautiful 13th-century piscina, with a moulded trefoil arch and engaged shafts set in a panel of diapered stonework surrounded by a moulded string. Over the arch is a label enriched with small dogtooth ornament, now unfortunately much clogged with whitewash.

The south vestry is modern, but its east wall is apparently on the line of that of the former south chapel, and in its east window of 14th-century type a few old stones are re-used. On the south is a modern doorway, and the arch opening to the chancel is filled with a 15th-century screen, the upper panels of which have open tracery with cusps ending in carved heads. The sill of the screen is a re-used beam with churchwardens' names and the date 1709.

The nave is of four bays, the arcades having circular columns with moulded capitals and bases, and clustered responds with three shafts. The bases all show the characteristic hollow moulding, but the capitals are of several different sections, and some have been cut back and re-worked. The arches are pointed, of two chamfered orders, and have a filleted label. There is no clearstory and the ceiling is a plaster cove of 18th-century date.

The north aisle is lit by three three-light windows. The first two are of 14th-century date with trefoiled heads and flowing tracery. Between these is the north door, of late 14th-century date, the head and jambs continuously moulded with a double ogee. West of the second window is a square-headed 15th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery over, while in the west wall is a small re-set and restored 14th-century trefoil light. At the east end of this aisle are the remains of the rood-stair, with both upper and lower doorways. The north porch is of late 14th-century date with an embattled

parapet, and has east and west windows of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over.

The south aisle has at the south-east a much-restored five-light 15th-century window, with a straight-lined head, the tracery being quite modern. Beneath it is a 15th-century piscina with a trefoiled head and a stone shelf. West of this window is the south door, of late 14th-century date with a continuous moulding and an external label. The two remaining south windows and the west window correspond to those in the same positions in the north aisle.

The tower is an unusually fine specimen of its period, and is of three stages with corner buttresses to the ground stage and a stair in the south-west angle. The tower arch is of three chamfered orders, the two outer dying into the two square orders of the jambs, while the inner is supported upon almost completely detached round shafts with circular capitals. The west door is of three continuous chamfered orders with a label, and above it are three modern lancets within a shafted 13th-century recess with a moulded two-centred head. There are narrow moulded lights in the second stage, except on the east side, where the pitch of the original roof rises to the base of the belfry stage. The belfry stage is arcaded on each face with five moulded arches springing from circular shafts with capitals and bases. The first, third, and fifth arches on each face are blind, but the second and fourth have window openings filled with luffer boards. Above is a line of corbels carrying a plain parapet.

The roof of the chancel is modern and of the same pitch and height as the old roof. That of the nave is hidden by the coved ceiling already noted, and is of lower pitch than the original roof. The roof of the north chapel is of 15th-century date with moulded timbers and wall brackets carried by carved corbels.

The font stands close to the western pillar of the south arcade, and is of late 12th-century date, with a tapering circular bowl on a moulded base, resting on a pentagonal block of stone. The bowl has a band of foliage, in which is a dragon, round its upper part, and has tall and narrow scalloped ornament below.

There is a considerable quantity of old woodwork re-used, including some bench ends with fleur-de-lis finials. On one of the latter is carved a plough and the letter A, and on another a tun, from which springs a small spray of foliage, and the letters W and R. There are also some remains of 15th-century screens, one length between the tower and the nave, and others between the north aisle and chapel and between the chancel and vestry. The lower panels are solid, and the upper pierced with traceried heads of normal type. The double door in the north porch bears on an upper rail the initials G. W. and T. G. and the date 1637, and has had an ingenious arrangement of weights and pulleys to keep it closed.

On the south wall of the chancel is a small marble monument to John Marriott, 1677, ornamented with wreaths and cherubs' heads and a cartouche bearing the Marriott arms impaling Ermine six roundels. In the north chapel is another wall monument to Richard Beake, 1627, with the Beake arms impaling Ermine on a bend three cinquefoils. Near this is preserved a funeral helmet. In the same part of the church are the remains of some brasses. One is the figure of a priest wearing a long-sleeved cassock and fur almuce with, beneath, the inscription: 'Hic jacet Thomas Nassh quondā Vicari' de Haddenam qui obiit xiii^o Die

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Marcii Anno Dni M^o cccc^o xxviii^o Cujus aie ppiciet' deus amē.' Another is also the figure of a priest of early 15th-century date, in mass vestments, wearing an appressed amice and albe and a fanon. Below is an inscription belonging to another brass: 'Here lyeth Gyls Woodbryge xv xx and ix and Elizabeth his wife which the four day of August changyd ther lyffe.'

The tower contains a ring of eight bells cast by J. Briant of Hertford in 1809.

The church plate consists of a chalice of 1706 inscribed with the churchwardens' names and the date 1707, a standing paten inscribed as the gift of John Marriott in 1716, and a plated flagon and salver.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1653 to 1726 and burials 1653-78; with a gap. The second contains baptisms and burials 1727-32; the third, baptisms 1762-96, and burials 1761-95; the fourth continues the baptisms and burials to 1812, and the fifth and sixth are the marriage registers 1754-91 and 1791-1812.

In the Domesday Survey the *ADVOWSON* church was held of Archbishop Lanfranc by Gilbert the priest, the large glebe consisting of three hides of land, which were sufficient for one plough.⁸² It was granted to the Priory of St. Andrew Rochester in the charter of William Rufus,⁸³ and after Lanfranc's death the grant was confirmed.⁸⁴ It appears that Ernulf, Bishop of Rochester (1115-25), gave the church of Haddenham, with its lands and tithes, to the priory for the maintenance of the lights in the church.⁸⁵

The vicarage was ordained by Bishop Hugh of Wells (1209-35).⁸⁶ The chapels of Cuddington and Kingsey belonged to the church. A separate vicar was appointed for Kingsey, the vicar of Haddenham being responsible, however, for providing a chaplain at Cuddington.⁸⁷ The rectory of Haddenham was excepted in the grant of the manor made by Rochester Priory to Sir Edward North.⁸⁸ It thus fell into the king's hands at the dissolution of the priory in 1540,⁸⁹ but in 1541 the king granted it, with the advowson of the vicarage, to the newly constituted Dean and Chapter of Rochester,⁹⁰ who are the patrons of the living at the present day.

In 1559, however, the rectory and advowson were granted by the Dean and Chapter, on a lease of 180 years, to John Fytche at £88 1s. 2d. per annum.⁹¹ This lease came into the possession of Simon Mayne, by mesne assignments.⁹² Possibly the lease was in the possession of Richard Beake, the firmor of the manor under Elizabeth, and his widow, Colluberry by name, married Simon Mayne.⁹³ His son, the regicide, held the lease, which was forfeited to Charles II on his accession.⁹⁴ Various petitions were made for the remainder, one indeed from the Dean and Chapter of Rochester,⁹⁵ but it was granted in 1660 to Richard Lane.⁹⁶ In some way, however, it was recovered by the son of the regicide, who presented to the vicarage in 1684, 1689, and 1732.⁹⁷ The lease terminated, however, before 1749, when the Dean and Chapter themselves presented.⁹⁸

The chapel of St. Mary in Haddenham was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1559 to Sir George Howard, with half an acre of land called the 'Lamp halfacre.'⁹⁹ The Lady Chapel in Haddenham was granted in 1585 to John Walton,¹⁰⁰ but whether it was the same chapel that had appeared in the earlier grant is not clear.

One branch of the Rose family were amongst the earliest of Buckinghamshire Quakers, and meetings were held for many years at Grenville's Manor. Their descendants possess a distraint warrant for church tithe made on Edward Rose, junior, in 1649.¹⁰¹ A meeting-house was licensed in 1711, but in 1813 there were no regular services held there.¹⁰² The Quakers' burial ground still exists. A Baptist chapel was built in 1810, and there is also a Wesleyan chapel in the parish.

John Hart of Cotesford, county Oxford, by his will, proved in the P.C.C. 15 May 1665 (among other charitable gifts) devised to the churchwardens and overseers a yearly rent-charge for ever of £3 to be issuing out of his lands and premises of Easington in the said county, for the binding of one poor, honest, godly boy to some good trade.

The annuity—less land tax—is received from the executors of the late Thomas Greenwood, esq., of the Manor House, Easington, and is duly applied.

The Alms Corn Charity.—The table of benefactions mentioned that the poor were entitled to receive one quarter of wheat, and two quarters of barley to be paid annually out of the great tithes every Good Friday. The charity is paid in kind by the representatives of the late Henry Bode, esq., and was in 1906 divided amongst thirty-eight persons.

The Church Land, containing 2 r. 37 p., is let at £2 a year, which is carried to the church expenses. The Poores' Land adjoining, containing 26 p., the rent of which was carried to the poor rate, was sold under an order of the Poor Law Board.

In 1813 Joseph Franklin by will left £50 a year to be laid out in bread for the poor at Christmas for ever. A sum of £1,666 13s. 4d. consols was set aside to produce the annuity. The stock was, by the costs in a chancery suit, reduced to £1,352 9s. 2d. consols, which was transferred in 1859 to the official trustees. The annual dividends, amounting to £32 16s., are duly distributed in bread.

The Rev. John Willis by will, proved in 1855, left £900 consols, the dividends to be applied in the distribution of coal. In 1902 the trustees were authorized by the Charity Commissioners to purchase 11 a. 1 r. 26 p. of land, situate in Dollicott Field within the manor of Haddenham for the sum of £650, to be provided, together with the cost of the enfranchisement of the copyhold portion, out of the trust fund, which was thereby reduced to £80 8s. 8d. consols (with the official trustees).

The land is let at £25 a year. The coal is distributed in January, in quantities of about 180 lb. to each recipient.

⁸² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 232.

⁸³ Cott. MS. Dom. x, fol. 105.

⁸⁴ Campb. Chart. vii, 1.

⁸⁵ Cott. MS. Dom. x, fol. 106.

⁸⁶ Linca. Epis. Reg. Bp. Bck's Inst.

1345.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 35.

⁸⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 101.

⁹⁰ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. 9.

⁹¹ Ibid. 12 Chas. II, pt. 16, no. 12.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi, no. 98.

⁹⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1660-61, p. 344; 1670, p. 655.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Pat. 12 Chas. II, pt. 16 no. 12.

⁹⁷ P.R.O. Inst. Bks.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. 4; *ibid.* 4 Eliz. pt. 4-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 28 Eliz. pt. 14.

¹⁰¹ From information supplied by Mr. Walter Rose, Grenville's Manor.

¹⁰² Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* i.

GREAT HAMPDEN

Ha(m)dena (xi cent.) ; Magna Hamden (xiv cent.).

The parish of Hampden lies on the slopes of the Chiltern Hills, the greatest height being 711½ ft. above the ordnance datum at Hampden House. The subsoil is chalk,¹ and the surface clay and gravel. The inhabitants are chiefly occupied in farming, 1,128½ acres being arable land and 470½ permanent pasture. There are 408½ acres of wood in the parish.² A road from Aylesbury to Amersham passes through the parish. There is practically no village, the people living in scattered farms and cottages. The nearest stations are at Princes Risborough and Great Missenden. There is a common in the southern part of the parish, lying near Blakemore Farm, and various springs give an excellent supply of water, but there are, however, no brooks of any kind. The earthwork known as Grim's Dyke can be traced for some distance not far from Hampden House. In 1885 portions of Little Hampden and Stoke Mandeville parishes were formed into the civil parish called Great and Little Hampden by Local Government order, dated 25 March of that year.

The principal house in the parish is Hampden House, situated high on the Chiltern Hills in a breezy and open park-like country. Though rich in associations and possessing many traces of old work, successive additions, particularly those of the 18th century, have left only fragments of the earlier plans. As it stands to-day, it is an E-shaped building facing south, with a large east wing running north and south. The principal entrance to the house is on the north side of the main building. The oldest part is the central projection of the E; it is at least as old as the first half of the 14th century, and according to local tradition was originally a tower, though the walls, some three feet thick, do not confirm the idea. It is of two stories, with a modern embattled parapet projecting on corbels, below which is a flat band of trefoiled arches, probably an 18th-century addition, which runs round the whole house at this level. In the south face of this building is a wide 15th-century entrance doorway, but the inner doorway, which leads to the body of the house, is of mid-14th-century date with the characteristic wave-mould and hollow. The rear arches of the windows of this room are also of the same date. The body of the house dates, as far as can be seen, from the beginning of the 17th century, and is separated from the older portion by a space of some eighteen inches or more. It is of two stories and an attic, with wooden-mullioned windows, and fine stacks of brick chimneys with octagonal shafts, and contains in its eastern half the hall and the great staircase, both of 17th-century date, but greatly altered and 'embellished' in the 18th century, and again later in comparatively modern times. The hall runs through two stories, having balustraded galleries on all sides on the first-floor level; its walls are panelled and hung with portraits, and it has a coved plaster ceiling. The kitchens and offices lie to the west of the hall. The large east wing of the house was completely altered in character by Robert,

afterwards first Viscount Hampden, about 1760, at which time, or possibly later, almost the whole of the exterior of the house was coated with cement. This wing contains the present dining-room, with a bedroom beyond it to the north, a large drawing-room in the middle of the wing, with smaller rooms north and south of it, and at the south end the old dining-room, now a billiard room. A passage runs along the west side of the wing, being made at the expense of the series of rooms, which were arranged after the fashion of the day, to open one to another. They contain some fine plaster ceilings and interesting examples of Chinese wall papers, the bills for which were recently discovered amongst some old documents, and are dated 1740. In the bedroom at the north end of the wing is a fine Chippendale bed, in which tradition says that Queen Elizabeth once slept; the claim has probably been transferred from some older bed formerly here. Hampden House contains many interesting portraits of the Hampdens and Hobarts, and also of many great people from the 16th century on. There are full-length portraits of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Henrietta Maria, of Oliver Cromwell, Bishop Bonner, Sir Kenelm Digby, and others. Of John Hampden 'the patriot,' with whose name the chief interest of the house must ever be associated, there are several relics. A silver cup, dated 1568, is preserved as that from which he received the Holy Sacrament before his death in June 1643; a long room in the attic story is called John Hampden's Library, and the room in the angle between the hall and the east wing is said to be the scene of his arrest for refusal to pay the ship-money tax. There are two portraits of him in the house, one by Jansen coming from Strawberry Hill, but it seems doubtful whether they, or a small bust also here, are really what they claim to be.

The surroundings of the house are very picturesque, a splendid avenue of beech trees running eastwards down the slopes from the east wing, and close by to the south is the church of Great Hampden, approached from the road by another avenue.

There is only one mention of *HAMP-MANOR DEN* in Domesday Book, and this in all probability refers to Great Hampden only.³ Before the Conquest Baldwin, a man of Archbishop Stigand, held and could sell the manor of Hampden, but afterwards it formed part of the lands of William son of Ansculf.⁴ With the rest of his lands it passed to the Somery family, and formed part of the honour of Dudley.⁵ In 1302-3 it was held of John de Bernak of the honour of Dudley,⁶ and in 1346 of Galfrid Bernak.⁷ William son of Ansculf granted the manor to Otbet, or Osbert, who held it at the time of the Domesday Survey.⁸ In a 17th-century pedigree of the Hampden family, Osbert is said to have been the son of Baldwin, the tenant in the time of Edward the Confessor, and the descent of the Hampden family is traced from him.⁹ One name, however, in the pedigree does not coincide with the descent obtained from a lawsuit of the reign of Henry III. In the pedigree Osbert was succeeded in

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² Information from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 254b.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

⁶ *Fœd. Aids.* i, 98.

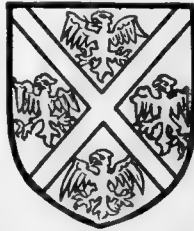
⁷ *Ibid.* i, 123.

⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 254b.

⁹ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 302.

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direct succession by Baldwin, Robert, and Bartholomew. In the lawsuit, Alexander appears instead of Bartholomew, his mother being Alice, the daughter and heiress of 'Remerus le Loherer.'¹⁰ Alexander was followed by Reginald¹¹ and another Alexander, who held the manor, as one knight's fee, early in the reign of Henry III.¹² He was Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1249 and 1259.¹³ He died between 1272-3¹⁴ and 1302-3, when he had been succeeded by his second son Reginald.¹⁵ John de Hampden, the son of Reginald, held the manor in 1346,¹⁶ and was a knight of the shire in two Parliaments of Edward III in 1351-2, and again in 1363.¹⁷ He died in 1375, and his son Edmund inherited the manor,¹⁸ and, like his father, represented the county in Parliament.¹⁹ He was also sheriff of the two counties five times during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V.²⁰ John Hampden, his son, succeeded him,²¹ and obtained, in 1446-7, a charter of liberties within his manor of Great Hampden, granting him a view of frankpledge twice a year, with the assize of bread, wine, and ale, and other privileges. He also had a grant of free warren in his demesne lands, and licence to inclose and impark 500 acres of land and 100 acres of wood in the manor.²² He was sheriff in 1456.²³ Thomas Hampden succeeded him in 1457-8,²⁴ and held the manor till his death, shortly after the accession of Henry VII.²⁵ His heir was his son John Hampden,²⁶ but the manor seems to have been in the hands of trustees or feoffees till 1495, when they demised it to John Hampden.²⁷ He died the next year,²⁸ and Great Hampden passed to his son John.²⁹ The second John Hampden was knighted before 1513, and in that year was with the royal fleet in command of *The Saviour*.³⁰ He also may be identified with the Sir John Hampden 'of the Hill' who followed Henry VIII to the Field of the Cloth of Gold,³¹ and attended him at his meeting with the Emperor Charles V.³² On his death in 1553³³ he left two daughters as his heiresses, but he left Great Hampden by will to his cousin John Hampden,³⁴ the son of William Hampden of Dunton, and of Audrey one of the daughters and heiresses of Richard Hampden of Great Kimble.³⁵ John Hampden left the manor to his son Griffith in tail male, and the latter



HAMPDEN. *Argent a saltire gules between four eagles azure.*

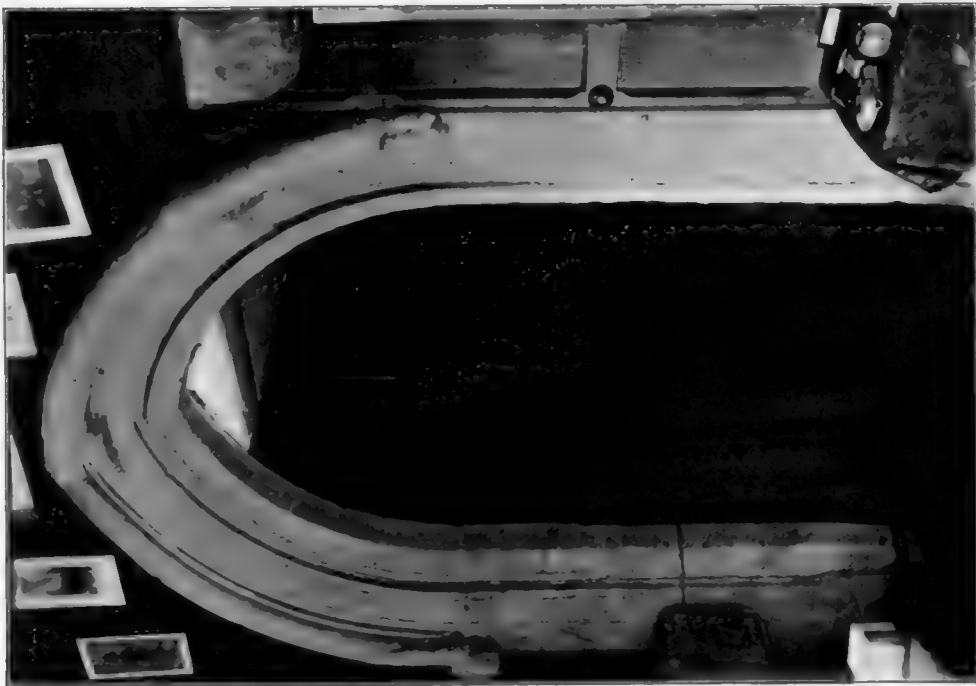
succeeded to it on his father's death in 1558.³⁶ He died in 1591, and it passed to his son William Hampden,³⁷ who married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell and aunt of the Lord Protector.³⁸ He did not survive his father many years, dying in 1597,³⁹ and naturally had not taken so much part in the public life of the county as some of his predecessors. His will is interesting, and suggests that his life was mainly occupied with country pursuits, his horses being carefully described and generally bequeathed by name.⁴⁰ His son and heir John was a minor at the time of his father's death.⁴¹ He afterwards became the most famous member of his family, earning the name of the 'Patriot'⁴² by his refusal to pay the illegal tax of ship-money. He was born in London, but probably lived as a boy at Great Hampden.⁴³ He was sent for three years to the grammar school at Thame, and in 1609 became a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford.⁴⁴ In 1613 he was admitted a student of the Inner Temple,⁴⁵ and six years later he married his first wife Elizabeth Symeon. The next year he was returned to Parliament for the first time,⁴⁶ and from 1625 to 1628 he represented the borough of Wendover without interruption.⁴⁷ In these years he mainly lived in London, and though sitting on many committees, did not take a leading part in Parliamentary affairs. Before the dissolution of 1629 he retired to the country and lived at Great Hampden.⁴⁸ There are, however, practically no records of his life there, his private letters that have been preserved being very few in number. He is said to have been fond of making improvements in his estates and house, and parts of the present house may have been built by him in 1629 and the succeeding years.

To Great Hampden the sons of Sir John Eliot frequently went during their father's imprisonment in the Tower.⁴⁹ Eliot himself received provisions from Great Hampden, one such present being sent with the following letter: 'This bearer is appointed to present you with a buck out of my paddock, which must be a small one to hold proportion with the place and soyle it was bred in.'⁵⁰ In the county he was active as a justice of the peace for the Three Hundreds of Aylesbury.⁵¹ In 1634 he was presented at a special ecclesiastical visitation for not always attending his own parish church. His opposition to the Church of England and the bishops had not at this time become so pronounced as it did later, and he made his peace with Sir Nathaniel Brent, the vicar-general, promising his willing obedience to the laws of the Church in the future.⁵²

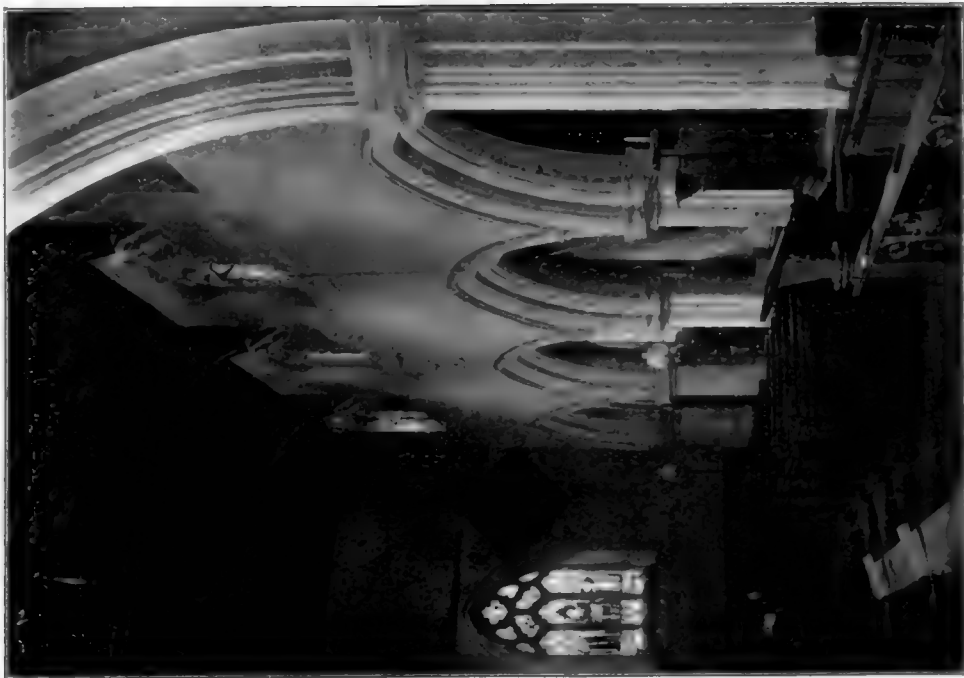
¹⁰ Curia Regis R. 73, m. 6 d.
¹¹ Ibid.
¹² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b, 259b.
¹³ *List of Sheriffs*, P.R.O.
¹⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 1 Edw. I.
¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 98.
¹⁶ Ibid. 123.
¹⁷ *Return of Members of Parl.*
¹⁸ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 231.
¹⁹ *Return of Members of Parl.*
²⁰ *List of Sheriffs*, P.R.O.
²¹ De Banco. R. 813, m. 442.
²² Chart. R. 25 & 26 Hen. VI, no. 26.
²³ *List of Sheriffs*, P.R.O.
²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 36 Hen. VI, no. 9.
²⁵ Ibid. (Ser. 2), xxiii, no. 47.
²⁶ *Cal. of Inq. Hen. VII*, no. 124. In the Buckinghamshire inquisition, the

name of the heir of Thomas Hampden is given as Edward, but this is a mistake for John, who appears in the Essex return.
²⁷ De Banco. R. Mich. 11 Hen. VII, m. 112 d.
²⁸ From a brass in Great Hampden Church.
²⁹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 233; Feet of F. Bucks, Mich. 28 Hen. VIII.
³⁰ L. and P. Hen. VIII, i, 398o.
³¹ Ibid.
³² Ibid. iii (1), 906.
³³ From a brass in Great Hampden Church.
³⁴ P.C.C. 11 More.
³⁵ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 25, no. 11.
³⁶ Ibid. bdle. 51, no. 21.
³⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxii, no. 67.

³⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 254.
³⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxlviii, no. 39.
⁴⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 235.
⁴¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxlviii, no. 39.
⁴² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 254.
⁴³ Nugent, *Mem. of Hampden*, 20.
⁴⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁶ Ibid.
⁴⁷ *Return of Members of Parl.*
⁴⁸ Nugent, *Mem. of Hampden*.
⁴⁹ Ibid.; letters of John Hampden to Sir John Eliot.
⁵⁰ Ibid. 79.
⁵¹ *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1629-31, p. 417; 1631-3, pp. 44, 308; 1634-5, p. 447.
⁵² *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1634-5, p. 250.



HAMPDEN HOUSE : THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY DOORWAY



GREAT HAMPDEN CHURCH : THE NAVE LOOKING WEST

Clarendon describes him at this time as being 'of ancient family, and a fair estate in the county Buckingham, where he was esteemed very much, which his carriage and behaviour to all men deserved very well. But there was scarcely a gentleman in England of so good a fortune (for he was the owner of above £1,500 land yearly) less known out of the county in which he lived than he was, until he appeared in the Exchequer chamber to support the right of the people in the case of ship-money.'⁵³ The determination, reached in 1636, to oppose the levy of ship-money severed the close connexion between John Hampden and his own parish. From that date he was rarely at Great Hampden, and after 1640 never lived there again.⁵⁴ On the outbreak of war he raised a regiment of Buckinghamshire infantry, and commanded it until his death.⁵⁵ At the battle of Chalgrove Field, where he was mortally wounded, he would not wait for his own regiment, but went as a volunteer with the troops that had already come up.⁵⁶ He died shortly after the engagement, and is supposed to have been buried in Great Hampden Church, but the places of his death and burial have been much disputed.

Richard Hampden,⁵⁷ the son of the patriot, succeeded his father in the family estates,⁵⁸ and shared his political opinions. He was, however, an ardent supporter of Oliver Cromwell and voted for his accepting the crown in 1656.⁵⁹ He was nominated in the same year a member of the Other House, and so incurred the satire of a republican pamphleteer, who ascribed his nomination to the desire 'to settle and secure him to the interest of the new Court and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps or inheriting his noble virtues. . . .'⁶⁰ He sat in Parliament, either for Wendover or for Buckinghamshire, in many of the Parliaments after the Restoration.⁶¹ He was a Presbyterian and a great advocate of the Exclusion Bill.⁶² He did not, however, take part in any of the plots of the time, though his son John was implicated in the Rye House Plot in 1683, and two years later joined Monmouth's Rebellion.⁶³ Richard Hampden sat in the Convention Parliament in 1689, and on the accession of William III obtained office, being appointed Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.⁶⁴ He died in 1695⁶⁵ and was succeeded by his son, who had obtained a pardon for his share in Monmouth's rising.⁶⁶ John sat with his father for Wendover in the Convention Parliament,⁶⁷ but suffered from depression from the time of his trial for high treason and finally committed suicide in 1696.⁶⁸ He was succeeded by his son Richard,⁶⁹ who also represented Wendover or the county in several Parliaments.⁷⁰ He was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in 1717-18,⁷¹ but in 1720 a deficiency of £73,706 odd appeared in his accounts, said to be due to speculations in the South Sea scheme.⁷² His estates

were liable to sequestration, and a bill was brought in to enable the Treasury to compound with him. The affair created great excitement, and is mentioned in a news letter of the time—'Hampden's petition and the Wycombe election, both scandalous, are the only subject of talk. I know not what is done on the first, I believe what Sir Robert hinted, but would not propose, will be followed, to take half the estate to the public, and to settle the remainder on his wife and brother.'⁷³ This was practically the procedure followed, and Great Hampden, which was preserved, passed to John Hampden, the half-brother and heir of Richard, who died in 1728.⁷⁴ John Hampden was the last member of the family in the male line to hold Great Hampden, which, on his death in 1753, passed under his will to the descendants of Ruth, the second daughter of John Hampden the patriot.⁷⁵ She had married Sir John Trevor, and the Hampden estates came to her grandson Robert Trevor.⁷⁶ By royal licence he took the name of Hampden for himself and his heirs male in lieu of his patronymic of Trevor.⁷⁷ He succeeded his brother as fourth Baron Trevor of Bromham in 1764, and in 1776 was created Viscount Hampden of Great and Little Hampden.⁷⁸ His two sons succeeded him at Great Hampden,⁷⁹ but on the death in 1824 of John, the younger son, without children, the estate passed under the will of the John Hampden of 1753 to the descendants of Mary, the sixth daughter of John Hampden the patriot. She had married Sir John Hobart, bart., and her descendant, George Robert Hobart, fifth Earl of Buckinghamshire, succeeded to the Hampden possessions.⁸⁰ In 1824 by royal licence he took the name of Hampden only, but died in 1849 without direct heirs. He was succeeded by his brother, who took the name of Hobart-Hampden,⁸¹ and his estates are now held by the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, his great-grandson. The manor of Great Hampden has been enfranchised, but the earl remains the sole landowner in the parish.

The church of **ST. MARY MAG-CHURCH DALEN** consists of a chancel 27 ft. 7 in. by 15 ft. 10 in.; a nave with clearstory 42 ft. 6 in. by 19 ft. 3 in.; north and south aisles



TREVOR. Party bend sinisterwise ermine and erminees a lion or.



HOBART. Sable a star or between two fountains ermine.

⁵³ *Hist. of the Rebellion* (ed. 1888), iii, 59-60.

⁵⁴ Nugent, *Mem. of Hampden*, 135.

⁵⁵ Warwick, *Memoires of the Reign of King Chas. I* (ed. 1703), 240; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv, App. ii, 101; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 247.

⁵⁶ Clarendon, *Hist. of Rebellion*, bk. vii, no. 79-80.

⁵⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 266.

⁵⁸ *Recov. R. Mich.* 1653; *Feet of F. Bucks. East.* 26 Chas. II.

⁵⁹ *Harl. Misc.* iii, 463. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 487.

⁶¹ *Return of Members of Parl.*

⁶² Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 260.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 261; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 264.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Return of Members of Parl.*

⁶⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxiv, 264.

⁶⁷ *Recov. R. Hil.* 13 Will. III.

⁶⁸ *Return of Members of Parl.*

⁶⁹ *Portland MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), v, 558.

⁷⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 265.

⁷¹ *Portland MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), vii, 429.

⁷² Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 269.

⁷³ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ He had bought the manor of Little Hampden in 1765 from John Dodd.

⁷⁷ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁷⁸ *Recov. R. Mich.* 5 Geo. IV.

⁷⁹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

9 ft. 3 in. and 8 ft. wide respectively; a south-west tower 7 ft. 3 in. square, and a south porch, all measurements being internal. Previous to the 14th century the church appears to have consisted of an aisleless nave and a chancel of the same size as at present, or nearly so. Aisles were added to the nave in the 14th century, between 1325 and 1350, the north aisle being probably the first to be built. If they had predecessors no trace of them is now visible. The lower part of the tower, which carries on the lines of the south aisle and practically forms its western bay, belongs to the same period. The upper stages are of later date, and it may be that the work here was interrupted by the Black Death. The chancel arch was inserted towards the end of the 14th century, and at the beginning of the 15th century another scheme of enlargement was taken in hand. The tower was completed, a clearstory added to the nave, and the north wall of the north aisle was taken down and the aisle widened, the junction of the 14th and 15th-century work being still clearly visible at both ends of the aisle. Up to this time the aisles were probably roofed by an extension of the high-pitched nave roof, the line of which is to be seen on the east wall of the tower; but at the date of the widening of the north aisle, the new north wall of which was built higher than the old one, a low-pitched roof was put on the aisle, and at the same time the south aisle walls were raised and a similar roof constructed on this side of the church. The chancel seems to have been rebuilt or remodelled about the same time, and its windows and those of the aisles belong to this date. In modern times the tower has been largely restored and an outer steep-pitched roof put on the nave, but traces of both the older gables are to be seen on the west wall of the nave and less clearly on the east wall.

The chancel is lit by five three-light 15th-century windows, one to the east and two in the north and south walls. On either side of the east window is a modern canopied image niche designed from fragments found here and now preserved in a glass case in the north aisle. At the east end of the south wall is a small 15th-century piscina, and in the western jambs of the north-west and south-west windows are the openings of squints from both aisles. The chancel arch is of two orders, continuously moulded with a hollow chamfer and a double ogee and irregular half-octagonal moulded capitals.

The nave is of four bays. The north arcade, earlier in date than the other, has piers of four half-round shafts with hollow chamfers between and moulded capitals and bases. The arches are two-centred and of two moulded orders, with labels having grotesque drips over the piers, while at a considerable height above the crown of each arch is a two-light clearstory window of 15th-century date with a segmental head, trefoiled lights, and a deep external splay, the glass line being nearly in the middle of the wall. The south arcade is of the same detail, except in regard to the capitals, which are deeper and of a somewhat later section. This arcade is of three bays only, on account of the position of the tower at the west end of the south aisle, and there are also only three south clearstory windows. The west window of the nave is of 14th-century date, with three trefoiled lights and flowing tracery of late and rather clumsy design.

The north aisle has a three-light 15th-century east window, of the same design as those of the chancel, and two similar windows in the north wall, between which is the north door. This is of 14th-century detail, and must have been moved outwards when the aisle was widened. There is no west window to this aisle.

The south aisle has an east and a south window like those of the north aisle. At the east end of the south wall is a 14th-century piscina with a cinquefoiled head of two orders and a shelf. The south door is of the same date, with plain chamfered jambs and two-centred head, and opens to a contemporary south porch with a moulded outer arch, small square-headed windows on east and west, and stone benches.

In the western bay of the south aisle stands the tower, its eastern arch being of two wave-moulded orders which die into widely chamfered responds. The tower has, in its lowest stage, two small lancets very much modernized, and is of three stages with an embattled parapet, its external masonry being in great measure modern. The two-light belfry windows are very small, and have above them two quatrefoiled openings on each face, which are entirely in modern stonework.

The woodwork of the church is of no special interest. The nave roof, resting on stone corbels carved with shield-bearing angels, is of 15th-century style, with moulded tie-beams and carved brackets beneath them, and in the south porch is a good roof with 15th-century detail, ornamented with roses and a shield of the Hampden arms.

There is also a 17th-century Communion table, and within the altar rails two handsome carved oak chairs of about the same date. The font, in the north aisle, is circular and of 13th-century date with a circular moulded stem and cup-shaped fluted bowl, with a band of ornament round the upper edge. It belongs to a type developed from the local 12th-century form.

On the south wall of the chancel is a Purbeck slab to Elizabeth wife of John Hampden, 1634, daughter and sole heiress of Edmund Symeon of Pyrton in Oxfordshire. In the south aisle is a wall monument to Richard Hampden, 1662, and his wife Anne Lane, 1674, with a shield bearing the Hampden arms, impaling Party azure and gules three saltires argent, which are the arms of Lane.

In the chancel floor are the following brasses:—

The figures of John Hampden, esq., 1496, and his wife Elizabeth Sidney, with four sons and six daughters. On the slab are five shields: (1) Quarterly, 1st Hampden, 2nd and 3rd, Argent a chief gules and therein two harts' heads caboshed or, for Popham, 4th, Six lions; (2) Hampden impaling Or a pheon azure, for Sidney; (3) and (4) Sidney; and (5) Hampden.

Griffith Hampden, 1591, and Anne Cave his second wife, 1594. An inscription plate without figures. On a shield are the following coats: Quarterly, 1st, Hampden; 2nd, Popham; 3rd, Six lions; 4th, Hampden with a border azure for Hampden of Great Kimble; impaling: Quarterly, 1st and 4th Azure fretty argent, for Cave; 2nd and 3rd Ermine a bend with three boars' heads razed thereon.

William Hampden, 1597, son of Griffith Hampden, and Anne his wife; no figures. On a shield of twelve quarters: 1st, Hampden; 2nd, Popham; 3rd, Six lions; 4th, A lion; 5th, Three spear-heads; 6th, A chevron between three fleurs-de-lis; 7th,

STONE HUNDRED

LITTLE HAMPDEN

Sidney; 8th, Cave; 9th, Ermine on a bend three boars' heads razed; 10th, Three cheverons; 11th, A lion; 12th, A lion.

The figures of five sons and three daughters, with no inscription, but a shield with Azure three horses' heads cut off at the neck with their bridles or impaling Hampden, which shield commemorates the match of Sir Jerome Horsey, kt., with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Hampden and Anne Cave.

The figures of Sir John Hampden, kt., 20 December, 1553, Elizabeth Savage his first wife, Philippa Wilford his second wife, and three daughters. There are three shields: (1) Quarterly, 1st, Hampden; 2nd, Sidney; 3rd, Popham; 4th, Six lions; impaling: Argent a pale indented sable, for Savage; (2) The quartered coat as above; (3) The same, impaling Gules a chevron between three leopards' heads or with a ring on the chevron, for Wilford.

An inscription plate to William Hampden, Lord of Emmington, Oxfordshire, 1612.

On the north wall of the chancel is a large monument set up by Robert, afterwards first Viscount Hampden, in 1754, bearing a relief of the battle of

Chalgrove Field, at which John Hampden was mortally wounded. Above is a tree hung with sixteen shields showing the alliances of the Hampden family.

The grave which is said to be that of John Hampden was opened in 1828 in order to test the accuracy of the accounts of his death, but the results were not conclusive.

There are three bells, the treble by Taylor, 1906, and the other two of 1625 by Ellis Knight.

The plate consists of a chalice of 1805, a paten of 1804, and a plated flagon and second paten.

The only old book of registers contains baptisms from 1537 to 1812, burials 1557 to 1812, and marriages 1557 to 1752. The marriage register for 1752 to 1812 seems to be missing.

The church of St. Mary Magdalene¹⁰ is a rectory, the advowson of which was held by the Hampdens, and under the will of John Hampden passed to the Trevors in 1754 and to the Hobarts in 1824.¹¹ The Earl of Buckinghamshire is the patron of the living at the present day.

LITTLE HAMPDEN

Hambden (xiii cent.); Parva Hamdene (xiv cent.).

Little Hampden parish lies to the north-east of Great Hampden parish, on the Chiltern Hills, the greatest height being 778 ft. above the Ordnance datum.¹

The parish contains 115½ acres of wood, and the chief occupation of the inhabitants is farming, 285 acres being arable land and 84 acres permanent pasture.² The subsoil is chalk,³ and the surface clay and gravel.

The nearest station is at Great Missenden, on the Metropolitan Extension Railway. The village lies on a cross road running south from Ellesborough, the few houses of which it is composed being built on the western slope of a valley in the chalk hills, with the church at the south, looking out eastward over the Missenden valley. The lower slopes are covered with copses, but where the village stands is grass land, the road rising to the north and running across Little Hampden Common. Near the church is the Manor House, an old building, but with little to which a definite date can be given.

The greater part of the parish now forms part of Great and Little Hampden civil parish, which was formed by a Local Government Board Order dated 25 March 1885.

LITTLE HAMPDEN appears to have **MANOR** been originally included in the parish of Hartwell. In Domesday Book there is no distinction made between Great and Little Hampden. 'Hampden' was part of the land of William son of Ansculf, and later was united to the honour of Dudley,

to which Great Hampden alone belonged.⁴ It seems probable, therefore, that this entry in Domesday Book did not include Little Hampden, which was either omitted entirely, or else formed part of William Peverel's lands in Hartwell.

The latter supposition seems probable, because at the end of the 12th century Walter de Hertwell and his son Barnabas were said to hold one knight's fee in Hartwell;⁵ when they granted their land to William de Luton, the manors of Hartwell and Hampden were specified,⁶ but in 1302-3 Thomas de Luton still only held one knight's fee in Hartwell with Little Hampden.⁷ In 1316 they are also described as forming one township.⁸ Little Hampden is first mentioned separately in the grant referred to above,⁹ and from that time its descent followed that of the manor of Hartwell (q.v.) until the 17th century.¹⁰

Sir Thomas Lee, bart., of Hartwell, is said to have sold the manor of Little Hampden to Samuel Dodd in 1685.¹¹ Another account gives 1710 as the date of the sale.¹² In 1763 John Dodd held the manor of Little Hampden,¹³ and two years later, together with his son, he sold it to Robert Trevor, Viscount Hampden,¹⁴ who had taken the name of Hampden on inheriting the Hampden estates in 1753.¹⁵

On the death of John, third and last Viscount Hampden, in 1824, Little Hampden was left to Robert Trevor, the son of his cousin Mary Cock, who had married Robert Trevor of Tingrith.¹⁶

Robert Trevor died in 1834, leaving three daughters, none of whom married. On the death of the

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxiii. no. 47.

¹¹ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 81, no. 21; Recov. R. Trin. 11 Chas. I; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 26 Chas. II; Recov. R. Mich. 5 Geo. III.

¹² Ord. Surv.

¹³ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

¹⁴ V.C.H. Bucks. i, Geol. Map.

¹⁵ Ibid. 254b.

¹⁶ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 90, 109; Excerpta & Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.), 292.

¹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 55 Hen. III.

¹⁸ Feud. Aids, i, 97.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 55 Hen. III.

²⁰ In 1325 the manor of Little Hampden, with land in Hartwell, was granted to Nicholas de Luton and Joan his wife, by his father, Thomas de Luton. Nicho-

las afterwards succeeded his father as lord of both manors. Cal. Pat. 1324 7, p. 133.

²¹ Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. ii, 295.

²² Lysons, Mag. Brit. i, 571.

²³ Recov. R. Hil. 3 Geo. III.

²⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 5 Geo. III.

²⁵ G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

²⁶ Burke, Landed Gentry, 1906.

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youngest, Catherine, in 1871, the manor, under the will of Viscount Hampden, passed to the descendants of Matthew Cock, brother of Mary Cock.¹⁷

His granddaughter, Jane Letitia Crispin, married Charles Battye, but on inheriting the Trevor estates she took the name of Trevor-Battye. Her grandson,



BATTYE. *Sable a chevron argent between three goats argent, each having two roundels sable upon him, and a chief in-vecked or with a demi-man holding a club and cut off at the waist between two cinque foils gules therein.*



TREVOR. *Party bend-sinisterwise ermine and pean a lion countercoloured.*

Mr. Charles Edmund Augustine Trevor Trevor-Battye, is the present lord of the manor.

The church (dedication unknown) **CHURCH** stands on a somewhat contracted site, the ground falling rapidly from east to west, and consists of a chancel 15 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 10 in., a nave 20 ft. by 13 ft. 3 in., and a wooden north porch with an upper floor serving as a bell turret. Externally the nave and chancel are of equal width. The walling of the nave may be of the 12th century, and a carved fragment of that date is set in the chancel wall, but there is nothing in the architectural features to prove that any part of the structure is earlier than the 13th century. The chancel has been almost completely rebuilt in modern times, and its greater internal width as compared with the width of the nave is probably due to a thinning of the walls rather than to any process of rebuilding round a former chancel. The chancel arch has also been widened in modern times, the new crown being formed of brick. The south porch and bell-turret are apparently of 16th-century date, while about the end of the 18th century new windows were inserted in the nave and all the old ones destroyed.

The east window of the chancel is modern, of two trefoiled lights with 14th-century detail, and on either side of the chancel is a single trefoiled light, also modern. A third window at the west end of the north wall is a small lancet of 13th-century date, the sill of which forms the head of a small low side window, rebated for a frame, the hinges of which are still in its jamb. At the east end of the south wall is a 13th-century piscina with a chamfered pointed head and a label; on the face between the label and the chamfer is a band of running foliage ornament. In the same wall, a little to the west, is the 12th-century fragment already mentioned, a carving of a bishop or abbot in mass vestments, with his right hand raised in benediction, and holding a crozier in his left. There seem to be traces of an inscription above his head.

¹⁷ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

The pointed chancel arch is plain, of a single square order, and much mutilated.

The nave is lit by three plain pointed 18th-century two-light windows, two on the south and one on the west, the latter taking the place of an earlier window, of which a few traces remain, though not enough to show its character. Of the windows in the south wall, the westernmost is built in the place of the old south doorway, the lower part of the opening of which remains, blocked with brickwork. The only opening in the north wall is the north doorway, a plain arched opening with chamfered jambs and head, which may be of the 14th century.

The north porch is a picturesque half-timber structure of two stories, with a red-tiled gabled roof, and small louvred openings to the second stage, which contains the single bell. The arched entrance is formed of two naturally-curved pieces of timber, which are chamfered, and form a rough two-centred head.

The font is of 18th-century date, with a small round basin upon a slim baluster stem, and there are no fittings of any interest except the altar slab, now placed under the altar table. It has the five consecration crosses, but no detail from which it might be dated.

The roof of the nave also, though undoubtedly old, is so plain as to give no clue to its date.

The great interest of the church lies in the wall paintings in the nave, which are of various dates from the 13th century onwards. On either side of the chancel arch are figures under trefoiled canopies, of late 13th-century style, and on the south wall remains of a 14th-century Weighing of Souls. The figure of St. Michael is almost destroyed, but the scales are clearly visible, and also the figure of the devil pulling down the balance on the one side, while



LITTLE HAMPDEN CHURCH: THE NORTH PORCH

our Lady on the other seeks to counteract him. On the north wall is a mass of painting of various dates. There are two particularly finely drawn lions to a large scale and of 14th-century workmanship, and part of a large 15th-century figure of St. Christopher, while to the west of the north doorway is a very interesting figure, also representing St. Christopher, but of early 14th or late 13th-century style.

There is only one bell, which was cast by Thomas Mears in 1791.

The church plate consists of a chalice of 1771, a paten of 1861, and a pewter flagon and almsdish.

There are only two old books of registers, the first containing baptisms and burials from 1672, and marriages from 1701 to 1768, while the second book has the baptisms and burials from 1770 to 1812. The marriage register for this period is missing.

The church of Little Hampden *ADVOWSON* was appendant to the church of Hartwell.¹⁹ How closely the connexion was maintained is not certain, but presentations were made to the two churches together.²⁰ In 1754 there were, however, separate churchwardens for Little Hampden.²⁰

The ecclesiastical parishes were separated by an Order in Council dated 28 June 1892, and Little Hampden was then united with Great Hampden.

The advowson was held by the lords of the manor until the latter was sold to the family of Dodd. Sir Thomas Lee retained the advowson, and his descendants presented to the rectories of Hartwell and Little Hampden²¹ until the separation of the parishes. The Earl of Buckinghamshire now holds the advowson of the united living of Great and Little Hampden.

HARTWELL

Herdwelle (xi cent.) ; Hertwell (xiii cent.).

The parish of Hartwell lies in the Vale of Aylesbury, bordering on Aylesbury parish on the west. The height of the land varies from 200 ft. to 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum. Various streams run through the parish and join the River Thame, and there are several springs of water. The subsoil is London Clay, Kimmeridge Clay, and Portland Beds;¹ the surface soil is rich loam. The population is chiefly occupied in agriculture, on grazing farms or in market gardens. A large brick-kiln, however, provides work for a considerable number of men. The main road from Thame to Aylesbury passes through the parish, and the nearest station is also at Aylesbury. The common fields of Hartwell were inclosed under an Act of 16 George III, the award being given in 1779. The parish contains 918 acres;² 853 are laid down in permanent grass, and 234 are arable land.³ Various Anglo-Saxon remains have been dug up, chiefly consisting of iron weapons. The park in which Hartwell House stands takes up a great part of the parish, and the church is within its boundaries and close to the house. The old rectory is a pretty piece of early 18th-century brickwork with a well designed cornice. There is no village of Hartwell, but the chief collection of houses is known as Lower Hartwell, on

the north-west boundary of the park, and is composed for the most part of small half-timbered and thatched cottages.

Hartwell House is an interesting example of a mid-18th-century remodelling of an early 17th-century plan. The latter was evidently of the H form, with a main block standing east and west, about 105 ft. long, and east and west wings of about the same length, the main block joining the wings near their north ends; the wings extended southwards and formed two sides of a courtyard open to the south, with projecting buildings in the north-east and north-west angles, the former containing the principal staircase, while the site of the latter is now occupied by the chapel, an arrangement which may have existed in the older building. In the middle of the 18th



HARTWELL HOUSE : THE ENTRANCE FRONT

¹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 55 Hen. III; Recov. R. Trin. 14 Jas. I; *ibid.* Trin. 12 Chas. II.

²⁰ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1694.

²¹ Churchwardens' Acct. Bk. in possession of the rector of Great Hampden.

²² P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1694, 1793.

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geol. Map.

² Ord. Surv.

³ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905). These returns include land in other parishes.

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century the east front was rebuilt and the court between the wings on the south almost completely filled in with new rooms. The north front, however, with the exception of the parapet and cornice, retains its old character. The house is faced with wrought stone in two stories, and is entered from the north through a two-story porch in the middle of the front. The doorway has a panelled semicircular arch flanked by pilasters carrying an enriched frieze and cornice, and above it is an extremely handsome projecting semicircular oriel window, with stone mullions and transoms springing from a large conical corbel richly carved with lines of architectural ornament. The porch is flanked on either hand, but not with exact symmetry, with tall mullioned and transomed bay windows, that on the east side lighting the hall, and the other a room now the butler's pantry. Both bays have similar windows on the first floor. The hall has a large fireplace in the south wall, and is a handsome room somewhat over-decorated with plaster panels and ceiling during the 18th-century operations; it preserves none of its original fittings, all traces of the screens at the west having disappeared. At the south-east are doorways to the main staircase and to the breakfast-room. The north ends of the two wings of the house project some 15 ft. from the north front of the main block, and have, at what was the old first-floor level, large projecting bay windows resting on moulded corbel courses. The present first floor is at a higher level and cuts across the lower lights of the windows.

At the south-west of the hall a doorway, originally opening from the south end of the screens, now leads into a large semicircular lobby two stories in height, lit by a skylight and with a gallery running round at the first-floor level. The decoration of this is somewhat later in character than the other 18th-century work, being in the style of the brothers Adam. The great staircase south-east of the hall is part of the 17th-century house, and an unusually fine example of its style. The stairway is 8 ft. wide, all of oak and decorated at intervals by large panelled newels surmounted by statues of gods and heroes, &c., amongst them Samson with the Jawbone of the Ass and Hercules in his Lion Skin. A curious feature is that the swords and spears carried by these figures are loose and may be removed, possibly in order that, upon state occasions, they might be replaced by flambeaux. The breakfast-room, east of the hall, is panelled with 17th-century oak panelling in small squares. The east wing was presumably gutted in the 18th century and completely rearranged. The great chamber was probably at its north end lighted by the large bay window which still shows on the north front; the wing now contains the dining-room, drawing-room and library, all of which are decorated in a manner somewhat similar to the hall. The library in particular is an excellent piece of work, with ranges of white-painted book shelves with gilded wire screens, containing an interesting collection of books. From the east side of the library an observatory was built out early in the 19th century, but has now been pulled down. A chimney-piece in this wing

bears the date 1658, but its original position is uncertain.

On the first floor above the hall and beyond it to the west is the long gallery now used as a museum, and west again of this is a small bedroom completely panelled in 17th-century oak and furnished with some very fine carved oak, part of which came from the hall, and part was brought here in recent years. It also contains some good tapestry of about the same date.

The west wing is mainly occupied by the servants' quarters, and the space corresponding to the staircase on the east is taken up by a room formerly used as a chapel.

The entrance to the park, quite close to the house on the west, is by means of a monumental arch, in a range of 18th-century stabling. The house contains a number of good paintings by Vandyke, Reynolds, Kneller, &c., and collections of Egyptian antiquities, fossils, and illuminated manuscripts. Historically it is interesting as the abode of the exiled French court from 1810 to 1814, when its accommodation seems to have been severely tested, as some 140 persons were crowded into it and the outbuildings. Louis XVIII used the library as his reception-room, and the study and an adjoining room as his private apartments. The Prince and Princess de Condé inhabited and slept in the drawing-room, and the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême in the upper floor of the east wing. During the residence of the court the queen died, and the room over the library was fitted up for her lying in state. An interesting relic of this part of the history of the house is the confessional of the royal family in the room used by them as a chapel, and there are also pictures of the king and the Prince de Condé, the missal and lectern of the Archbishop of Toulouse, &c., and the names then given to the rooms are still to be seen painted over the bells, 'The King's Room,' 'The Queen's Room,' 'The Archbishop's Room,' and so forth.

Alwin, a thegn of King Edward, held *MANOR* the most important part of the township of *HARTWELL*.⁴ After the Norman Conquest this manor was granted to William Peverel, and in the Domesday Survey it was assessed at 6 hides and 3 virgates of land.⁵ It belonged to the honour of Peverel of Nottingham, which came into the hands of the Crown shortly after the accession of Henry II.⁶ In 1086 William Peverel had sub-infeudated Tekel with this manor.⁷ At the close of the 12th century Walter de Hertwell held one knight's fee of the honour of Peverel.⁸ He died before 1205, in which year Barnabas son of Walter gave the king 40 marks to have seisin of the knight's fee⁹ in Hartwell, which had belonged to his father Walter de Hertwell.¹⁰ Barnabas probably died before 1229, when Walter de Hertwell paid a fine to be quit of military service across the seas, due from his lands.¹¹ He also paid scutage in 1234.¹² Soon after this he was succeeded by William de Hertwell, who, however, died before 1247.¹³ In 1254 his heir was still a minor¹⁴ in the wardship of Ralph son of Nicholas, and was presumably the William son of William de Hertwell who held

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 253a.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b;
Pipe R. 2, 3 & 4 Hen. II (Rec. Com.), 39.

⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 253a.

⁸ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 109.

⁹ *Rot. de Finibus* (Rec. Com.), 292.

¹⁰ Little Hampden was included in this fee. See Little Hampden, and *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

¹¹ *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 220.

¹² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 258a.

¹³ *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. III*, no. 116.

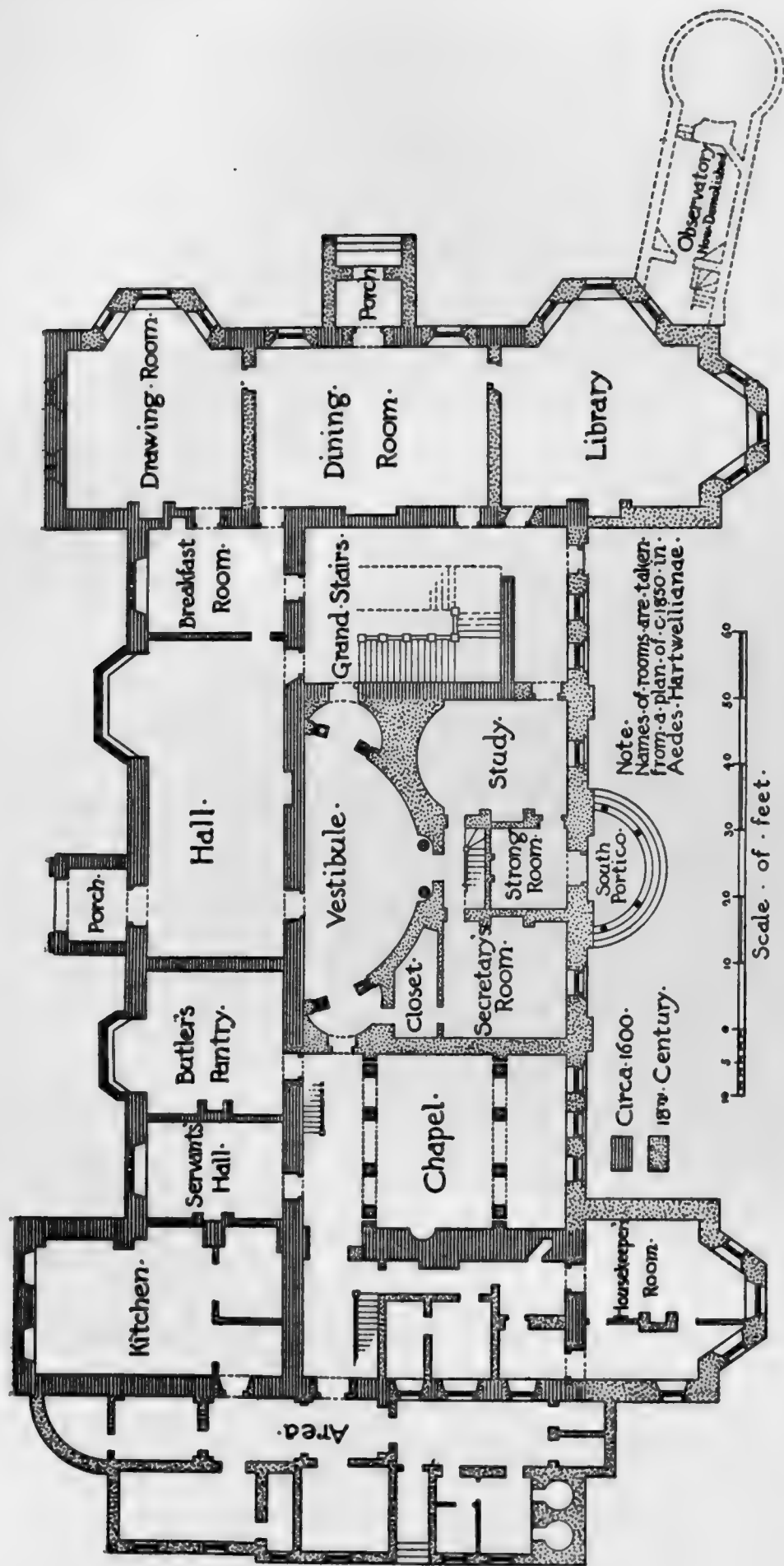
¹⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.



HARTWELL HOUSE : ENTRANCE PORCH ON NORTH FRONT



HARTWELL HOUSE : THE TAPESTRY ROOM



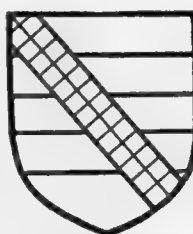
HARTWELL HOUSE : GROUND PLAN

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the manor in 1271.¹⁵ This William granted the manor to a sub-tenant in that year,¹⁶ and his descendants probably became the mesne lords of the manor. The de Lutons, the new demesne lords, held it of successive Hertwells,¹⁷ the last mention of them being in 1645.¹⁸ In 1271¹⁹ William de Luton and Alice his mother, who may have been a daughter of William de Hertwell the elder,^{19a} were joint grantees of the manor; William is mentioned as holding it in 1273²⁰ and Alice in 1280.²¹ The two are mentioned as joint tenants in the same reign.²² William de Luton appears in 1286 in a conveyance of land in Hertwell,²³ but Alice de Luton was seised of one knight's fee at her death in or before 1294.²⁴ Her son only lived till the next year, his heir Thomas being a minor.²⁵ Beatrix his widow held land in Hartwell as part of her dower,²⁶ and also had custody of Thomas's lands until he came of age in 1300.²⁷ A settlement was made in 1325, by which Thomas de Luton and Margery his wife were to hold the manor for their lives, with remainder to their son Nicholas and Joan his wife and the heirs of his body, and then with remainder to the right heirs of Nicholas.²⁸ Nicholas had already been granted 6 messuages and 3 virgates of land belonging to the manor.²⁹ Thomas and Margery both had died before 1346,³⁰ and Nicholas held the manor of Hartwell until 1359-60.³¹ He was succeeded by his son Robert who died *circa* 1391 leaving a boy of twelve as his heir.³² This boy was the last of the Lutons. He apparently died before coming of age, and the manor passed to the descendants of his sister Eleanor.³³ Her daughter Agnes was the heiress of the Lutons and married Sir Thomas Shingleton. Agnes also had an only daughter Elizabeth, who married Richard Hampden of Great Kimble.³⁴ After the death of Sir Thomas Shingleton his widow married again — Petite, and on her death in 1480 was succeeded by her grandson William Hampden.³⁵ Hartwell Manor was held by Thomas,³⁶ Jerome,³⁷ Michael,³⁸ and Alexander Hampden in turn.³⁹ On the death of Alexander in 1618-19 the manor passed to Thomas Lee, sen., of East Claydon, his kinsman.⁴⁰ The Lees of Hartwell held the manor without interruption⁴¹ until the death of the Rev. Sir George Lee, bart., in 1827.⁴² Under his will the manor passed to the descendants of William Lee, Lord Chief Justice of England, the second son of Sir Thomas Lee, bart., who died in 1690. The grandson of the Lord Chief

Justice died without direct heirs, having taken the name of Antonie instead of Lee.⁴³ John Fiott the son of his second sister Harriet, under the wills of his uncle William Lee Antonie and of Sir George Lee, succeeded to the estates of the Lee family, taking the name of Lee.

John Lee left no children, and his estates passed to his brother, the Rev. Nicholas Fiott, who then took the name of Lee. He died in 1858⁴⁴ and was succeeded by his son Lee Percyvale, who, however, died in the same year, the next heir being his brother, Colonel Edward Lee, the present lord of the manor.



LEE. Azure two bars or with a bend chequy or and gules over all.



FIOTT. Azure a chevron between three lozenges or with an anchor sable on the chevron.

The service by which the manor of Hartwell was held was complicated by the grant from the Hertwells to the Lutons.

The former held by military service of the honour of Peverel, performing, for Hartwell and Little Hampden, the service due from one knight's fee.⁴⁵

This service was afterwards performed directly to the lord of the honour of Peverel by the Lutons,⁴⁶ who held the manor of the Hertwells by a nominal yearly rent of one clove gillyflower.⁴⁷ This rent was mentioned so late as 1645.⁴⁸

The double service seems to have given rise to some confusion with regard to the overlordships, the Lutons and their successors being sometimes described as holding of the king in chief as of the honour of Peverel, and at other times as holding of the Hertwells.⁴⁹

The manor of Hartwell did suit to the court of the honour of Peverel.⁵⁰ The bailiffs of the honour held the pleas of replevin, the view of frankpledge, and also had the return of writs within the manor.

¹⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 55 Hen. III.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 33 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 104; Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 16, no. 7; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xlv, no. 43.

¹⁸ Ibid. (Ser. 2), Misc. dcccvii, 21 Chas. I, pt. 32 (101).

¹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 55 Hen. III.

^{19a} *Visitation of Bucks.* 1566 (ed. Metcalfe), 16.

²⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1 Edw. I.

²¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, p. 418; *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

²² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 44.

²³ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 14 Edw. I.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Edw. I, no. 17.

²⁵ Ibid. 23 Edw. I, no. 20.

²⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, p. 463.

²⁷ *Cal. Gen.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 614.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1324-7, p. 133; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 289; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 19 Edw. II, no. 11.

²⁹ Ibid. Mich. 19 Edw. I, no. 10.

³⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 29; *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.

³¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 33 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 104.

³² Ibid. 15 Ric. II, no. 1.

³³ *Harl. MS.* 5867, *Visit. of Bucks.* 1566.

Sir Robert Luton

Eleanor = Thos. Stokes

Thos. Shingleton = Agnes = Petite

Elizabeth = Ric. Hampden

William Hampden

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. IV, no. 34.

³⁶ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 16, no. 7.

³⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xlv, no. 43;

ibid. lxiii, no. 1.

³⁸ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Trin. 10 Eliz.; *Recov. R.* Mich. 3 Eliz.

³⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clvi, no. 3; *W. & L. Inq.* xiii, no. 117.

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. ccclxxvi, no. 96; *Recov. R.* Trin. 31 Jas. I; Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc. dcccvii, 21 Chas. I, pt. 32, no. 101.

⁴¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 12 Chas. II; *Recov. R.* Trin. 12 Chas. II; *Hil. 1 & 2 Jas. II*; *East. 23 Geo. II*; *Trin. 29 Geo. III*; *Mich. 42 Geo. III*.

⁴² *G.E.C. Complete Baronetage*.

⁴³ *Burke, Landed Gentry*, 1906. ⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 109, 585; *Rot. de Fin. et Oblat.* (Rec. Com.), 292.

⁴⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75, 113, 122.

⁴⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi,

no. 96.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Misc. dcccvii, 21 Chas. I, pt. 32,

no. 101.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 33 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 104; *Exch. Inq.* p.m. bdle. 16, no. 7; *Chan. Inq.* p.m. xlv, no. 43; ibid. clvi, no. 3; *W. & L. Inq.* xiii, no. 117; *Chan. Inq.* p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi, no. 96; ibid. Misc. dcccvii, 21 Chas. I, pt. 32, no. 101.

⁵⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

These liberties existed in the time of Henry II, and practically resulted in the exclusion of the sheriff and his officers from the manor.⁶¹

In 1280, however, Alice de Luton obtained the privilege of freedom from suit to the honour court for her life for her men whether free or bondsmen.⁶² She also was quit both of attendance from the view of frankpledge at the same court and of the payment of 8s. a year for her own view⁶³; she obtained leave to hold the assize of ale in her own court and to receive the fines for trespasses against it.⁶⁴

In Domesday Book several pieces of land are mentioned as belonging to Hartwell,⁶⁵ which were apparently at some later date severed from the parish. The manor held by the Hertwell and Luton families apparently included the whole of the later parish of Hartwell. In 1254 the fee contained 6½ hides, so that it had varied but little from the assessment in 1086, at 6 hides 3 virgates.⁶⁶

Besides this land belonging to the honour of Peverel, the Bishop of Bayeux held 4 hides in Hartwell, three of which Helto held of him, while the fourth was in the hands of Robert.⁶⁷

In the time of King Edward the 3 hides were held by three sokmen.⁶⁸ One, a man of Archbishop Stigand, held half a hide; the second, a man of Earl Leofwine, had 2 hides; and the third, a man of Avelin, held half a hide. Avelin, a thegn of King Edward, himself held the hide given to Robert after the Conquest.⁶⁹ This land presumably passed with the rest of the Bishop of Bayeux's land to the Munchesney family and belonged to their barony of Swanscombe. In 1302-3 Hugh de Vere, who had married Dionysia, the heiress of the Munchesneys, held half a knight's fee in Hartwell.⁷⁰ Aymer de Valence inherited the honour of Swanscombe, and in 1346 his widow held this half fee.⁷¹ This land may perhaps be identified with the manor of West Orchard in the township of Hartwell in the parish of Stone.⁷² Walter de Vernon also held half a hide of land in Hartwell of the king in chief in 1086. He had succeeded Turgot, a thegn of King Edward.⁷³ Another 2 hides were held in chief by William the chamberlain, and Robert held them as his sub-tenant. Previously Wlmar, a priest of King Edward, had held this land.⁷⁴

The church of *THE ASSUMPTION CHURCH OF OUR LADY* is a curious structure, begun in 1753 and finished in 1755, the chapter-house of York Minster having been taken as the source of its design, though the details are founded on 15th-century work. It consists of an octagonal nave with a small eastern sanctuary with a tower above it, balanced by a similar tower set against the west side of the octagon.

The east window is a very poor thing of five lights, and there are three-light windows with 15th-century tracery in the north-west, south-east, north-east, and south-west faces, with shafted jambs and crocketed and finialled labels, all executed in plaster. There are north and south doors, and the building is further

lighted by quatrefoiled openings over both doors and windows. The principal entrance is from the west, the lowest stage of the tower forming a porch. Over the inner door, and opening into the body of the church, is a small gallery serving as a private pew to the Lee family, who built the church.

The ceiling is of plaster in the form of elaborate fan vaulting springing from the internal angles. There are no fittings in the church of any interest.

Beneath the church is a vault, and over the north and south doors are two boards bearing painted inscriptions commemorating those whose remains were placed there at the building of the church, having been removed from the old structure, and many whose bodies have been placed there since. The earliest names recorded are those of Sir Alexander Hampden, buried in 1617, and Dame Elizabeth Hampden his widow, buried in 1675. Amongst others also recorded are Sir Richard Ingoldsby of Waldrige, Buckinghamshire, buried 1685, and his wife Dame Elizabeth Ingoldsby, who was also the widow of Thomas Lee of Hartwell. Sir Thomas Lee, bart., son of Sir Thomas Lee of Dinton, 1690, and many more of the same family, notably Sir William Lee, kt., Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died 1754, who contributed £1,000 towards the cost of the church.

The tower contains three bells, the treble by Richard Chandler, 1691, the second by Warner, 1906, and the tenor is inscribed R. S., Esq., 1715.⁷⁵

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and burials from 1550 to 1741 and marriages from 1553 to 1743. This book also contains the burials in woollen from 1678 and also an interesting list of the inhabitants of the parish in 1730. The second book contains baptisms and burials from 1742 to 1812, and there is a MS. marriage book containing entries from 1754 to 1812.

The church of the Assumption of *ADVOUWSON* the Virgin Mary,⁷⁶ in the parish of Hartwell, is a rectory, the chapel of Little Hampden being appendant to it until 1892. The separation took place by Order in Council, dated 28 June 1892, and by a second Order, dated 18 August in the same year, the rectory of Hartwell and the vicarage of Stone were united.⁷⁷ The advowson has apparently always been held by the lords of the manor. The Lutons in the 14th century made a settlement of the manor and advowson,⁷⁸ and from them it passed successively to the Hampdens⁷⁹ and the Lees.⁸⁰ Some time before the Reformation an acre of land was given in Hartwell to provide a light; it was worth 8d. a year in the 16th century.⁸¹

Louis XVIII, King of France, *CHARITIES* who resided at Hartwell House for several years during the French Wars, forwarded to Sir George Lee, bart., £100 to be applied for the benefit of the poor of the parishes of Hartwell and Stone. The gift is represented by £117 consols, with the official trustees. The dividends amounting

⁶¹ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 31.

⁶² *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, p. 418.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

⁶⁶ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 31.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 122.

⁷² See Stone.

⁷³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 265b.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 266b.

⁷⁵ See Cocks, *Cb. Bells of Bucks*,

437.

⁷⁶ De Banco R. Chart. Enr. Trin. 15. Hen. VIII, m. 1 d.

⁷⁷ From inform. supplied by Rev. J. L. Challis, vicar of Stone.

⁷⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 19 Edw. II.

⁷⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clvi, no. 3.

⁸⁰ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1662, 1802.

⁸¹ Chant. Cert. Bucks. 5, no. 2.

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to £2 18s. 4d. are distributed at Christmas in sums of 2s. 6d. to 6s. to widows and labourers.

'Dr. Lee's Charity' consists of £112 13s. 4d. consols, with the official trustees, bequeathed, 1868, by will of Cecilia, wife of the late John Lee, LL.D.,

of Hartwell House. The dividends amounting to £2 16s. 4d. are, under a declaration of trust, 1889, applied by the rector and churchwardens for the benefit of the poor not in receipt of parochial relief, usually in the distribution of coals.

GREAT KIMBLE

Chenebella (xi cent.); Kenebell (xiii cent.); Magna Kynebell (xiii cent.); Magna Kymbell (xvi cent.).

The parish of Great Kimble lies on the north-western slope of the Chiltern Hills and stretches down to the Vale of Aylesbury in the north. In the upland part of the parish the subsoil is chalk¹ and the surface soil chalk and flints. In the Vale the subsoil is Upper Greensand and Gault² and the surface soil is stiff clay. The farms in this part of the parish mainly consist of pasture lands, 1,015 acres being laid down, in all, in permanent grass. There are, however, 1,019½ acres of arable land in the parish.³

The highest point in the hills is the camp in Pulpit Wood, which reaches the height of 813 ft. above the

ordnance datum, while Kimblewick in the northern part of the parish is less than 300 ft. above it.⁴ A brook connecting with the moat at Grange Farm runs northwards to Bonny Brook in Little Kimble parish. The latter brook also passes through Marsh, a hamlet in the north of Great Kimble parish. The road from High Wycombe to Aylesbury runs through the village of Great Kimble and at this part of its route follows the Upper Icknield Way. The Lower Icknield Way also runs through the parish. The nearest station is at Little Kimble, on the Aylesbury branch of the Great Western Railway.

There are two hamlets in the parish, Kimblewick and Marsh. On Pulpit Hill is an ancient camp and

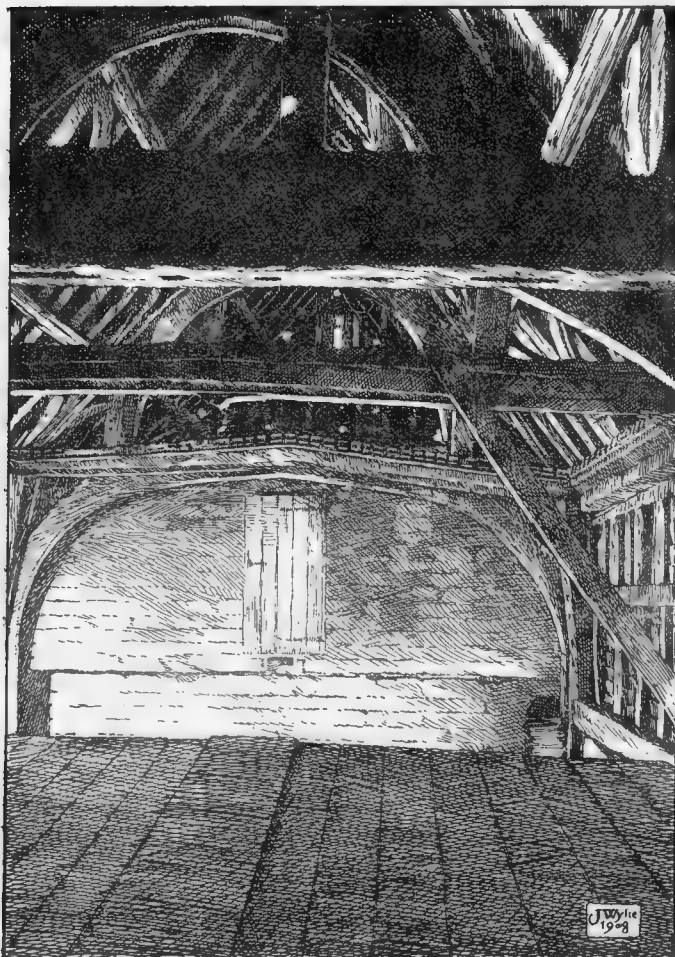
there are entrenchments and a mound to the north of the church, close to the churchyard boundary. There is a moat at Grange Farm near Great Kimble village, and at Marsh a large moat remains, but the house or buildings which it once surrounded have disappeared.

Near the church to the north-west is a large 15th-century wooden structure now used as a barn, but possibly once the church house. It is covered externally with weather boarding, but this is comparatively modern and any windows which may have been in the walls have disappeared. The roof, however, is fairly complete, and its moulded and embattled timbers are too elaborate to have belonged merely to a barn. It is of steep pitch, supported by a number of more or less restored principals with moulded tie-beams, purlins, braces, &c.

The parish of Great Kimble, together with Ellesborough and Little Kimble, was inclosed under an Act of Parliament of 43 George III; the inclosure award was dated 2 May 1805.⁵

In 1885 all the parish of Little Kimble and part of Little Hampden were united with Great Kimble parish. The area of the present civil parish of Great and Little Kimble is 3,415 acres,⁶ but in 1831 the old parish of Great Kimble was returned as containing 2,570 acres.⁷

In the time of Edward *MANORS* the Confessor, Sired, one of the king's thegns, held *GREAT KIMBLE*,⁸ but after the Norman Conquest it formed part of the broad lands granted to Walter Giffard.⁹



GREAT KIMBLE : FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BUILDING NOW
USED AS A BARN

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Inf. from Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

⁴ *Ord. Surv.*

⁵ *Common Inclosure Awards.*

⁶ *Ord. Surv.*

⁷ *Pop. Ret.* 1831, i, 26.

⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Walter also held 2 hides of land in Hartwell, which may perhaps have later become part of the parish of Great Kimble.¹⁰ They were granted to the same sub-tenant, Hugh de Bolebec, so that such a transference seems possible, since no land in Hartwell appears to have belonged to Walter Giffard's descendants.¹¹ The 2 hides had not, however, been added to Great Kimble in 1254, when it was said to contain 20 hides,¹² the same assessment having been made in the Domesday Survey.¹³

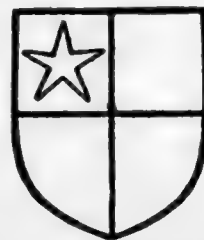
Walter Giffard was made Earl of Buckingham,¹⁴ and his lands formed the honour of Giffard, of which Crendon, in the hundred of Ashendon, was the head in England.¹⁵ On the death of the second earl, Walter Giffard, in 1164,¹⁶ the honour came into the hands of the Crown.¹⁷ It was not divided amongst the descendants of Rohais, daughter of the first earl, until the reign of Richard I.¹⁸ Her heirs were William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford.¹⁹ Crendon went to the Clares, but Great Kimble formed part of the Marshals' moiety.²⁰ In 1254 the overlordship of the three knights' fees in Kimble was held by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester,²¹ in dower, together with his wife Eleanor, the widow of the second William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.²² On the death of the last Earl Marshal without children, Great Kimble was assigned to Eva de Braose, one of his sisters and co-heiresses.²³ Eleanor outlived Eva, but in 1275 the escheator was ordered to deliver her purparty to the heirs of Eva, who were Roger Mortimer and his wife Maud, Eudo la Zouche and his wife Milicent, John de Hastings and Humphrey de Bohun.²⁴ None of these heirs, however, seem to have obtained the overlordship of the fees in Kimble, and in 1284-6 it was held in chief by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,²⁵ inheriting them from Isabel, another sister of the Earl of Pembroke.²⁶ Thus Great Kimble was united with the other moiety of the honour of Giffard, of which Crendon was the head.

In the 14th century these fees seem to have been claimed by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.²⁷ He had inherited the lands of the Munchesney family,²⁸ and Warine de Munchesney had married Joan, one of the five sisters of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.²⁹ Aymer had thus a claim equal to that of Eva de Braose and the Earl of Gloucester to the three fees in Kimble, but they do not seem to have been divided, since in 1403 Edmund Earl of Stafford is said definitely to hold three knights' fees.³⁰ In spite of this Aymer de Valence,³¹ his co-heiress Elizabeth Comyn, and her husband Richard Talbot,³² and their son Gilbert, are all said to have held knights' fees in Kimble.³³

Walter Giffard sub-infeoffed Hugh de Bolebec of his land in Great Kimble.³⁴ Hugh was succeeded by his son, another Hugh, who confirmed various grants made by sub-tenants to the abbey of Missenden,³⁵ and in 1166 he held twenty knights' fees of the honour of Giffard.³⁶ He was succeeded by Walter de Bolebec.³⁷ The latter died before 1190-1, leaving only daughters. One of these, Isabella, was in the wardship of Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford.³⁸ She married his eldest son Robert, and became Countess of Oxford in his right.³⁹ Early in the 13th century she held the mesne overlordship of three knights' fees in Great Kimble,⁴⁰ which was inherited by her son,⁴¹ and was held by the de Veres until the abolition of feudal tenures.⁴² In 1632 Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, died seised as overlord of three knights' fees, his lands passing to his son and heir Aubrey.⁴³

The chief sub-tenant in Great Kimble under Hugh de Bolebec early in the 12th century appears to have been Giffard Palefridus of Kimble. He granted the church of Great Kimble⁴⁴ to the abbey of Missenden shortly after its foundation in 1133,⁴⁵ with a virgate of land and meadow. His son, William Giffard, or William son of Giffard de Kimble, confirmed this grant,⁴⁶ and his grandson Richard Giffard made additional grants.⁴⁷ Hugh de Kimble, presumably the son of Richard Giffard, died about 1205-6, when a regant of the wardship of his heir was made to Adam de Essex.⁴⁸ John son of Hugh de Kimble made large grants in the parish to the abbey and to various members of his family.⁴⁹ His mother Amice married Geoffrey Crok, and they obtained from John a grant in fee for the yearly rent of 2d. of one-third of one knight's fee, and one 'yoke' of land⁵⁰ in Kimble. This must have been the land that hitherto Amice had held in dower for life, and since she would be entitled to dower in one-third of her husband's whole estate, he must have held one knight's fee in demesne during his life. John de Kimble seems to have left no sons at his death, since shortly after the grant to Geoffrey Crok, the tenants of the three fees were Emma and Maud, who may have been his daughters and heiresses.⁵¹

From this time the land was held by tenants in demesne in three knights' fees. The Abbot of Missenden held one of these,⁵² obtained mainly from alienations made by Giffard Palefridus and his successors and tenants. The other two were in the



VERE, Earl of Oxford.
Quarterly gules and or
with a molet argent in the
quarter.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 31.

¹³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

¹⁴ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹⁵ *Cart. Antiq. (P.R.O.)*, S. 29.

¹⁶ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹⁷ *Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.)*, 37.

¹⁸ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹⁹ *Cart. Antiq. (P.R.O.)*, S. 29.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 31.

²² *Cal. of Close, 1272-9*, p. 190.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

²⁵ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

²⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 17 Edw. II, no. 75.

²⁷ Cf. Dinton.

²⁸ *De Banco R.* 434, m. 308.

²⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 4 Hen. IV, no. 41.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 17 Edw. II, no. 75.

³¹ *Cal. of Close, 1323-7*, pp. 273-4; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 20 Ric. II, no. 51.

³² *Ibid.* 7 Hen. V, no. 68.

³³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

³⁴ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

³⁵ *Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.)*, 312.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 54, 71.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 71.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 138; *Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 75.

³⁹ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 247.

⁴⁰ *Cal. of Close, 1272-9*, p. 190; *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* i, 122; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 10 Ric. II, no. 38; *ibid.* 38 & 39 Hen. VI, no. 39; *Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle.* 25, no. 11; *Feet of F. Bucks. East.* 26 Eliz.

⁴² *Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2)*, cccclxxiii no. 15.

⁴³ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 369a.

⁴⁵ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Rot. de Fin. et Oblat. (Rec. Com.)*, 318.

⁴⁸ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁴⁹ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 12 Hen. III, no. 26.

⁵⁰ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 31.

⁵¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

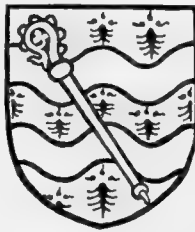
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

hands of Walter de Upton and Robert Fitz Neel,⁶⁸ who may possibly have obtained them by marriage with the descendants of John son of Hugh de Kimble.

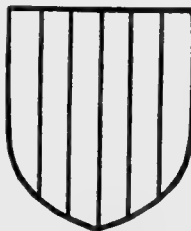
In 1254 the Abbot of Missenden was said to hold 4 hides of land in Great Kimble of the gift of John de Westhull.⁶⁴ The charter of John de Westhull is given in the Missenden cartulary, but the abbey only obtained some of its lands in Great Kimble from this benefactor.⁶⁵ In 1284 the abbot held one fee in Great Kimble of the Earl of Oxford,⁶⁶ and in 1330 in an extent of the possessions of the abbey this land is called the manor of Great Kimble.⁶⁷ After the dissolution of Missenden Abbey, the manor of Great Kimble was granted in 1541 to Michael Dormer, with all the lands belonging to the abbey in Great and Little Kimble.⁶⁸ The Dormers held the manor until 1579-80, when William Dormer sold the reversion to Griffith Hampden.⁶⁹ William Hampden died seised of this manor,⁶⁹ and it passed to his descendants with Uptons Manor (q.v.).

In the 13th century *FENEL'S GROVE* or *WHITINGHAM'S MANOR* was held by the family of Fitz Neel, but it is not clear how they became possessed of it.

In a charter granting land to Missenden Abbey in the time of Henry II, Richard Fitz Neel is mentioned as a previous donor of land to the abbey,⁶¹ and Hugh de Bolebec in a charter confirming the alienation of the church calls him 'his man.'⁶² Robert Fitz Neel witnessed various charters to the abbey in the reign of Henry III,⁶³ and held one knight's fee in Great Kimble in 1284-6.⁶⁴ He had a son named Walter, who held land in Great Kimble.⁶⁵ Robert Fitz Neel held the fee in 1302-3 and 1316,⁶⁶ and must presumably have been his son or grandson. Robert Fitz Neel died before 1345, leaving an only daughter, Grace, the wife of Sir John Nowers.⁶⁷ She held the fee in 1346,⁶⁸ but died in 1350, and John son of John de Nowers was her heir, at that time still a minor.⁶⁹ He, however, released the manor to



MISSENDEN ABBEY.
*Barry wavy ermine and
sable with a crosier or
bendwise.*



FITZ NEEL. *Paly
argent and gules.*

King Edward III, and Sir Ingelram de Couci, Earl of Bedford, who had married the king's eldest daughter Isabella or Elizabeth.⁷⁰ The earl had come to England as one of the hostages for King John of France, but had risen to great favour with Edward III. On the accession of Richard II he resigned his earldom to the king and gave up all his English land on retiring to France.⁷¹ His wife, however, remained in England, and held the manor till her death, which took place before 1382.⁷² Richard II then granted the manor to Queen Anne for her life.⁷³

Henry IV apparently granted it to Queen Joan, who held it in dower in 1425.⁷⁴ He granted the reversion of the manor to his second son John Duke of Bedford, and the grant was confirmed by Henry V, the manor to remain to the duke and the heirs of his body.⁷⁵ On the death of the duke in 1435,⁷⁶ the manor passed to his nephew and heir Henry VI,⁷⁷ one-third being held in dower by Jaquetta of Luxembourg, the widow of Bedford.⁷⁸ The king in 1439 sold the manor, which at this time was known by the name of Fenel's Grove, to Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, to hold for the rent of 1*d.* a year.⁷⁹ The same year the bishop sold it to Robert Whitingham, Squire of the Household, and servant of Henry VI.⁸⁰ Various confirmations of this grant were obtained from the king.⁸¹ Whitingham was succeeded by Sir Robert Whitingham, his son, who was attainted on the accession of Edward IV, and forfeited his lands.⁸² John Verney and his wife Margery, the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert, attempted to recover Fenel's Grove as part of her inheritance.⁸⁴ Although their son, Sir Ralph Verney, was said to be the overlord of the manor in 1516,⁸⁵ it seems very improbable that the Verneys ever recovered possession. In 1499 Richard Whitingham was in seisin,⁸⁶ and a long lawsuit ensued between him and Richard Empson, John Danvers, Thomas Hasilwode, John Dey, and William Woodward; Empson and the other plaintiffs appear to have recovered seisin of the manor of Fenel's Grove or Whitingham's Manor in Great Kimble, after the proceedings had lasted for four years.⁸⁷ On Empson's attainder after the death of Henry VII, the 'manor of Kimble' was granted to Thomas Parre and Matilda his wife for life.⁸⁸ The estates of his father were, however, restored to Thomas Empson by Act of Parliament,⁸⁹ and he recovered the manor of Fenel's Grove amongst them. In 1538 he sold it to Michael Dormer, Alderman of London,⁹⁰ who died seised in 1545.⁹¹ Geoffrey Dormer sold the manor in 1555 to William Serjeant.⁹² Richard Serjeant was the eldest son and heir of William at the latter's death in

⁶⁸ See Uptons Manor and Fenel's Grove.

⁶⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁶⁵ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

⁶⁷ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 379 (12).

⁶⁹ *Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), A. 6019; Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 22 Eliz.

⁷⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), ccxlviii, no.

39.

⁶¹ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

⁶⁵ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁶⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 96, 113.

⁶⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 5 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 75; *ibid.* 23 Edw. III (pt. 1), no. 85.

⁶⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.

⁶⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 23 Edw. III (pt. 1), no. 85; *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 413. Robert the eldest son of Grace, on whom the land was settled by Robert Fitz Neel, was unable to manage his lands, having been hit on the head with a lance at certain jousts. He apparently had died before 1350.

⁷⁰ *Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), A. 387.

⁷¹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁷² *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 203.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 203, 529.

⁷⁴ *Chart. R.* 3 & 4 Hen. V, no. 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁷⁷ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 317.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, pp. 260, 520.

⁷⁹ *Parl. R.* vi, 317.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ See Dinton.

⁸⁴ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 317.

⁸⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), lxxvii, no. 123.

⁸⁶ *De Banco R.* Mich. 15 Hen. VII, m. 310, 361.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Hil. 19 Hen. VII, m. 21; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 15 Hen. VII; *ibid.* Mich. 19 Hen. VII.

⁸⁸ *Pat. 2 Hen. VIII*, pt. 1, m. 8.

⁸⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xvii, 365.

⁹⁰ *Close*, 30 Hen. VIII, pt. 2, no. 16.

⁹¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no.

10.

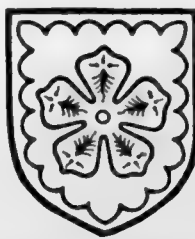
⁹² Feet of F. Bucks. East. 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary.

1562,⁹⁸ but four years later William Serjeant, sen., held Fenel's Grove.⁹⁹ He alienated parts of the manor during his life—a third to John Stampe and Isabel his wife in 1594–5,¹⁰⁰ and two-thirds to his son William and his wife Elizabeth.¹⁰¹ This William, however, seems to have held the whole manor, but alienated it in 1626 to Edward Symeon and others.¹⁰² These were probably trustees for some settlement made by John Hampden, who married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Edward Symeon.¹⁰³ Four years later William Serjeant died seised of lands and tenements in Great and Little Kimble, but not of this manor.¹⁰⁴ By 1653 it was held by Richard Hampden, the son of John Hampden the patriot;¹⁰⁵ he also held the other manors in Great Kimble, and the manor of Fenel's Grove from this time was held with Uptons Manor (q.v.).

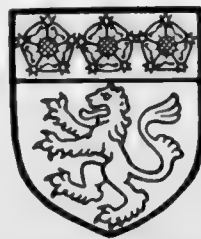
In 1284 Walter de Upton held his fee, afterwards known as *UPTONS MANOR*, in Great Kimble¹⁰¹ alone, but in 1302–3 he held it jointly with Hugh the Marshal,¹⁰⁹ and the manor apparently was divided from this time; but whether Hugh was a tenant of Walter de Upton, or whether they both held of the Earls of Oxford, does not appear.

Walter de Upton died between 1316 and 1346,¹⁰⁸ and John de Upton his heir died in his lifetime, leaving a daughter Joan,¹⁰⁴ whose husband Roger Blome held the fee in 1346.¹⁰⁶ His son John Blome died in 1349, but according to the inquisition made on his death, he only held lands and tenements in Great Kimble of the Earl of Oxford.¹⁰⁶ His daughter and heiress Matilda¹⁰⁷ married William Noble.¹⁰⁶ She died in 1377,¹⁰⁸ and William held her lands till his death,¹¹⁰ when they passed to the descendants of Amice, sister of John de Upton,¹¹¹ who had married one of the Hampdens of Great Hampden. The Uptons' land in Great Kimble descended to her great-grandson John Hampden.¹¹² Richard, the eldest son of John Hampden, married Elizabeth Shingleton, the heiress of the Lutons, and thus obtained the manor of Hartwell,¹¹³ and in consequence the land in Great Kimble passed to his younger brother Thomas, who died seised of the 'manor of Great Kimble' in 1485.¹¹⁴ Richard Hampden, his son and heir, held the manor, and also died seised in 1527, leaving two daughters, Ethelreda or Audrey and Sybil.¹¹⁵ The manor of Great Kimble was left to the elder daughter Audrey, who had first married William Hampden of Dunton, a member of another branch of the family, and secondly Griffin Richards.¹¹⁶ The latter held the manor for life with succession to Audrey and her heirs by William Hampden, her late husband.¹¹⁷ This settlement was made in 1537.¹¹⁸ John Hampden, the second son of

Audrey, inherited the Kimble estates, and died seised of the manor in 1558.¹¹⁹ The Hampdens held the manor until 1725–6, when Richard Hampden of Great Hampden, having incurred debts to the Crown, was, under Act of Parliament, forced to sell his four manors in Great Kimble, Uptons being the principal manor.¹²⁰ The trustees sold them in 1730 by public auction to Sarah, Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, who left the manor of Great Kimble by will to her grandson John Spencer.¹²¹ His son John Spencer, first Earl Spencer, succeeded him, but sold it in 1803 to a Mr. Richford, who conveyed it the same year to Scrope Bernard, afterwards Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, bart.¹²² The latter held it at his death in 1830, but it was shortly sold to Sir George Russell, bart.,¹²³ and at the present day it is in the hands of the



ASTLEY. *Azure a cinquefoil ermine in a border engrailed or.*



RUSSELL. *Argent a lion gules and a chief sable with three roses argent therein.*



FRANKLAND. *Azure a dolphin or and a chief or with two saltires gules therein.*

trustees of his descendant, Mr. Henry Frankland-Russell-Astley, a minor.¹²⁴

Ralph the Marshal held the manor of *MARSHALS* in Great Kimble in 1290,¹²⁵ and in 1302–3 Hugh the Marshal appears as a sub-tenant of part of the fee that Walter de Upton had previously answered for alone.¹²⁶ In 1346 his land had passed to Thomas Marshal.¹²⁷ Sir Michael Dormer held the manor of Marshals in the 16th century, and on his death in

⁹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxxxiv, no. 189.

⁹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 37 Eliz.; East. 43 Eliz.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. Bucks. Hil. 37 Eliz.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. East. 43 Eliz.

¹⁰² Ibid. Co. Undef. East. 2 Chas. I.

¹⁰³ Dict. Nat. Biog. xxiv, 254.

¹⁰⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclvi, no. 49.

¹⁰⁵ Recov. R. Mich. 1653.

¹⁰⁶ Feud. Aids, i, 75.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. i, 96.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. i, 113, 122.

¹⁰⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. IV, no. 13.

¹¹⁰ Feud. Aids, i, 122.

¹¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 31 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 42.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid. 11 Hen. IV, no. 13.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 15 Ric. II (pt. 1), no. 50.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 11 Hen. IV, no. 13.

¹¹⁷ The exact descent is difficult to trace. In the Hampden pedigree (Lipcomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 302), Amice is said to have married Richard Hampden, younger son of Sir Reginald Hampden. In an inquisition (Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. IV, no. 13), however, made in 1409, she is said to be the mother of Richard Hampden; her husband must in this case have been Reginald Hampden. The wife of the latter in the pedigree quoted above was Nicola, daughter of John Grenville,

but he may quite possibly have had two wives.

¹¹⁸ See Hartwell.

¹¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), i, no. 154.

¹²⁰ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 25, no. 11.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. and Mich. 29 Hen. VIII.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 51, no. 21.

¹²⁵ Priv. Act of Parl. 12 Geo. I.

¹²⁶ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 588.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.*

¹²⁹ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

¹³⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 18 Edw. I.

¹³¹ Feud. Aids, i, 96.

¹³² Ibid. 122.

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1545 it passed to his son Thomas.¹²⁸ Godfrey Dormer held it in 1558,¹²⁹ but probably his son William Dormer sold the reversion in 1579-80 to Griffith Hampden, who died seised of the manor.¹³⁰ On the death of William Hampden, the son of Griffith, he was found to be seised of a capital messuage¹³¹ or farm in Kimble called Marshals, which was probably the manor of Marshals. This had been acquired by purchase from William Dormer by an indenture dated 25 January 1579-80. From this time the manor passed with the manor of Uptons (q.v.).¹³²

The view of frankpledge in Great Kimble was held by the chief overlords. The bailiffs of the honour of Giffard held two views in Great Kimble,¹³³ this right being preserved by the Dukes of Buckingham till the 15th century.¹³⁴ On the forfeiture of their land, Henry VIII gave these courts to Edward, Prince of Wales, who held the view of frankpledge about 1548.¹³⁵

The lords of the honour held other important regalia. Their bailiffs held the pleas of replevin and their tenants paid no hidage to the king, nor did they do suit to the shire and hundred courts.¹³⁶

In the 13th century John son of Hugh de Kimble granted his mill in Great Kimble to Gilbert Martel,¹³⁷ who in turn granted it to the abbey of Missenden.¹³⁸ Gilbert Martel held the mill and its appurtenances for homage and service and 1 lb. of pepper paid yearly at Michaelmas, for all services, except the foreign service due to the king from two acres of land.¹³⁹ The abbot held as a sub-tenant of Martel, paying 6d. a year for the mill and all the land belonging to it.¹⁴⁰

The church of *ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH* consists of a chancel 26 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 3 in. with north and south chancel aisles 8 ft. and 6 ft. 5 in. wide respectively; a nave 52 ft. 6 in. by 19 ft. with north and south aisles 6 ft. and 5 ft. 5 in. wide respectively; a western tower 10 ft. 10 in. square and a south porch, all measurements being internal. The early history of the church has been much obscured by recent drastic restorations, but sufficient remains to show that the aisles were added about the middle of the 13th century, at which time the nave was of the same size as at present. The old chancel has, however, completely disappeared, and the present chancel arch belongs to the early years of the 14th century.

At about the same time the tower was added, while the aisles of the chancel were built somewhat later in the 14th century. In the 15th century the clearstory was added, while in modern times the south aisle, tower, and chancel arcading have been practically rebuilt, the external surface renewed, and much new material inserted throughout.

The east window of the chancel is modern and of three trefoiled lights with cusped circular lights over and shafted jambs. On the north are two bays of arcading of 14th-century detail with obtuse two-centred arches of two hollow chamfered orders. The column is of four half-round shafts with round fillets between with circular capitals and bases, while the responds have half-octagonal corbel capitals with carved heads. Such old work as remains in the

arcade is of mid-14th-century date. There is a similar arcade of two bays on the south, but of slightly different detail and not quite as much renewed. The chancel arch is of two wave-moulded orders with a modern label to the west and responds of three half-round shafts with moulded capitals and bases.

The north aisle of the chancel is lit by three modern windows of 13th-century type, a single lancet to the east and double and triple lancets on the north. At the west is a modern arch to the north aisle of the nave.

The south chancel aisle is used as a chapel and is also lit by three modern windows, that to the east being a single lancet with an elaborately moulded rear arch. The two on the south are double lancets, and that to the east has a modern piscina drain in its sill. Between these two windows is a small modern door, and there is an arch to the nave aisle similar to that on the north.

The nave is of four bays, and both arcades are of the same detail and date. The arches are two-centred and of two orders with plain and hollow chamfers, both orders being stopped at the springing. The columns are octagonal with excellently moulded capitals and bases on square plinths. Above the arcade and on a level with the sills of the clearstory windows are a series of small plain corbels, the supports of a former roof. The clearstory windows, three on either side, are on the north single trefoiled lights of 15th-century date; those on the south are modern and of two cinquefoiled lights. The tower arch is of three chamfered orders, the innermost resting on carved corbels, the outer pair dying into plain square responds.

The north aisle of the nave has on the north three windows, each of two trefoiled lights under a square head. The east and west of the three windows are of late 14th-century date much restored, but the middle one has hardly an old stone remaining. Between the pair to the west is the north door, much restored, and with plain chamfered head and jambs. The west window is a modern lancet.

The south aisle has three modern windows to the south, each of two cinquefoiled lights with square heads and quatrefoiled spandrels, while the west window is a much restored 13th-century lancet. The south door, between the westernmost pair of windows, is modern and of two chamfered orders. The south porch is also modern, with an entrance similar to the south doorway and small east and west windows of two cinquefoiled lights with a sixfoil over.

The tower is of three stages, and has been largely rebuilt. The embattled parapet is completely modern, and below it is a plain 14th-century corbel table. The belfry openings, much restored if not quite modern, are of two trefoiled lights with a blind quatrefoil over. The west door is also modern or completely restored, and is of 14th-century detail, while the west window is of 15th-century date and two cinquefoiled lights.

The font is of the common local type, of late 12th-century date with a circular scalloped bowl and

¹²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 10.

¹²⁹ Recov. R. Trin. 4 & 5 Phil. and

Mary.

¹³⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxi, no. 67; Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6019.

¹³¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxlviii, no. 39.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹³⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 38 & 39 Hen. VI,

no. 39.

¹³⁵ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), ptfo. 155, no. 13.

¹³⁶ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹³⁷ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

square scalloped base, the stem being moulded and the rim and base of the bowl richly ornamented with foliage.

The nave roof is of 15th-century date, low in pitch, and of the king-post type with cusped tracery in the spandrels. The other roofs are practically modern. There is a 17th-century altar table and a good chest (in the vestry) with mediaeval ironwork.

The modern fittings of the chancel are good. A curious and unusual feature is the use of Doulton ware for the reading-desk and low chancel screen.

The tower contains a ring of six bells, the treble and second cast by G. Mears in 1860, the third and fourth by Henry Knight in 1587, and inscribed respectively, 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo,' and 'Ave Maria Gracia Plena.' The fifth and tenor were cast by Mears & Stainbank in 1897.

The communion plate is modern. The first book of the registers contains all entries from 1701, baptisms and burials running to 1802, and marriages to 1754. Marriages are continued in a separate book from 1754 to 1812, and baptisms and burials in a third book from 1803 to 1812.

The church of Great Kimble was *ADVOWSON* granted by Giffard Palefridus in the 12th century to the abbot and convent of Missenden.¹⁴¹ The grant was confirmed some

years later by Hugh de Bolebec, the mesne lord of the fee, at the request of three of his men, Hugh of Kimble, Richard Fitz Neel, and Humphrey de Kimble.¹⁴² In this confirmation the grant is of the church of St. Nicholas of Kimble, the invocation being the same as at the present day. The rectory was impropriated and the vicarage was ordained before or during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells (1209-34).¹⁴³ After the Dissolution, the rectory and advowson of the church were granted to Sir Richard Dormer with the manor belonging to Missenden Abbey.¹⁴⁴

William Dormer sold the reversion of the rectory and advowson and the appendant tithes in 1579-80 to Griffith Hampden,¹⁴⁵ and the owners of the Great Hampden estates have held them till the present day,¹⁴⁶ the Earl of Buckinghamshire being the patron of the living.

There is a small mission church at Marsh.

The Poor's Land consists of *CHARITIES* 4 a. 0 r. 13 p. in the parish of Ellesborough, and an allotment in Box Field containing 3 r. 14 p. awarded under the Inclosure Act, 1803. In 1905 the sum of £5 9s. 2d. was received as rent, of which £4 4s. 6d. was distributed in bread to thirteen recipients, and £1 4s. 8d. in money to seven widows.

LITTLE KIMBLE

Chenebelle (xi cent.) ; Parva Kynbelle (xiv cent.) ; Little Kymbell (xv cent.).

The parish of Little Kimble lies on the north-western face of the Chiltern Hills. The hills are well wooded. There is a small lake in the grounds of Ladymede House, out of which runs a stream called Bonny Brook. It flows to the north through Little Kimble village to the hamlet of Marsh.

The height of the land varies between 300 ft. and 500 ft. above the ordnance datum.¹ The subsoil in the hills is Chalk, and in the lower lands Upper Greensand. The occupation of the people is entirely agricultural ; arable and pasture farming is carried on, 234 acres being arable land and 311 acres permanent grass.² The village lies on the road from High Wycombe to Aylesbury, and there is a railway station to the south of the village on the Great Western Railway. The parish was inclosed under an Act of Parliament for inclosing the common fields of Great and Little Kimble and Ellesborough. The award was given on 2 May 1805.³

Little Kimble has now been amalgamated with Great Kimble parish, by a Local Government Order of 25 March 1885.

In the time of King Edward the Con-
MANORS fessor one of his thegns named Brictric held the manor of *LITTLE KIMBLE*.⁴ After the Norman Conquest, however, it was granted to Turstin son of Rolf, who held it at the time of the Domesday Survey.⁵ For more than a century

the name of the lord of the manor is completely lost, but presumably in the 12th century it was held by James de Newmarket, who died before 1215, leaving two daughters and heiresses, Isabel and Hawisia.⁶ Of these, Isabel was married to Ralph Russel, whose father, John Russel, had custody of her father's lands,⁷ and Hawisia, first to John de Botreaux⁸ and secondly to Nicholas de Moels.⁹ Both the Russels and the de Moels claimed the overlordship of Little Kimble, and it is impossible to disentangle their respective shares of the inheritance. Early in the 13th century Ralph Russel was overlord of half a knight's fee in Little Kimble, held of 'the heir and fee of [Hard]wyk,' and another half fee there also belonged to Hardwick.¹⁰ In 1284-6 James Russel held the overlordship of part of Little Kimble jointly with Roger de Moels, and, together with the townships of Hardwick and Wedon, it formed one fee.¹¹

On his death, Robert Russel, the son of the Ralph Russel already mentioned, was found to have held the overlordship of the manor of Little Kimble, which was reckoned as one fee, apart from Hardwick.¹² In 1302-3 William, brother and heir of Robert Russel, with John de Moels, held the three townships as one fee, Little Kimble being held in demesne by a subtenant, according to the inquisition made for Cotteslow Hundred,¹³ but under the hundred of Stone he appears to have been the overlord of one fee in Little Kimble alone.¹⁴ In 1346 Edmund Russel held this fee ;¹⁵ he was the son of a Robert Russel, and died

¹⁴¹ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 284, n. 1.

¹⁴⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 379 (12).

¹⁴⁵ *Anct. D. (P.R.O.)*, A. 6019.

¹⁴⁶ See *Gt. Hampden*; *P.R.O. Inst Bks.* 2660; 1663, 1677, 1683, 1752, 1785.

In 1708 the Sub-dean of Lincoln presented.

¹ *Ord. Surv.*

² *Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).*

³ *Common Inclosure Awards.*

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 267a.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Rot. Lit. Claus. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 234b.

⁷ Ibid. 348b, 648b.

⁸ Ibid. 348b.

⁹ Ibid. 623b.

¹⁰ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245b.

¹¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 78.

¹² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 25 Edw. I, no. 28.

¹³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 101.

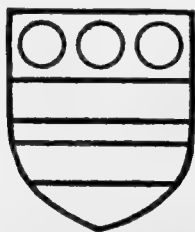
¹⁴ Ibid. 96.

¹⁵ Ibid. 122.

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leaving no direct heirs.¹⁶ The descendants of his sister Sybil claimed some of his lands in Nottinghamshire, but neither they nor the descendants of William Russel seem to have laid any claim to Little Kimble.¹⁷ In 1486, however, a manor in Little Kimble was said to be held of the heirs of Edmund Russel.¹⁸

The Moels rarely claimed the whole of Little Kimble. In 1284-6¹⁹ and 1302-3 Roger de Moels and John de Moels²⁰ were joint overlords with the Russels. John de Moels died seised before 1310 of half the hamlet of Kimble; ²¹ his grandson, however, another John, held the overlordship of one knight's fee in Kimble at the time of his death.²² He left two daughters, the elder of whom inherited Little Kimble in 1338.²³ She was the wife of Sir Thomas Courtenay,²⁴ and their daughter and heiress Muriel married John Dinham.²⁵ Shortly after this the sub-tenancy of part of Little Kimble appears to have lapsed, and thus



MOELS. *Argent two bars gules with three roundels gules in the chief.*



DINHAM. *Gules a fesse indented ermine.*

the Dinhams, who succeeded the Moels, became the tenants in demesne of their manor.

Sir John Dinham died in 1457-8 seised of the manors of Eythorpe, Crendwell, and Little Kimble, held of Edward, Prince of Wales, as of the honour of Wallingford, by right of inheritance of Joan his wife, who survived him.²⁶ His wife was the heiress of the Darches family,²⁷ who had held the two first-named manors, and probably part of Little Kimble,²⁸ as sub-tenants, but presumably Sir John's right in the manor came also through his great-grandmother, Muriel de Moels.

He was succeeded by his son John, Lord Dinham, who died leaving his four sisters and their children as his heirs.²⁹ In the inquisition on his lands, however, he was said to be seised only of tenements in Little Kimble,³⁰ but his heirs afterwards appear to have held portions of the manor. These heirs were his sisters, Lady Elizabeth Fitzwarren, a widow, who afterwards married Sir Thomas Brandon, and Lady Joan Zouche, and his nephews, Sir Edmund Carew and Sir John Arundel, sons of his sisters Margaret and Katherine

respectively.³¹ Elizabeth died seised of a fourth part of the manor in 1516, leaving John Bouchier as her son and heir.³² Lord Zouche and his wife Anne also held a fourth part in 1531,³³ and one of the coparceners apparently sold a share to Sir William Compton.³⁴ His grandson Henry, Lord Compton, conveyed this to Ralph Redman, William Hawtreay, and Richard Hollyman,³⁵ who very shortly afterwards acquired the share of the Arundels as well.³⁶

Nothing more is known of the manor for the next hundred years, but at the close of the 17th century it was apparently held by the family of Gibson. In 1692 there was a lawsuit between Thomas Gibson, sen., and others *v.* Richard Croke concerning rights of free warren in Little Kimble. It was asserted on this occasion that Croke was lord of the manor, and that it had belonged to his father before him.³⁷ The manor here referred to is probably Bulbecks (q.v.), but the suit would seem to show that the Gibsons already had some interest in the parish, and in 1696 Thomas Gibson, sen., and his wife Mary, and Thomas Gibson, jun., and his wife Frances, appear in a deed concerning tenements in Little Kimble and a court-leet and view of frankpledge to be held within the manor of Little Kimble.³⁸ Thomas Gibson, jun., apparently left no male heirs, and the manor passed to Mary and Elizabeth Gibson, who held it in 1739.³⁹ Elizabeth apparently married Thomas Hill and held a moiety of the manor in 1767,⁴⁰ and Mary married Robert Smith.⁴¹ They held the manor jointly in 1771,⁴² but after their death their property was divided. In 1817 a moiety of the manor was held by Sir James Fellowes and his wife Elizabeth in her right.⁴³

In 1086 a sub-tenant named Albert held Little Kimble of Turstin son of Rolf.⁴⁴ Very shortly after its acquisition by the Russels and the de Moels, Humphrey le Dun appears as the sub-tenant of a knight's fee in Little Kimble. Half of this he held in demesne and half as a mesne lord.⁴⁵ He paid scutage, however, for the whole fee in 1235.⁴⁶ He died before 1246,⁴⁷ and left an only daughter Margaret, who was a minor in the king's wardship.⁴⁸ In 1254 John le Waleys held Little Kimble, having probably acquired it by marriage with the heiress of Humphrey le Dun.⁴⁹ John died between 1283 and 1289,⁵⁰ leaving four heiresses by his wife Margery and a son John by another wife.⁵¹ Little Kimble was divided among the daughters,⁵² so that it seems certain that it was the inheritance of their mother, who may thus be identified as the daughter of Humphrey le Dun. Of her daughters, Isabel married Simon de St. Lys, Agnes married John de Middleton, Lucy married Adam de Kyngesham (or Kyngesmede), and the fourth daughter married John du Park.⁵³ Adam de Kyngesham appears to have

¹⁶ De Banco R. 517, m. 299.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxiii, no. 47.

¹⁹ Feud. Aids, i, 78.

²⁰ Ibid. 101.

²¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. II, no. 36.

²² Ibid. 11 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 56.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

²⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 36 Hen. VI, no. 39.

²⁷ G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. II, no. 18; *ibid.* 2 Ric. II, no. 57; Assize R. 1458, m. 26 d.

²⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xv, no. 58.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxxi, no.

21.

³³ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Trin.

23 Hen. VIII.

³⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 9.

³⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 18 Eliz.

³⁶ Ibid. Hil. 19 Eliz.

³⁷ Exch. Dep. by Com. East. 3 Will. and Mary, no. 11.

³⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 7 Will. III;

ibid. East. 4 Anne.

³⁹ Ibid. Trin. 13 Geo. II.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 7 Geo. III.

⁴¹ Ibid. East. 11 Geo. III.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. Div. Cos. Trin. 57 Geo. III.

⁴⁴ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 267a.

⁴⁵ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 259.

⁴⁷ Excerpt. e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.), i, 454.

⁴⁸ Assize R. 56, m. 21.

⁴⁹ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁵⁰ Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. III, no. 673; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 281-2; *Cal. of Close*, 1279-88, p. 241.

⁵¹ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 281-2.

⁵² Feet of F. Div. Cos. East. 17 Edw. I; Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 28; *Feud. Aids*, i, 96.

⁵³ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 281-2.

answered for the whole manor in matters of feudal incidence.⁶⁴ His wife Lucy, after his death, probably married Walter de Shobintone,⁶⁵ who also answered for the whole fee in 1316.⁶⁶ In 1346 the tenants of the half fee that Humphrey le Dun and John de Waleys had held in demesne were Simon de St. Lys, a minor in the king's wardship, Richard du Park, and John de Middleton, the descendants of the four heiresses of John le Waleys.⁶⁷ Some years later, however, Nicholas Darches claimed a third of the manor of Little Kimble from John atte Morhalle and John de St. Lys, the latter being apparently the heir of Simon de St. Lys.⁶⁸ The exact claim of Nicholas is not given in the pleadings, but he recovered seisin of the tenements in question.⁶⁹ The history of the sub-tenants of Little Kimble cannot be traced from this time, owing probably to the subdivision of land among the descendants of the co-heiresses of John le Waleys.

Half a knight's fee called *BULBECKS MANOR* in Little Kimble was held by the Bolebec family, under the mesne lords of the whole fee.⁷⁰ Herbert de Bolebec granted land in the parish to the abbey of Missenden in the 12th century,⁷¹ and after his death his widow Alice succeeded him as the tenant of the half fee.⁷² In a charter Gilbert is named as her son and heir,⁷³ but in 1254 another Herbert held the land.⁷⁴ At his death, which took place before 1266, he held the manor of Kimble and one carucate of land there, which passed to Gilbert his brother and heir.⁷⁵ The latter died before 1298,⁷⁶ leaving a son named Henry.⁷⁷

In 1346 John de Bolebec and his tenants⁷⁸ held the manor, and he also confirmed the grants to Missenden made by his ancestors.⁷⁹ During the 15th century the Hampdens obtained possession of the manor. Edmund Hampden, the second son of Edmund Hampden of Great Hampden,⁸⁰ forfeited his lands to Edward IV, amongst them being a messuage, 60 acres of land, 6 acres of wood, and 8 acres of meadow in Little Kimble, but the manor was probably held by the elder branch of the family, and so was not forfeited to the Yorkist king.⁸¹

Thomas Hampden of Great Hampden died seised of the manor at the close of the 15th century. He was succeeded by his son⁸² and grandson, both named John; the latter left two daughters, and Little Kimble passed to Barbara the second.⁸³ She married first Edmund Smith, by whom she had a daughter Anne,⁸⁴ the wife of William Paulet.⁸⁵ Philippa,

the widow of the second John Hampden, married, as her second husband, Sir Thomas Smyth, and in 1554 they quit-claimed the manor of Little Kimble to William Paulet and his wife.⁸⁶ Elizabeth Paulet, their only daughter and heiress, married Oliver St. John.⁸⁷ The manor was sold by St. John in 1609 to Robert Waller,⁸⁸ who again sold it to Edward Serjeant for £1,850.⁸⁹ The manor changed hands again in 1626, when Richard Serjeant is said to have sold it, under the name of 'Bulbecks Manor,' to Richard Brasey of Thame, co. Oxon.⁹⁰ The latter in his will, proved in 1647, left the yearly revenue from lands and wood and tenements in Little Kimble to his wife for her life. After her death they were to pass to Richard Croke, the son of Anne, the daughter of the testator, for life, and to descend to his children.⁹¹ Richard Croke and his son, another Richard, both held the manor,⁹² which descended on the death of the latter to his daughter Charlotte. She married William Ledwell,⁹³ and they held the manor of Little Kimble in 1758.⁹⁴ The property passed on his death to his heir-at-law, — Ledwell of Cowley, co. Oxon.⁹⁵ In 1792 William Bridges Ledwell, his son, held the manor,⁹⁶ and sold it to Scrope Bernard, afterwards Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, bart.⁹⁷ The manor was presumably bought at the same time as Great Kimble by Sir George Russell, bart., and is now in the hands of the trustees of Mr. Henry Frankland-Russell-Astley, a minor.⁹⁸

In 1254 John le Waleys and Herbert de Bolebec held the view of frankpledge in their manors.⁹⁹ In 1617 James I granted to Edward Brudenell the right to hold a view of frankpledge twice a year in Stoke Mandeville, Ellesborough, and Little Kimble,¹⁰⁰ but in the 18th century a court leet and view were claimed by the Gibsons.¹⁰¹

The church of *ALL SAINTS* is a *CHURCH* small structure consisting of a chancel 18 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft., a nave 38 ft. 9 in. by 15 ft. 4 in., and north and south porches, the latter of which is used as a vestry. Until the middle of the 13th century the church consisted of a chancel narrower than the present one, and a nave of the same size as that now existing, but at this date the present chancel arch was inserted unsymmetrically and the chancel widened by rebuilding the south wall. It is thus probable that the nave walls and the western half at least of the north wall of the chancel are of 13th-century date or earlier.

The chancel has also been lengthened, but this may have been done at a later date than the 13th century. At the beginning and middle of the 14th century windows were inserted in the walls of nave and chancel, and the porches were added, while in modern



BOLEBEC. *Vert a lion argent.*

⁶⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 96.
⁶⁵ Feet of F. Div. Coa. Mich. 7 Edw. II; Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 56; *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 189.
⁶⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 113.
⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 122.
⁶⁸ Assize R. 1458, m. 26 d.
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
⁷⁰ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.
⁷¹ Harl. MS. 3688.
⁷² *Ibid.*; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.
⁷³ Harl. MS. 3688.
⁷⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.
⁷⁵ *Cal. of Inq. p.m. Hen. III*, no. 673.
⁷⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, p. 147.

⁷⁷ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), C. 2509.
⁷⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.
⁷⁹ Harl. MS. 3688.
⁸⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks*, ii, 302.
⁸¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 473.
⁸² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xliii, no. 47.
⁸³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks*, ii, 302.
⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
⁸⁵ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary.
⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
⁸⁷ *Close*, 10 Jas. I, pt. 18, no. 36.
⁸⁸ Feet of F. Div. Coa. Trin. 6 Jas. I. 1609.
⁸⁹ *Close*, 10 Jas. I, pt. 18, no. 36.

⁹⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks*, ii, 351.
⁹¹ P.C.C. Wills 156, Fines.
⁹² Exch. Dep. by Com. East. 3 Will. and Mary, no. 11.
⁹³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks*, ii, 351.
⁹⁴ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Hil. 31 Geo. II.
⁹⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks*, ii, 351.
⁹⁶ *Recov. R. East*, 32 Geo. III.
⁹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks, Hil. 32 Geo. III.
⁹⁸ See Great Kimble.
⁹⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.
¹⁰⁰ Pat. 14 Jas. I, pt. 1.
¹⁰¹ Feet of F. Bucks, Trin. 7 Will. III; East. 4 Anne; Trin. 7 Geo. III; East. 11 Geo. III; Div. Coa. Trin. 57 Geo. III.

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times the south and east walls of the chancel have been either rebuilt or modernized and the stone bell-cot on the west gable of the nave has been added.

The east window of the chancel is modern, of three lights and early 14th-century detail. In the north wall of the chancel are two windows. The first, of two lights and early 14th-century date, is curiously crude in workmanship. The lights are trefoiled and have a rough cusped circle over them, while the whole head of the window including the label, a very flat roll, is worked out of one thin stone or flag. The second window, probably of the same date as the first, is a plain uncusped chamfered lancet set low in the wall without an external rebate, the lower part of which has been fitted with a shutter, the hinges remaining. The only window on the south of the chancel is a single-light modern window of 14th-century detail. The chancel arch is two-centred and of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal responds and moulded capitals and bases, and is set to the south of the axis of the nave.

The north wall of the nave contains two windows east of the north porch of the same date and detail as the two-light window on the north of the chancel, but their heads are not worked in single stones. The north door is either quite modern or completely restored, and is of two continuous moulded orders with a label of 14th-century detail. West of the door is a small plain lancet of doubtful date. In the south wall are two two-light windows in corresponding positions to those on the north, but of late 14th-century date, with square heads and cinquefoiled lights with curious cusped flowing tracery. Below the sill of the easternmost of these windows is a small piscina with an uncusped two-centred head moulded with a filleted bowtell and hollows. The south door is of the same detail as the north and of 14th-century date. To the west is a window of two uncusped lights under a square head of simple and late detail. The west window of the nave is of early 14th-century date and has three cinquefoiled lights with quatrefoils over. The font has a large round tub-shaped bowl probably of 12th-century date.

The porches are both of the 14th century, though considerably restored, and have outer archways continuously moulded in two orders with a hollow between.

The seating of the church is modern, but a pulpit and reading desk have been worked up out of 17th-century carved panels. On the walls of the nave are the remains of a series of interesting 14th-century paintings. On the west wall are traces of figure subjects, now quite defaced. On the north wall, beginning from the west, is a figure of Christ, some 4 ft. high, remarkably well drawn in a dull red line. Above and to the right of this is part of a judgement scene with souls in torment. Near the north door is a life-size figure much defaced and partly obscured by a wall tablet. Between the two easternmost of the windows on this side is a large figure of St. George, with the remains of a scroll bearing his name below, represented in mail, with shield, sword,

and lance. The splays of these two windows are also decorated with paintings. In the east splay of the easternmost window is a drawing of St. Francis preaching to the birds, while the remains of various male and female figures are visible in the other splays. On the south wall is a cowed figure holding a book (about three-quarters life-size) and a smaller painting of two angels laying a saint, perhaps St. Katherine, in a tomb. In the chancel floor are set some very fine late 13th-century tiles, with subjects from the mediaeval romances: a king on his throne, a man giving a book to a woman, a knight charging, a knight cleaving the helm of his adversary, and a lady holding a squirrel.

There are a few fragments of old glass in the windows, the quartered arms of France and England being in the north-east window of the nave.

The modern stone gable bell-cot contains two bells re-cast from older ones by James Warner and Sons in 1875.

The church plate consists of a covered cup of 1570 of the usual Elizabethan pattern, a salver hall-marked for 1827, and a pewter flagon.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1675 to 1735, burials from 1658 to 1712, and marriages from 1657 to 1702. The second book contains baptisms from 1726 to 1782, burials from 1726 to 1780, and marriages from 1727 to 1775, with further notes of banns to 1783. A third book has baptisms between 1783 and 1812 and burials between 1784 and 1811, while a fourth book contains marriages from 1786 to 1812.

The church of All Saints⁹² in *ADVOWSON* Little Kimble was given to the abbey of St. Albans by Humphrey de Kimble early in the 13th century.⁹³ His charter was confirmed by Alice de Bolebec,⁹⁴ who died before 1254.⁹⁵ No vicarage seems ever to have been ordained, and in the valuation of churches made in 1535 Henry Champyn appears as rector of Little Kimble.⁹⁶ Henry VIII granted the advowson of the rectory to John Cokk and Sir Michael Dormer,⁹⁷ the latter of whom already held the lands in the parish that had belonged to St. Albans.⁹⁸ Afterwards the advowson appears to have been recovered by the lord of the manor. Lipscomb⁹⁹ mentions a presentation by Edward Serjeant in 1620, but the advowson is not mentioned in the numerous sales of the manor in the 17th century. The Crokes, however, presented twice to the rectory, Richard in 1661 and Martha Croke (widow) in 1665.¹⁰⁰ In 1689 Elizabeth Chapman presented¹⁰¹ and the advowson was held by the family of Chapman for many years.¹⁰² William Chapman in 1788¹⁰³ and Samuel Chapman in 1810 held the living on their own presentation.¹⁰⁴ The rectory of Little Kimble is now consolidated with the vicarage of Great Kimble and the right of presentation has since the consolidation been held by the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

In 1327 Walter de Shobinton and his wife Lucy alienated a messuage, mill, and pond, together with land and rent in Little Kimble and Aston Ivinghoe, to a chaplain to celebrate divine service in the church

⁹² *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 189.

⁹³ *Lansd. MS.* 375.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 249.

⁹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 1035 (97).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* xiv, 379 (12).

⁹⁹ *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 353.

¹⁰⁰ *P.R.O. Inst. Bks.* 1661, 1665.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 1689.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 1723, 1725, 1737, 1741,

1744.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 1788.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 1810.

of Little Kimble for the souls of Walter and Lucy, their ancestors and successors.¹⁰⁶

A chantry in Little Kimble is mentioned in a grant by Queen Elizabeth, but there is no certificate of its dissolution under Edward VI.¹⁰⁶ There is in the parish a dissenting chapel, which serves for all denominations.

STONE

Stanes (xi cent.).

The parish of Stone lies completely in the Vale of Aylesbury. It is well watered by the River Thame and its tributaries which flow through the Vale. There is a spring at Sedrup hamlet. The subsoil is Kimmeridge Clay, Portland beds, London beds, and Gault,¹ and the surface soil is loam and sand. There is excellent pasture-land to the extent of 1,504 acres, and 892 acres are arable land.² Market gardening and poultry and duck-breeding are carried on by the inhabitants.

The small village of Stone stands on the highest ground in the parish, 368 ft. above the sea-level, at a point where the high road from Thame to Aylesbury is crossed by a small road which runs from Eythorp to Bishopstone. The church is close to the cross-roads, standing on a mound which may be partly artificial, and the houses of the village are grouped round it. The most conspicuous building is the County Asylum, west of the village, with its large modern red-brick and stone buildings facing the main road. It was built in 1852, and has since been enlarged. There is not much timber in the parish, what there is being chiefly on the high ground on which the main road runs. Peverel Court, south-east of the village, is a modern house built in 1862. The nearest station is at Aylesbury, 3 miles away.

The parish was inclosed under an Act of Parliament for the inclosure of Stone and Hartwell, the award being dated 19 March 1777.³ The area of the parish is 2,641 acres.⁴

Various Anglo-Saxon remains have been found here, the most important being a bronze-gilt brooch of unusual size.⁵

Two successive vicars of Stone were men of some eminence. Joseph Bancroft Reade (1801-70) held the living from 1839 to 1859, when he was presented to the vicarage of Ellesborough. He was distinguished as a chemist, microscopist, and a photographic discoverer, and at the time of his death was president of the Royal Microscopical Society.⁶ James Booth (1806-78) was presented to the vicarage in 1859. He was treasurer and chairman of the Society of Arts, and was mainly instrumental in establishing its system of examinations.⁷

Under the Inclosure Act, 1803, **CHARITIES** an allotment containing 1 a. 2 r. 26 p. was awarded for the use of the poor in respect of a right of cutting firewood on certain hills. The land produces about £3 a year, which is applied in the distribution of two to three hundred weights of coal to about twenty recipients.

The township of Stone was held in **MANORS** two portions before the Norman Conquest, and the same division was continued for several centuries. One-half had been held by Ulf, a housecarl of King Edward,⁸ but at the time of the Domesday Survey it was held by Robert de Toden, the lord of Belvoir,⁹ Leicestershire, and was assessed at 7 hides of land.¹⁰ The overlordship of this part of Stone belonged to the lords of the honour of Belvoir for many centuries.¹¹

Before 1086, Robert de Toden had granted **BRACEY'S MANOR** in Stone to a sub-tenant named Gilbert.¹² During the reign of Henry I, William de Bracey granted the church of Stone to the abbey of Oseney,¹³ and was in all probability holding the manor as one knight's fee of the honour of Belvoir. Gilbert, his heir, confirmed this grant and afterwards gave 1 hide of land in addition to the abbey.¹⁴ Charters also are given in the Oseney Cartulary of Robert de Bracey and Gilbert his son.¹⁵

Early in the 13th century this Gilbert held seven-eighths of a knight's fee in Stone,¹⁶ but before 1286 he had been succeeded by Roger de Bracey.¹⁷ Robert de Bracey in 1316¹⁸ and John de Bracey¹⁹ in 1346 held it in turn, but before 1402 Bracey's Manor in Stone was held by John Glover of Little Kimble,²⁰ who probably held it in right of his wife.²¹ In 1415, however, John Barton, sen., held a knight's fee in Stone by Aylesbury of Lord Ros of Hamelake.²²

Andrew Sparlyng, presumably holding as a trustee for the widow of John Barton, jun., sold the manor to Sir Robert Whittingham.²³ After the downfall of the Lancastrian cause, his lands were forfeited and granted by Edward IV to Sir Thomas Montgomery.²⁴ Sir Ralph Verney, whose son John had married Margery Whittingham, Sir Robert's heiress, made every effort²⁵ to recover her lands for his son. He was successful as far as Bracey's Manor was concerned,²⁶ and Sir Ralph Verney, jun., the son of Margery Whittingham,²⁷ his son (another Sir Ralph) and two grandsons, both Edmund by name, were seised in turn.²⁸ Edmund Verney, jun., sold the manor to Sir Alexander Hampden,²⁹ and on his death in 1619 it passed by settlement to the Lees,³⁰ and from that time followed the descent of the manor of Hartwell.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 189.

¹⁰⁷ *Pat.* 31 Eliz. pt. 5.

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

² *Inf. from Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

³ *Com. Incl. Award.*

⁴ *Ord. Surv.*

⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 197.

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvii, 360-1.

⁷ *Ibid.* v, 394-5.

⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 257b.

⁹ *Ibid.* 213.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 257b.

¹¹ *Cf. Feud. Aids*, i, 75, 97, 122; *Cal. Close*, 1339-49, p. 166; *Chan. Inq.*

p.m. 2 Hen. V, no. 40 (file 241); *ibid.* (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi, no. 96.

¹² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 257b.

¹³ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 374; *Cott. MS. Vit. E.* xv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245;

Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

¹⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 113.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 122.

²⁰ Feet of F. Bucks, Mich. 14 Hen. IV.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 2 Hen. V, no. 40; Feet of F. Bucks, East. 15 Hen. VI.

²³ Early *Chan. Proc.* bdle. 16, no.

703.

²⁴ See Dinton.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Exch. Inq. p.m.* bdle. 5, no. 15.

²⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xlv, no.

91.

²⁸ *Ibid.* lxxiv, no. 2; *ibid.* cxx, no. 4;

Feet of F. Bucks, Hil. 3 Eliz.

²⁹ *Recov. R. Mich.* 16 Eliz.

³⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), ccclxxvi, no. 96.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

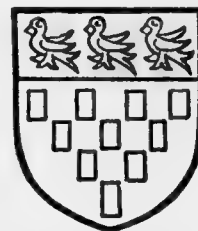
The second part of Stone, known later as *ST. CLERES MANOR*, reckoned at 7 hides in the Domesday Survey, was held in the time of King Edward the Confessor as a manor by two brothers, one a man of Ulf and the other a man of Eddeva, and they could assign or sell the land as they pleased.⁸¹ This land, however, was given at the Conquest to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and was held from him by Helto, probably the steward of the bishop, from whom he also held Swanscombe in Kent.⁸² When Odo was deprived of his lands they passed to the Munchesney family, and the overlordship of this part of Stone follows the same descent as the manor of Dinton (q.v.).⁸³ The land in Stone, however, does not appear amongst the knights' fees held by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, at the time of his death.⁸⁴ A certain William Cluppe, however, had held lands in Stone of the earl.⁸⁵

In the reign of Henry I this manor was probably held under the Munchesneys by William de St. Clere (or Sengler), who granted land in Southcote (q.v.) in Stone parish to Osney Abbey.⁸⁶ Before 1187 John de St. Clere appears to have held land in Stone,⁸⁷ and a little later he was said to hold one knight's fee as mesne lord of the honour of Swanscombe.⁸⁸ The heir of John de St. Clere had succeeded him in 1284-6,⁸⁹ and in 1302-3 Ralph de St. Clere of Kent held the overlordship of the fee.⁹⁰ John de St. Clere, however, had enfeoffed various sub-tenants to the prejudice of his son Hugh. The greater part of this land⁹¹ he granted to Simon de St. Clere, whose son Gilbert held it in 1219.⁹² During the 13th century William de St. Clere held in demesne 6 hides and half a virgate of land as three-quarters of a knight's fee.⁹³ He was succeeded by his son or grandson Robert de St. Clere,⁹⁴ who made a settlement of his land in Stone on himself and his wife Joan for life with remainder to his four sons and to John Golye and Joan his wife, and finally to the right heirs of Robert.⁹⁵ Robert died before 1346, when Joan de St. Clere held his land in Stone.⁹⁶ On the death of Joan, the four sons of Robert probably held the land in turn, but Thomas, the youngest, is the only one definitely mentioned.⁹⁷ All these sons, as well as John Golye and his wife, had died before 1401,⁹⁸ leaving no direct heirs. In that year the right heirs of Robert de St. Clere, his daughter Amice and the descendants of her two sisters⁹⁹ tried to recover this inheritance, claiming under the settlement mentioned above from various tenants. Of these John Glover and his wife Joan were the most important, since they also held Bracey's Manor. The result of the suit cannot be traced, but the claimants were not successful, since a few years

later John Pigot, the grandson of Amice, again laid claim to certain lands in Stone, but a second time the result is not given.¹⁰⁰ It seems probable that the claimant did not get possession of the St. Clere's lands and that at this time they were held with the other half of the parish. Sir Robert Whitingham held the manor of 'Stone called St. Clere's alias Bracey's,'¹⁰¹ a title which suggests that the two were at this time united. The same designation is given in the grant to Sir Thomas Montgomery, but in the struggles of the Verneys to obtain possession of the forfeited lands of the Whitinghams,¹⁰² St. Cleres Manor was again separated from Bracey's Manor. In some way it came to the Crown and Henry VIII granted it to Sir Anthony Lee, to be held, with other lands, as one-hundredth part of a knight's fee.¹⁰³

At his death Sir Anthony is said to have held a moiety of the manor of St. Cleres, but this may only refer to its separation from Bracey's Manor.¹⁰⁴ It was settled on his widow for life, but before 1553 it had passed to the Dormers, Sir Robert Dormer dying seized of a moiety of the manor of St. Cleres.¹⁰⁵ In 1566 Nicholas Harcourt held a moiety of the manor, which he granted to Sir William Dormer two years later.¹⁰⁶ Sir William died seized of the whole manor of St. Cleres,¹⁰⁷ and the Dormers held it till 1662-3.¹⁰⁸ In that year Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, sold 2 messuages, 100 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture and common of pasture in Hartwell and Stone to Sir Thomas Lee, bart.¹⁰⁹ This sale may have brought the greater part of the land belonging to St. Cleres Manor to the Lees, who held Bracey's Manor in Stone. St. Cleres Manor is mentioned, however, in various documents of the late 17th and of the 18th centuries, as being in the possession of the Earls of Chesterfield, who inherited the lands of the Dormers.¹¹⁰ At the time of the inclosure of the common fields of Stone the Earl of Chesterfield owned certain tithes in the parish,¹¹¹ but there do not appear to have been any manorial rights, which probably disappeared after the sale of the land in 1662-3. There is now only one manor in Stone, the names of Bracey's and St. Cleres Manors having disappeared, and it is held by Colonel Lee of Hartwell.

In Stone Hundred, William son of Constantine held at the time of the Domesday Survey 1 virgate



DORMER. *Azure ten billets or and a chief or with three martlets azure therein.*

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245, 254; *Feud. Aids*, i, 75; *Anct. Deeds* (P.R.O.), A. 9840; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 17 Edw. II, no. 75.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 212.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 374; *Cott. MS. Vit. E. xv.*

⁸⁷ *Maitland, Bracton's Note Bk.* case 18.

⁸⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245.

⁸⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 97.

⁹¹ The other sub-tenants of John de St. Clere were William de la Merse and William Blackston, who held $5\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land as the fourth part of a knight's fee,

which their descendants held as late as 1346. *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31; *Feud. Aids*, i, 97, 122.

⁹² *Maitland, Bracton's Note Bk.* case 18.

⁹³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, i, 75, 97, 113.

⁹⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 5 Edw. III; *De Banco R.* Mich. 3 Hen. IV, m. 517.

⁹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 122.

⁹⁷ *De Banco R.* Mich. 3 Hen. IV, m. 517.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *De Banco R.* Trin. 8 Hen. IV, m. 332 d.

¹⁰¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 4 Edw. IV, no. 44;

Cal. Pat. 1461-7, p. 367; *ibid.* 1467-77, p. 309.

¹⁰² See Dinton.

¹⁰³ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII, pt. 16, m. 24.

¹⁰⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xc, no. 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* xcvi, no. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 10 & 11

Eliz.

¹⁰⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), clxx, no. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 13 & 14

Chas. II.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 22 Chas. II; *Recov. R.* Trin. 2 Jas. II; Feet of F. Div. Cos. Hil. 1 Will. and Mary; *Recov. R.* Bucks. Hil. 9 Anne; *ibid.* East. 3 Geo. I; *ibid.* Mich. 7 Geo. IV.

¹¹¹ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 461.

and 6 acres of land in Southcote.⁶² This has been identified with *SOUTHCOTE* in Stone, though the name is now lost. Before the Conquest the land belonged to Ulvic, a man of Archbishop Stigand.⁶³ William son of Constantine had granted the land to Suetin. The Domesday entry, however, cannot refer to the whole of Southcote, since at a later date various grants were made to Oseney and Missenden Abbeys.⁶⁴ In the reign of Henry I William Sengler or St. Clere gave 1 messuage with 1 virgate and 2 acres of land to Oseney Abbey,⁶⁵ and Richard le Palmer gave 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land in Southcote and Bishopstone to the abbey.⁶⁶ In the next reign land in Southcote seems to have been granted to Simon de St. Clere with the other land of the family in Stone.⁶⁷ His son Gilbert succeeded him, and in 1254 it was held by another William de St. Clere.⁶⁸ He held 1 hide of land which had apparently been alienated from the serjeanty of Ilmer,⁶⁹ but in 1302-3 it is mentioned as part of the serjeanty of the lord of Ilmer and Aston;⁷⁰ the tenants, however, are not mentioned separately.⁷¹ Lucy de Brinton, the mother of Simon de St. Clere, held one-sixth of this hide of land in Southcote, and with the consent of Simon, granted it to her younger son Ignarius.⁷² Ignarius granted this land to Missenden Abbey, and the gift was confirmed after his death by his nephew Gilbert.⁷³ The abbot paid a rent of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of pepper yearly to the St. Cleres,⁷⁴ and when the serjeanty was arrented⁷⁵ he paid 5s.⁷⁶ a year to the Exchequer for 1 virgate of land. One virgate of land was also granted to Oseney Abbey, and the cartulary of the abbey contains a licence from Henry III for the alienation of the serjeanty.⁷⁷ The last time land is mentioned in Southcote is in 1546 in the grant of St. Cleres Manor in Stone to Sir Anthony Lee and John Croke.⁷⁸

The other half-fee called *WEST ORCHARD* was held under the Munchesneys by the family of Cloville in the 13th century. In 1234 William de Cloville held half a knight's fee of Warine de Munchesney.⁷⁹ Some years later Savaric de Cloville was the tenant of 2½ hides of land in Stone,⁸⁰ but there is no trace of this land after the reign of Henry III, unless it may be identified with the manor of West Orchard in the township of Hartwell in the parish of Stone. In Hartwell, however, the Bishop of Bayeux⁸¹ held 4 hides which do not afterwards seem to have belonged to the parish of Hartwell. Three of these were held by the same man, Helto, who was the tenant of the bishop's land in Stone.⁸²

In 1302-3 Hugh de Ver and his tenants held half a fee in Hartwell pertaining to the barony of Swanscombe.⁸³ The barony passed to the Earls of Pembroke, and Aymer de Valence died seised of £4

rent in Hartwell and land there.⁸⁴ This was assigned to Mary de St. Paul his widow as part of her dower,⁸⁵ but it belonged to the purparty of Elizabeth Comyn, as one of the heirs of Aymer de Valence.⁸⁶

In the 15th century Robert Whitingham, who obtained possession of several manors belonging to the honour of Swanscombe, held the manor of West Orchard, and on his attainder the manor was granted to Sir Thomas Montgomery,⁸⁷ and was described as being in the township of Hartwell and the parish of Stone. It was granted with the manor of St. Cleres by Henry VIII and apparently was held with that manor by the Dormers.⁸⁸

The church of *ST. JOHN THE CHURCH BAPTIST* consists of a chancel 37 ft. 9 in.

by 15 ft. 3 in.; a modern north organ chamber; a nave about 61 ft. long by 19 ft. 9 in. wide; a north aisle 6 ft. 8 in. wide; a north transept 12 ft. by 12 ft. 9 in.; a south transept 16 ft. by 18 ft.; a south porch, and a western tower 11 ft. 8 in. square, all measurements being internal. In the 12th century the church seems to have consisted of an aisleless nave, somewhat shorter than at present, and a chancel, which must have been of about the same width as that now existing, but a good deal shorter. About 1170 a north aisle of three bays was added, and in the first quarter of the 13th century the nave and aisle were carried westward to their present length, the old respond of the arcade being moved and a new pillar set up. In the same century the south transept was added and the chancel was rebuilt to its present dimensions. The north transept and the chancel arch belong to the first part of the 14th century, and towards the close of this century the tower was added. In the 15th century no additions were made to the plan, but the nave walls were heightened and several windows inserted. In modern times the church has been drastically restored, and no doubt much evidence of the earlier work destroyed. The chancel in particular was almost rebuilt in 1843, the north wall of the aisle refaced, and the upper part of the tower greatly modernized. The organ chamber and south porch are quite modern.

The chancel is lit on the east by a modern triplet of lancets, probably reproducing the original arrangement, of which only portions of the relieving arches remain. On the north are two modern lancets, and between them the arched entrance to the organ chamber, which is entirely modern. In the south wall are three lancets, also modern, but showing traces of the ancient openings, and between the second and third is a blocked south door, which retains a little 13th-century masonry. The east gable has been rebuilt together with the upper parts of the

⁶² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 266b.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Harl. MS.* 3688; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 32.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 374.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 32; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 262.

⁷⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 95.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* i, 75. In 1284 Robert de St. Clere was said to hold half a fee in Southcote of the heir of John de St. Clere and that heir of William de Munchesney and William of the king in chief. This

entry should apparently refer to Stone and not Southcote.

⁷² *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 32.

⁷⁶ The rent of 5s. is a mistake for 7s. 6d. Cf. *Exch. L.T.R. Mem. R.* 136, East. 45 Edw. III.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 374; *Cott. MS. Vit. E.* xv.

⁷⁸ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII, pt. 16, m. 24. In *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 266, note 9, a reference to Southcote in Stone is given as occurring in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, 490. The reference to Southcot in that volume of the Letters and Papers should be *L. and*

P. Hen. VIII, xviii (2), 449 (52), but it refers to Southcot in the parish of Linslade, a hamlet which still exists, and not to Southcote in Stone.

⁷⁹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254.

⁸⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 31.

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 97.

⁸⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 17 Edw. II, no. 75.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 244; *Feud. Aids*, i, 122; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 51 Edw. III (1st not.), no. 28.

⁸⁶ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), i, 287;

Cal. Pat. 1340-3, p. 200.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, pp. 121, 367.

⁸⁸ *Pat.* 17 Hen. VIII, pt. 1.

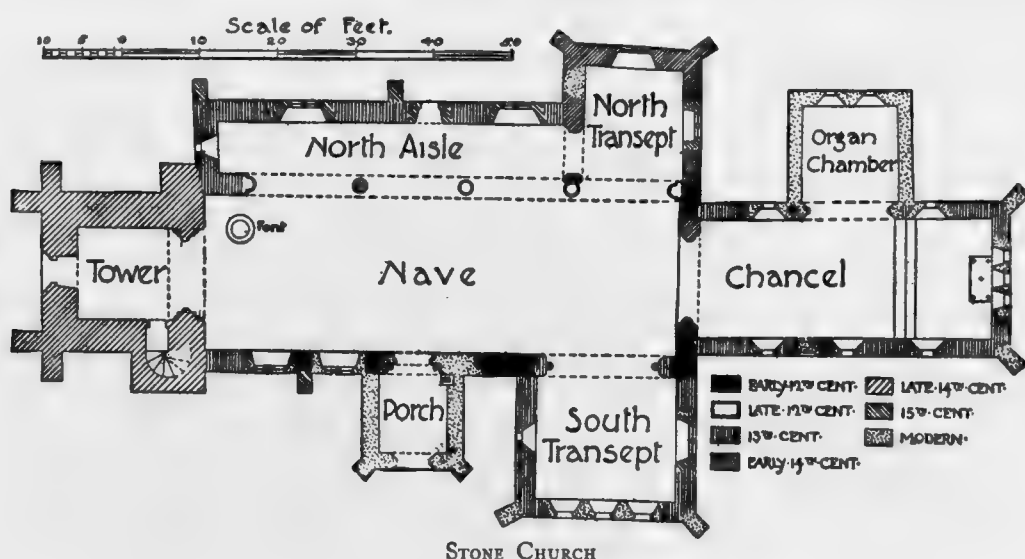
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

north and south walls, and there are traces of a lower steep-pitched roof. The chancel arch is of two chamfered orders with a defaced label on its western face, the inner resting on half-octagonal shafts with moulded capitals and bases; it appears to date from *c.* 1330. On the north side of the nave is an arcade of four bays, the three eastern of which, *c.* 1170, have semicircular arches of two square orders, with square capitals and circular columns. The abaci are moulded with a hollow between two rolls, and the capitals, which are shallow and spreading, are worked with boldly projecting foliate volutes on broad stems in very low relief. The respond of the western arch is of the same character, having been moved one bay westward when the arcade was lengthened, and the pillar which takes its place has a simply moulded circular capital of 13th-century date, the arch in this bay being pointed of two chamfered orders. Above the crowns of the arches are traces of square clearstory openings of uncertain but probably late date. The south wall of the nave is in part of 12th-century date, and the position of its original south doorway is to be seen in the masonry a little to the east of the present

not be dated by ordinary rules. The east window of the transept is 15th-century work of two lights.

The north aisle is lighted by two square-headed two-light windows on the north, of 15th-century date, and between them is a small four-centred north doorway of the same period. The west window of the aisle is a small lancet, which may be in part of the 13th century, but both its head and sill are modern.

In the south wall of the nave are two two-light windows with a sixfoil in the head, both being to the west of the south doorway. They are of 15th-century style, the first being quite modern, and the other having modern tracery. Between the doorway and the south transept is a blocked 17th-century window of three square-headed lights, high in the wall, which must have formerly lighted a gallery or pulpit. The south doorway has a semicircular head of two orders with late 12th-century detail, zigzag and a keeled roll, only a few of the voussoirs being old, and nook-shafts with capitals of poor style, but of 12th-century date. The old work in the doorway is about contemporary with the north arcade, and if, as seems possible, it has been taken from the older doorway a little further to

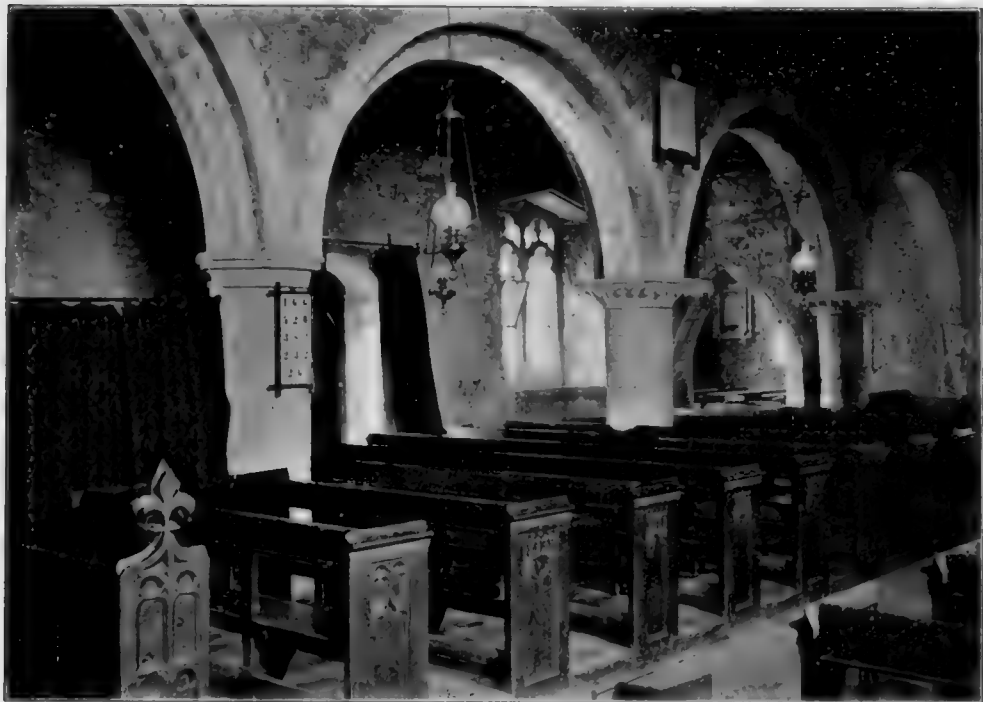


doorway, which is made up of the materials of its predecessor. The nave walls have been heightened, the line of an older steep-pitched roof showing on the east face of the tower. The north transept appears to be an early 14th-century addition, and has a north window of two uncusped lights, with a plain circle over, and a 15th-century east window of two cinquefoiled lights with a sixfoil over. In its west wall is a small square-headed 17th-century opening, now blocked, and the transept opens to the aisle by a plain pointed arch whose southern respond is built against the first column of the north arcade. The south transept is considerably larger than the north, and was doubtless the Lady chapel. It has three lancets on the south and one on the west, nearly all modern, the head of the western window being cut out of an old stone carved with a rosette. The arch from the nave to the transept is a very rough piece of work with chamfered orders, the inner of which springs from clumsily moulded circular capitals resting on circular shafts; it may be the work of untrained local masons in the 13th century, but can-

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The roofs and the fittings throughout are largely



STONE CHURCH : NORTH ARCADE OF NAVE

modern, though there are a few old bench ends of simple design and 15th-century date. The font is a very remarkable piece of work, with a heavy circular bowl on a short stem, and a spreading base; the stem, which is ornamented with interlacing patterns, is modern, but the bowl is of the 12th century, perhaps c. 1140, and has round the top a band of interlacing ornament, and on the sides a series of knotwork patterns, all most elaborately enriched with pellets and small carved heads or foliage in the interstices. The principal subject, however, is the figure of a man standing on a serpent between a lion (or wolf) and a dragon, and holding a sword over the head of the former. His left hand is in the mouth of the dragon, who is being attacked from behind by a bird, and in front by a small human figure. Behind the lion is a large fish. The smaller details of carving, heads of beasts, &c., worked into the knotwork patterns, are so unlike ordinary 12th-century work that it must be concluded that much of the carving has been re-worked. In the floor of the nave is a brass to William Gurney of Bishopstone, 1472, and Agnes his wife, the date of whose death is left blank, with their five sons and three daughters. The figures of the wife and children remain, but that of the husband has been lost and replaced by the mutilated early 15th-century figure of a lady.

The tower contains a ring of six bells and a sanctus, the latter by Richard Chandler, 1699. The treble was re-cast in 1883 by Warner & Sons; the second is inscribed 'I as treble beginn'; the third was cast by Chandler in 1726; the fourth is inscribed 'I as third ring'; the fifth is by Thomas Mears, 1839; and the tenor was re-cast by Warner in 1883. The second and fourth were cast by Ellis Knight in the 17th century, and, as their inscriptions show, formed the treble and third of a former ring.

The plate consists of a chalice of 1805, a paten of 1804, and a plated standing paten and flagon.

The first book of the registers contains all entries from 1538, baptisms running to 1752, burials to 1753, and marriages to 1754, while a separate book has burials in wool between 1678 and 1730. The second book contains baptisms and burials between 1753 and 1812, and two books of marriages by banns contain entries between 1754 and 1771, and between 1771 and 1812.

The church of Stone was held in **ADVOWSON** the 12th century with the fee belonging to the honour of Belvoir. In the reign of Henry I William de Bracey granted it to Oseney Abbey,⁹⁹ and his son Gilbert confirmed the grant, and himself gave a messuage and 1 hide of land to the abbey.¹⁰⁰ This grant was confirmed in the

charters of Edward II and Edward III.¹⁰¹ The vicarage was ordained before 1271.¹⁰² At the Dissolution the abbey held the rectory and advowson of the church, which were granted in 1542 to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford.¹⁰³ In 1545 they were, however, given to Sir Anthony Lee, together with St. Cleres Manor.¹⁰⁴ He must have alienated half the rectory and advowson before his death in 1550, since he then held only one moiety.¹⁰⁵ In 1553 Sir Robert Dormer died seized of half the rectory, and he probably held half the advowson as well.¹⁰⁶ His son and heir Sir William Dormer obtained the share of the Lees in 1559,¹⁰⁷ and afterwards held the whole advowson.¹⁰⁸ The Lees, however, obtained possession of the rectory and advowson, and in 1662-3 Sir Thomas Lee, bart., obtained a quitclaim from Charles, Earl of Carnarvon, of the advowson and land and tithes, for £100.¹⁰⁹

The Lees held the advowson¹⁰⁰ till 1844, when John Lee, LL.D., then lord of the manor, gave it to the Royal Astronomical Society. He was an original member of the society, and became its president in 1862.¹⁰¹ The gift of the advowson was made with a view to the promotion of astronomy in connexion with theology.

Colonel Lee, the present lord of the manor, has, however, lately re-purchased the advowson of the vicarage of Stone.¹⁰² The ecclesiastical parishes of Stone and Hartwell were united by an Order in Council, dated 18 August 1892, Little Hampden having previously been separated from Hartwell.

The rent from a close of land was surrendered in the reign of Edward VI, having been given for the keeping of an obit in Stone. The land lay in the hamlet of Bishopstone, the rent being 16*d.* a year, and the clear value being 14*d.* a year.¹⁰³

A chapel at Bishopstone is mentioned in a grant of Queen Elizabeth to Sir Edward Stanley. There had been one close of land attached to it, and both had been in the occupation of the vicar of Stone; there seems, however, to be no trace of its origin or date of foundation.¹⁰⁴

Bishopstone is now a large hamlet with a chapel-of-ease to Stone Church. It also contains a Wesleyan chapel, built in 1877.

Sir William Plomer, kt., by will **CHARITIES** dated 22 October 1800, bequeathed £100 stock, now £100 consols, with the official trustees, the dividends to be applied by the minister and churchwardens in the distribution of bread or meat. In 1906 the sum of £2 10*s.* was given towards tickets for meat to twenty-eight sick and necessitous persons.

The Charity of Louis XVIII, see under Hartwell.

⁹⁹ Cott. MS. Vit. E. xv.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 254.

¹⁰² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 284, n. 5.

¹⁰³ Pat. 34 Hen. VIII, pt. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. 16, m. 24.

⁹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xc, no. 2.

⁹⁷ Ibid. xciv, no. 5.

⁹⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1 Eliz.

⁹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clxx, no. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 13 & 14 Chas. II.

¹⁰¹ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1668, 1678, 1681, 1702, 1723, 1783, 1792, 1803, 1812.

¹⁰² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxii, 362-3.

¹⁰³ From information given by Col. Lee.

¹⁰⁴ Chant. Cert. 5, no. 64.

¹⁰⁵ Pat. 31 Eliz. pt. 13, m. 31.

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HUNDRED OF AYLESBURY

ASTON CLINTON

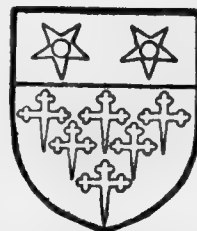
Estone, xi cent. ; Aston, Eston, xiii cent. ; Aston Clynton, xiv cent.

Aston Clinton is a large parish, very long and narrow in shape, lying on the northern slopes of the Chiltern Hills. The highest point, 817 ft. above the Ordnance datum,¹ is near the most northerly of the two Chiveray Farms. The hamlet of St. Leonards in the extreme south-east corner of the parish lies over 700 ft. above the Ordnance datum, but the village of Aston Clinton and a large part of the parish lies in the Vale of Aylesbury, its height varying from 200 ft. to 300 ft.² The subsoil is Upper Greensand and Gault and the surface stiff loam.³ The population is mainly occupied in agriculture, and the parish contains 1,257½ acres of arable land⁴ and 1,621½ of permanent grass. The parish is not well timbered except at the Park and about the village. Straw-plaiting used to be an important industry in the village, but there is now but little demand for the plait and the industry is gradually dying out. The Aylesbury branch of the Grand Junction Canal passes through the parish, along the south-east boundary of Aston Clinton Park, where there is a spring of water and an ornamental lake. One of the many streams that water the Vale flows through the north of the parish and forms the moat at Vaches or Vatches Farm. Another branch of the Grand Junction Canal crosses the parish, but is now disused.

In the Chiltern Hills the Chiltern Hills Water Company has its waterworks, and there is a large reservoir near Aston Hill. The high road from Aylesbury to Tring, following the course of Akeman Street, runs through the parish and forms the main street of the village of Aston Clinton, the houses being mostly modern. The Lower Icknield Way runs from Weston Turville to the village and the Upper Icknield Way also crosses the parish ; a branch road connecting with Akeman Street and the Upper Icknield Way runs south-east through the length of the parish, by St. Leonards hamlet and on to Cholesbury. No line of railway passes through the parish, and the nearest station is ¾ miles away at Stoke Mandeville on the Metropolitan Extension Railway. The common fields of Aston Clinton were inclosed by Act of Parliament, the award being dated 14 November 1816.⁵ There is a common to the north of the hamlet of St. Leonards. A few houses, two farms and an inn form the hamlet of Chiveray, preserving the name of an ancient manorial division of Aston Clinton. Various archaeological discoveries have been made in the parish ; miscellaneous neolithic instruments have been dug up as well as late Celtic

pottery and a Roman amphora. Aston Clinton House, the only house of importance in the parish, the residence of the Dowager Lady de Rothschild, is modern, and is surrounded by finely-timbered grounds. The church stands on the edge of the Park in an ample churchyard at the entrance to which is a counterpoise lychgate.

Before the Norman Conquest, the *MANORS* manor of *ASTON CLINTON* was held by Wlwen, a 'man' of King Edward.⁶ Wlwen is a woman's name, and she seems to have been the predecessor of Edward de Salisbury, the Domesday tenant, in all his lands in Buckinghamshire.⁷ He was the standard-bearer of Henry I at the battle of Bretnville in 1100,⁸ and was made Earl of Salisbury.⁹ Whether he alienated it during his lifetime or whether it descended to his heir Walter de Salisbury does not appear, but at the end of the 12th century it belonged to the family of Clinton, who held it by grand serjeanty. In 1193 and 1194 William de Clinton rendered account of 10 marks for having seisin of his land at Aston¹⁰ until the king's return to England, so that he was probably waiting to do homage to the king for lands of inheritance. In this case they had been held presumably by his father Jordan de Clinton.¹¹ William died before 1196,¹² and the sheriff of the county rendered account for his lands in Aston. In 1200 King John granted to Hugh de Haversham the custody of his lands and heir and the marriage of the heir,¹³ but the next year this was cancelled, since Isabella de Clinton gave 300 marks for the same privileges.¹⁴ She answered for Aston for several years, and was probably the widow of William de Clinton.¹⁵ His heir was his son, another William de Clinton,¹⁶ who is mentioned in a list of tenants in chief in 1210-12.¹⁷ In 1216, however, the manor was in the hands of the king,¹⁸ although Isabella was still alive, and while William de Clinton was still a minor.¹⁹ The manor of Aston was granted in that year by King John to Walerand Teutonicus for the support of the castle of Berkhamstead.²⁰ Before 1219 William de Clinton appears to have come of age and obtained possession of Aston.²¹ His name appears for the last time in 1228,²² and the next tenant of the manor seems to have been Nicia de Clinton, who was holding it in



CLINTON. *Argent six crosslets fitchy sable and a chief azure with two pierced molets or therein.*

¹ *Ord. Surv.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

⁴ *Inf. supplied by Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

⁵ *Com. Incl. Award.*

⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 263b.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Migne), pt. iii, bk. 12.

⁹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹⁰ *Pipe R.* 5 Ric. I, m. 11 d.

¹¹ *Curia Regis R.* 71, m. 23 d.

¹² *Pipe R.* 8 Ric. I, m. 17.

¹³ *Chart. R.* (Rec. Com.), 50b ; *Rot. de Oblat. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 173.

¹⁵ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 137.

¹⁶ *Curia Regis R.* 71, m. 23 d.

¹⁷ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 537.

¹⁸ *Maitland, Bracton's Note Bk.* case 1373.

¹⁹ *Rot. Lit. Claus* (Rec. Com.), i, 286.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Curia Regis R.* 71, m. 23 d. Feet of F. Bucks. 6 Hen. III, nos. 2-5.

²² *Maitland, Bracton's Note Bk.* case 283.

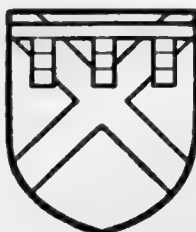
1240-1.³³ Her relationship to William de Clinton does not appear; but it seems probable that she was his widow, and having been jointly seised with him, held the whole manor for her life.³⁴ She died in or before 1246,³⁵ when she was succeeded by her son William de Clinton,³⁶ more usually called de Paris, who did homage for the manor in 1247.³⁷ About 1252 he alienated the manor of Aston Clinton to William de Montagu for his homage and service.³⁸ The new tenant in 1268 made an exchange with Philip Basset and Lady Ella his wife,³⁹ who obtained it for their lives, holding by fealty and the yearly rental of 1*d.* Lady Ella, who was the daughter of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury,⁴⁰ and Countess of Warwick in right of her first husband, survived Philip Basset and held the manor till her death.⁴¹ William de Montagu died in or before 1271, and his son and heir Simon, who was a minor, surrendered all his

Warwick,⁴² who was attainted and executed in 1499.⁴³ The manor remained in the hands of the Crown until Margaret, the sister of the last Earl of Warwick, was restored in lands and blood in 1513.⁴⁴ She was also created Countess of Salisbury⁴⁵ and married Sir Richard Pole.⁴⁶ She held the manor until 1539,⁴⁷ when, falling under the suspicion of Henry VIII as a possible heir to the throne, she was attainted and executed two years later.⁴⁸ Henry VIII retained Aston Clinton in his own hands, but Edward VI granted it to his sister, the Lady Mary, in 1549.⁴⁹ Soon after her accession to the throne, however, she restored it⁵⁰ to Sir Thomas Hastings and his wife Winifred, one of the granddaughters and heiresses of the Countess of Salisbury. After the death of Hastings⁵¹ his widow married Sir Thomas Barrington,⁵² who was in seisin of the manor of Aston Clinton in 1579.⁵³ The reversion of the manor was granted by Elizabeth to Lord Burghley, Sir William Mildmay, and Gilbert Gerrard,⁵⁴ and by James I to Sir Francis Barrington.⁵⁵ The latter was the son of Sir Thomas Barrington and his wife Winifred, and afterwards succeeded them in the manor. In 1614 Sir Francis and his wife Joan obtained licence⁵⁶ to alienate the manor of Aston Clinton to Gilbert Gerrard,⁵⁷ who married the daughter of Sir Francis Barrington.⁵⁸

The Gerrards held the manor without interruption⁵⁹ until Elizabeth, the heiress of Sir Charles Gerrard, who died in 1701, married Warwick Lake.⁶⁰ The manor descended to her heirs,⁶¹ and in 1765⁶² her grandson Gerard Lake, Baron Lake of Delhi, &c., and of Aston Clinton, was lord of the manor. He

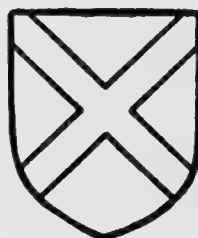


MONTAGU. *Argent a fesse indented gules having three points.*



NEVILL. *Gules a saltire argent and a label gobony argent and azure.*

lands into the hands of the king.³³ In 1290,³³ however, he obtained a new charter from Edward I, granting him the manor of Aston Clinton to hold in fee-tail, and two years later the Countess of Warwick was ordered by the king to do fealty and service to Simon for the manor.³⁴ The Montagus held the manor without interruption until the death of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury.³⁵ He left an only daughter and heiress Alice,³⁶ who married Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick,³⁷ who was recognized as Earl of Salisbury on the death of his father.³⁸ He and his wife granted the manor of Aston Clinton for life to Richard Hertcombe,³⁹ who died in 1435,⁴⁰ and it reverted to the Earl and Countess.⁴¹ Their lands passed to their son Richard Nevill, the king-maker,⁴² and after his death at the battle of Barnet in 1471 his lands were divided between his two sons-in-law, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Aston Clinton must have been assigned to Clarence and his wife Isabel, since it passed to their son Edward, Earl of



GERRARD. *Argent a saltire gules.*



LAKE. *Sable a bend between six crosslets fitchy argent.*

was raised to the peerage as a reward for distinguished services in India during the Mahratta War. He had previously served in Germany, France, and America, and had been second in command of the forces in the north of Ireland during the rebellion of 1797-8,

³³ Assize R. 55, m. 1.

³⁴ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245*b*, 257*b*.

³⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 5, no. 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 5.

³⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 18, no. 8.

³⁹ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 53 Hen. III.

⁴⁰ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁴¹ *Cal. of Inq. Hen. III*, 807; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85; P.R.O. Anct. D., A. 45.

⁴² *Cal. of Inq. Hen. III*, 807.

⁴³ Chart. R. 18 Edw. I, no. 83, m. 18.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 479.

⁴⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 113-23. Chan. Inq.

p.m. 13 Edw. II, no. 31; *ibid.* 28 Edw.

III (1st nos.), no. 39; *ibid.* 20 Ric. II,

no. 35; *ibid.* 2 Hen. V, no. 39, file 240.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 7 Hen. VI, no. 57.

⁴⁷ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Hen. VI,

no. 57.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, p. 23; Feet of F.

Bucks. East. 9 Hen. VI.

⁵⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Hen. VI, no. 28.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxviii, 131.

⁵⁵ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Pat. 2 Phil. and Mary; Pat. 31 Eliz.

pt. 3.

⁴⁹ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁵⁰ Pat. 2 Edw. VI, pt. 5, m. 8.

⁵¹ Pat. 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, pt. 5,

m. 31.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*.

⁵⁴ *Recov. R. East.* 22 Eliz.

⁵⁵ Pat. 31 Eliz. pt. 3.

⁵⁶ Pat. 12 Jas. I, pt. 1; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*

1611-18, p. 248.

⁵⁷ Pat. 12 Jas. I, pt. 39.

⁵⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 12 Jas. I;

Recov. R. Mich. 12 Jas. I.

⁵⁹ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*.

⁶⁰ *Recov. R. Trin.* 20 Chas. II.

⁶¹ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Recov. R. Mich.* 6 Geo. III.

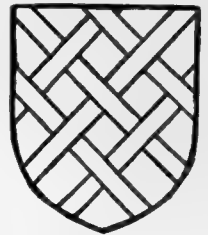
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

defeating the French force that landed there. He was commander-in-chief in India from 1800 to 1805, and won the battles of Delhi and Leswarzi in 1803. He represented the borough of Aylesbury in Parliament from 1790 to 1802, although during part of the time he was absent from England. He died in 1808, and was succeeded in his titles by his two sons in succession.⁶⁴ The third Viscount Lake died in 1848, leaving two daughters as his heiresses, and all his titles became extinct. The manorial rights in Aston Clinton were extinguished by the Inclosure Act of 1814, in return for several acres of land, but the estate was in the possession of the Lakes till shortly after the death of the last Lord Lake. In 1851 it was purchased by Sir Anthony de Rothschild, bart.,⁶⁵ and is now held by his widow Louisa, Dowager Lady de Rothschild.

The manor of Aston Clinton was held by grand serjeanty, but the exact service is differently described at different times. In 1210-12 William de Clinton held it by the serjeanty of the larderer.⁶⁶ Some years later, however, Nicia de Clinton was bound to provide a serjeant, with horse and arms to serve in the king's army at her own cost for forty days.⁶⁷ The different lords of the manor, however, and especially the elder William de Clinton,⁶⁸ had alienated part of the serjeanty without the king's consent.⁶⁹ This appears to have passed unnoticed, until many of the services due from the serjeanties in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire were commuted by Robert Passelewe,⁷⁰ probably between 1246 and 1255.⁷¹ William de Paris received over £15 a year for the alienated land, but under the pressure of the royal officials an agreement was made as between William and his tenants.⁷² The latter were to answer to him for the third part of the value of his tenement, and to pay 111s. a year, which he paid to the king.⁷³ His own service, for the land that remained in his own hands, was changed from serjeanty to the military service due from one knight's fee.⁷⁴ The rent from the tenants was paid through all the changes of the lords of the manor.⁷⁵ It is mentioned in a rental, made in the reign of Edward III,⁷⁶ and again when the manor of Aston Chiveray (q.v.) was in the hands of Henry VI.⁷⁷ The rent was finally purchased in 1671⁷⁸ from the trustees for the sale of the fee-farm rents payable to the Crown by Sir Francis Gerrard, who then held the manor. The rents, however, had then been settled or were about to be settled on the queen for her life as part of her jointure, and therefore she was entitled to take the rents during her life, the reversion being vested in Sir Francis.⁷⁹

A court leet, a court baron and view of frankpledge were held for the manor.⁸⁰

At the end of the 12th century William de Clinton alienated 40 librates of land, which afterwards formed the manor of *ASTON CHIVEREY*, to Reginald de Mohun in frank-marriage with Alice, probably the daughter of William de Clinton.⁸¹ After the death of Reginald Alice held the manor herself,⁸² but before 1215 she married Robert de Beauchamp,⁸³ and they held the manor jointly.⁸⁴ Between 1247 and 1261-2 the manor of Chiveray was granted at ferm to James de Audley, who afterwards became possessed of the fee-simple.⁸⁵ Alice de Audley, the widow of James de Audley, or his son of the same name, held the manor of Aston Chiveray in the 14th century. She died in 1342, and was succeeded by William de Audley, the grandson of James de Audley.⁸⁶ He claimed to hold it by descent from the original feoffees of William de Clinton.⁸⁷ William de Audley settled the manor of Chiveray on himself, his wife Joan, and their heirs.⁸⁸ He died in 1367, and his widow held it till 1382,⁸⁹ when it passed to Elizabeth the niece of William de Audley and daughter of Thomas de Audley.⁹⁰ Elizabeth married John Rose, an esquire of Richard II.⁹¹ She seems to have predeceased her husband,⁹² who held the manor for life, according to a settlement made in 1387,⁹³ and by agreement with Philip St. Clair,⁹⁴ who seems to have been the heir of Elizabeth Rose. His only relationship to Elizabeth was apparently through the mother of William de Audley, who was one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Edmund de Beresford.⁹⁵ Another sister married John St. Clair the grandfather of Philip.⁹⁶ Philip St. Clair never was in seisin of the manor, since John Rose outlived him.⁹⁷ The latter died in 1410, and Aston Chiveray was seized into the king's hands during the minority of John son and heir of Philip.⁹⁸ John died before coming of age,⁹⁹ and the manor passed to his brother Thomas, who twice in a very short time tried to evade the rights of wardship of the king. In 1424 he was fined £200 for having married Margaret Hoo without the king's consent, while he was still a ward of Henry V,¹⁰⁰ and in 1425¹⁰¹ he made a settlement of the manor of Aston Chiveray with the intent to defraud the king of the wardship of his heirs, and



AUDLEY. *Gules fretty or.*

⁶⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*; *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

⁶⁵ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 86.

⁶⁶ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 537.

⁶⁷ *Assize R.* 55, m. 22; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* Hen. III, file 5, no. 1.

⁶⁸ *Assize R.* 58, m. 17 d.

⁶⁹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254b.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* Hen. III, file 5, no. 1; *ibid.* file 18, no. 2.

⁷² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254b.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁷⁶ *P.R.O. Rentals and Surv.* 72.

⁷⁷ *P.R.O. Ct. R. portf.* 155, no. 1.

⁷⁸ *Close*, 23 Chas. II, pt. 20, no. 10.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 13 Hen. VI, no. 28.

⁸¹ *Assize R.* 57, m. 8 d.; 58, m. 6 d. The relationship of Alice to William de Montagu is omitted in the *Assize R.*, but in a rental of the reign of Edward III the grant is said to have been made by William to his son with his wife; *P.R.O. Rentals and Surv.* 72.

⁸² *Assize R.* 58, m. 6 d.; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 257b.

⁸³ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 235.

⁸⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* Hen. III, file 5, no. 1.

⁸⁵ *Assize R.* 56, m. 17; 57, m. 8 d.; 58, m. 6 d.

⁸⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 15 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 10.

⁸⁷ *P.R.O. Rentals and Surv.* 72.

⁸⁸ *De Banco R.* 352, m. 130; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 21 Edw. III; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 10 Ric. II, no. 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 6 Ric. II, no. 5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 7 Ric. II, no. 8.

⁹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 459; *ibid.* 1385-9, p. 223.

⁹² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 1 Hen. VI, no. 4.

⁹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 11 Ric. II.

⁹⁴ *Early Chan. Proc. bdle.* 7, no. 211.

⁹⁵ *De Banco R.* East. 7 Hen. IV, m. 120.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* Mich. 36 Edw. III, m. 268.

⁹⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 9 Hen. IV, no. 44.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 1 Hen. VI, no. 30.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 180.

¹⁰¹ *Close*, 3 Hen. VI, m. 2; Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 5 Hen. VI.

was fined £60.¹⁰⁹ He died in 1435,¹⁰⁹ leaving three daughters, the eldest of whom was then thirteen years old. In the partition of his lands the manor was assigned to Eleanor, the second daughter, who married John Gage.¹⁰⁹ They held it jointly till the death of Eleanor, and then John held it for life.¹⁰⁹ He died in 1476,¹⁰⁹ and was succeeded by his son William Gage and grandson Sir John Gage.¹⁰⁹ The latter, together with his wife Philippa and Edmund and John Gage, sold the manor of Aston Chiveray in 1532 to Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Reginald Pole, clerk, and others,¹⁰⁹ and from this time it was held with the manor of Aston Clinton¹⁰⁹ (q.v.).

Another manor, known as *VACHES MANOR*, in Aston Clinton, appears to have been held by Richard de Turri in the early part of the 13th century. He obtained licence to build a chapel in his land in Aston from Bishop Grosteste (1235-53).¹¹⁰ He died before 1271, but his manor did not pass to his son and heir Richard, but to Richard de la Vache.¹¹¹ The latter obtained a quitclaim from the younger de Turri, who acknowledged the manor to be the right of Richard de la Vache.¹¹² There were suits between them as to land and messuages¹¹³ in Aston Clinton, but Richard de la Vache remained in undisturbed possession of the manor.¹¹⁴ Before 1302-3 he was succeeded by Matthew de la Vache,¹¹⁵ who was followed by another Richard de la Vache,¹¹⁶ his son. The latter obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne lands in Aston Clinton in 1364.¹¹⁷ He was succeeded by his son Philip de la Vache, who was certified of full age in 1371.¹¹⁸ Philip was made a knight of the Garter, receiving the honour after February 1398-9.¹¹⁹ He was keeper of the royal park at Chiltern Langley,¹²⁰ and was a knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1387.¹²¹ He married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Lewis Clifford,¹²² and various settlements were made of Vaches Manor which appears to have been held by a John de la Vache and his wife Elizabeth for life.¹²³ Philip also granted it to several feoffees, presumably to the use, after his own death, of his wife and heir.¹²⁴ Sir Philip de la Vache died in 1407 or 1408,¹²⁵ and his widow held the manor for life in 1410;¹²⁶ she enfeoffed John Kirkham and his wife Anna to hold during her life. After



DE LA VACHE. Gules three lions argent having crowns or.

her death Kirkham refused to give up the manor to the feoffees of Sir Philip, represented by John Buktoft, and a lawsuit ensued, the result of which does not appear.¹²⁷ The heir of Philip de la Vache is said to have been his daughter Blanche,¹²⁸ the first wife of Richard Grey de Wilton, who certainly obtained Vaches Manor.¹²⁹ He had a further claim on it, since his grandmother had been Matilda, the sister of Matthew de la Vache.¹³⁰ He granted the manor¹³¹ to Richard Henbarowe, John Clubbewell, and Richard Koppe, but some years afterwards, in 1442,¹³² the last-named feoffee regranted it to Richard and his second wife Margaret in fee-tail. Reginald Grey was the son and heir of Richard,¹³³ but Margaret held the manor for her life.¹³⁴ Edmund, Lord Grey de Wilton, and his wife Florence held it in 1506,¹³⁵ but in that year they sold it to Thomas Craford, William Lynne, Nicholas Shelton, Richard Lee, and the heirs of Shelton. Vaches Manor afterwards passed to John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's,¹³⁶ and formed part of the endowment of St. Paul's School.¹³⁷ The trustees of the school, the Mercers Company of London, still own Vaches Farm in Aston Clinton.

At the close of the 12th century the manor of *DUNDRIDGE* was held by Henry de Crokesley of William de Clinton.¹³⁸ Henry granted land with the consent of his heir from his tenement in Dundridge to the abbey of Missenden in the time of Robert de Braybroc, who was under-sheriff of the county in 1197 and 1199 and sheriff in 1204 and 1205.¹³⁹ The grant was confirmed by William de Crokesley, the nephew and heir of Henry, when in possession of Dundridge, and also by a Roger and a second Henry de Crokesley.¹⁴⁰ The manor was afterwards held by Richard de Crokesley in the 13th century,¹⁴¹ certainly between 1240-1⁴² and 1286.¹⁴³ After the grant of Aston Clinton Manor by William de Paris to William de Montagu, Richard de Crokesley brought an action in 1261⁴⁴ against the latter, to recover reasonable estover in a wood at Aston, appertaining to his manor of Dundridge. John de Crokesley is mentioned in 1275,¹⁴⁵ but whether he ever held the manor does not appear. Shortly afterwards the subtenancy must have lapsed, since William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, died seised, c. 1320,¹⁴⁶ of lands and messuages at Dundridge, and in a survey of the manor made in the reign of Edward III,¹⁴⁷ Crokesley's land is mentioned among the free tenements held of Isabella de Montagu. Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, died seised of the manor of Dundridge in 1428,¹⁴⁸ and it was held with the

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 352.

¹¹⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 17 Hen. VI, no. 56.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 15 Edw. IV, no. 26.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* (Ser. 2), xiii, 105.

¹¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 909 (21).

¹¹⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 24 Hen. VIII.

¹¹⁷ *Linc. Epia. Reg.*; Bp. Grosteste's Inst.

¹¹⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 55 Hen. VIII.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* East. 8 Edw. I.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* Trin. 12 Edw. I.

¹²² *Feud. Aids*, i, 91.

¹²³ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 13 Edw. III.

¹²⁴ Chart. R. 37 Edw. III, no. 155,

m. 4.

¹²⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 44 Edw. III (1st

nos.), no. 82.

¹²⁶ *Shaw, Knights of Engl.*

¹²⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 442.

¹²⁸ *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

¹²⁹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*; Collins,

Peerage (ed. Brydges), vii, 121.

¹³⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 2 Ric. II;

ibid. 10 Ric. II; *ibid.* Div. Co. 22 Ric. II;

ibid. 5 Hen. IV.

¹³¹ De Banco R. no. 572, m. 520 d.;

Close, 12 Hen. IV, m. 38.

¹³² *Shaw, Knights of Engl.*; *Cal. Pat.*

1405-8, p. 442.

¹³³ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 12 Hen.

IV.

¹³⁴ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 7, no. 204.

¹³⁵ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

¹³⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 20 Hen. VI,

no. 23.

¹³⁷ De Banco R. Mich. 22 Hen. VI, m. 408.

¹³⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 20 Hen. VI, no. 23.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 26

Hen. VI.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* Trin. 21 Hen. VII.

¹⁴³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xxv, 160.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁴⁶ P.R.O. *List of Sheriffs*.

¹⁴⁷ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁴⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254b.

¹⁴⁹ Assize R. 55, m. 3 d.

¹⁵⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

¹⁵¹ Assize R. 58.

¹⁵² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 3 Edw. I.

¹⁵³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 13 Edw. II, no. 31.

¹⁵⁴ (P.R.O.) Rentals and Surv. no. 72.

¹⁵⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 7 Hen. VI, no. 57.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

manor of Aston Clinton¹⁴⁹ until it passed into the hands of Henry VIII on the attainder of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. In 1544 the king sold the manor of Dundridge to Sir John Baldwin,¹⁵⁰ who died seised of the manor.¹⁵¹ It then passed to his grandson Sir Thomas Pakington, and in 1578 it was sold by John Pakington to Henry and Richard Baldwin.¹⁵² Henry Baldwin obtained a grant of free warren in his lands in Aston Clinton from James I¹⁵³ in 1620. Before 1628¹⁵⁴ the manor passed to Richard, presumably the son of Henry Baldwin, and he settled it on his wife Christian and his own heirs male, on his brother Silvester, and the four sons of Silvester.¹⁵⁵ Richard died in 1636,¹⁵⁶ and although his widow survived him,¹⁵⁷ Dundridge seems to have come into the possession of Henry Baldwin, his nephew.¹⁵⁸ Before 1670 it passed to Edward Baldwin, who sold it to Thomas Baldwin.¹⁵⁹ Another Edward Baldwin appears to have succeeded to the manor before 1689,¹⁶⁰ and his family held it till 1768, when Robert Monteith Baldwin sold it to the father of Edward Darell, who owned Dundridge in 1813.¹⁶¹ His daughter Elizabeth married John Jeffrey, and her grandson, the Rev. John Jeffrey, rector of Barnes, inherited it.¹⁶² In 1900, on the death of Canon Jeffrey of Hawkhurst, Kent, his trustees sold his estate at Dundridge. The house and 150 acres of land are owned and occupied by Mr. Robert T. Green; about 130 acres were sold to Mr. Frederick Butcher of Tring and the remaining 50 acres were purchased in three separate divisions.^{162a}

The manor of Dundridge formed part of the serjeanty of Aston Clinton, and like the main manor its service was commuted by Robert Passelewe in the reign of Henry III.¹⁶³ The Crokesleys had, like the lords of Aston Clinton, alienated part of their land, and Richard de Crokesley's tenants also answered by agreement for a third part of his holding,¹⁶⁴ paying the annual rent of 11*s.* 9*d.*¹⁶⁵ This rent was bought in 1671 by Sir Francis Gerrard at the same time that he obtained the rent due from his own manor.¹⁶⁶ The service from the land retained by Richard de Crokesley in his own hands was changed from serjeanty to military service, and his whole fee answered for the thirtieth part of a knight's fee.¹⁶⁷ In 1254 he paid half a mark yearly to the king, to be quit of suit of court, and 10*s.* yearly for the right to hold the view of frankpledge for his tenants.¹⁶⁸

Henry de Crokesley alienated part of his land in Dundridge to the abbey of Missenden, with the consent of William de Clinton.¹⁶⁹ He granted them '13 solidatae' of land, with the tenants living there, and a third part of his demesne land, excepting the land previously granted to the chapel of St. Leonard.¹⁷⁰ In 1254 the Abbot of Missenden was said

to hold in chief of the king, paying 13*s.* a year by an agreement with his tenants,¹⁷¹ but previously he had held of the serjeanty of William de Paris.¹⁷² The possessions of the abbey were confirmed by the Popes Innocent IV and Boniface IX, and rents and services in Dundridge are mentioned.¹⁷³ The abbey held the lands in Dundridge until the Dissolution. In 1540 Henry VIII granted land in Aston Clinton to Michael Dormer, that had formerly belonged to the abbey of Missenden,¹⁷⁴ but it is not said to be at Dundridge, and four years later he gave two messuages called Brunes and Brownes, respectively, and certain demesne lands at Dundridge to Henry Bradshawe.¹⁷⁵ The tenement called Brownes passed into the hands of John Ginger, yeoman, before 1607, when he sold it to his son Michael for £300.¹⁷⁶

The manor of *MONTJOY* in Aston Clinton was held by the Montagus in demesne. Of its earlier history there seems to be no record, but in 1397 William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, died seised of lands and tenements in Montjoy held of the king by fealty.¹⁷⁷ He had granted them in fee to Sir William Farendon, who obtained a regrant from the king on the death of the earl.¹⁷⁸ The manor is mentioned for the last time in an inquisition on the lands of Edward Earl of Warwick, taken in 1513¹⁷⁹ some years after his attainder.

The manor of *OKE* was apparently in the parish of Aston Clinton, but it is only mentioned twice in the 14th and 15th centuries. John Rose and his wife Elizabeth held the manors of Chivery and Oke in 1389.¹⁸⁰ Thomas St. Clare also held the manor of Oke in 1424,¹⁸¹ but it is not mentioned again in the descent of the manor of Aston Chivery.

In Domesday Book there was one mill at Aston Clinton of the yearly value of five 'ores' of silver.¹⁸² In the 13th century Robert son of Martin held the mill, with land and wood, from William de Paris,¹⁸³ and a water-mill is mentioned as appurtenant to the manor, when it was held by the Earls of Salisbury.¹⁸⁴ In the first years of the 16th century, it was in such a complete state of disrepair that no tenant could be found to take it,¹⁸⁵ but by 1520 this had been remedied, and a new tenant was in possession.¹⁸⁶ There is no water-mill in Aston Clinton parish at the present day.

The church of *ST. MICHAEL CHURCHES AND ALL ANGELS* consists of a chancel 34 ft. 9 in. by 16 ft. 4 in., a nave 51 ft. 8 in. by 17 ft. 6 in., north and south aisles, 7 ft. 6 in. and 8 ft. 1 in. wide respectively, a west tower 13 ft. 5 in. by 12 ft. 2 in., and north and south porches. The church probably consisted of an aisleless nave and chancel up to the latter half of

¹⁴⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 9 Hen. VI; Cal. Pat. 1429-36, p. 23; Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Hen. VI, no. 28; *ibid.* (Ser. 2), xxviii, 131 (P.R.O.); Mins. Accts. 6-7 Hen. VII, no. 24.

¹⁵⁰ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xix (1), 1035 (10).

¹⁵¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, 7.
¹⁵² Pat. 20 Eliz. pt. 5, m. 13; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 20 Eliz.; Com. Pleas D. Enr. Hil. 21 Eliz.

¹⁵³ Pat. 18 Jas. I, pt. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Recov. R. East. 3 Chas. I. ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccclxxxi, 32.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Fine R. 13 Chas. I, pt. 2, no. 50;

Feet of F. Bucks. East. 18 Chas. I.

¹⁵⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 22 Chas. II.

¹⁶⁰ Recov. R. Mich. 1 Will. and Mary.

¹⁶¹ Lysons, *Magna. Brit.* i, 500.

¹⁶² Gibba, *Hist. of Aylesbury*, 316;

Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1906).

^{162a} From information kindly given by

Mr. Fredk. Bailey.

¹⁶³ *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 254*b*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁶⁶ Close, 23 Chas. II, pt. 20, no. 10.

¹⁶⁷ *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 254*b*.

¹⁶⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* ¹⁷⁰ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁷¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁷² *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 254*b*.

¹⁷³ Cal. Papal Letters, v, 435.

¹⁷⁴ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xvi, 379 (2).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* xix (2), 340 (14).

¹⁷⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc. dxxx, 2 Chas.

I, pt. 25, no. 164.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 20 Ric. II, no. 35.

¹⁷⁸ Cal. Rot. Pat. (Rec. Com.), 239*b*.

¹⁷⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxviii,

131.

¹⁸⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 11 Ric. II.

¹⁸¹ Close, 3 Hen. VI, m. 2.

¹⁸² V.C.H. Bucks. i, 263*b*.

¹⁸³ *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 254*b*.

¹⁸⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Edw. II, no. 31;

ibid. 13 Hen. VI, no. 28.

¹⁸⁵ (P.R.O.) Mins. Accts. Bucks. Hen.

VII, no. 24.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 10-11 Hen. VIII, no. 132.

the 13th century. Towards the end of that century the south aisle, and about the middle of the 14th the north aisle, were added. It is impossible to say when the original tower was built, for this part of the church was completely rebuilt about 1800. The chancel was also rebuilt in the 14th century, and at the same time and in the century following windows were inserted at various points. The original clear-story probably belonged to the latter date.

The east window of the chancel is modern and of three trefoiled lights with tracery of 14th-century detail and elaborately shafted jambs and moulded rear arch. On either side of it are modern niches with trefoiled heads and finialed canopies. In the north wall is a much-restored niche of late 14th-century work with a trefoiled head and an elaborate finialed and crocketed canopy on modern corbels carved into heads in mail hoods. This niche, possibly an Easter sepulchre, is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796, p. 841 that is previous to its restoration, and is shown without the carved corbels but with small side buttresses surmounted by figures. At the back of this, externally, is a small square recess, now glazed. West of this is a blocked 14th-century door continuously moulded on its internal jambs, but not showing on the outer face of the wall; it once led into a vestry, which is now destroyed, and of which the recess was one of the fittings. Between this door and the west wall are two mid-14th-century windows with geometrical tracery of two trefoiled lights with two trefoils and a quatrefoil over, a moulded rear arch and internal and external labels. At the south-east of the chancel are three beautiful mid-14th-century sedilia and a piscina, divided from each other by small buttresses with richly crocketed pinnacles. The heads are cinquefoiled, in the case of the sedilia sub-cusped, and of ogee form with richly moulded crocketed and finialed labels, while the backs of the sedilia are concave, and there is a shelf to the piscina. The seats are at one level throughout. Above is a blocked 14th-century window, and west of it a small priest's door of 14th-century date, and two 14th-century windows similar in every respect to those on the north except that the western one has its western light continued downwards to form a low side window, the sill of the window above forming a square transom head. The chancel arch, belonging to the first half of the 14th century, is of two wave-moulded orders, the jambs having half-round shafts with moulded capitals.

The nave is of four bays. The north arcade has two-centred arches of two wave-moulded orders and an ogee label with carved drips. The east responds, the first and the third columns are octagonal, the second column and the west respond are round, while all have moulded capitals and bases. The south arcade, c. 1280, has two-centred arches of two hollow-chamfered orders, broach stopped, and an undercut label mitred over the piers, with buckle drips over the responds. The columns and responds are round and octagonal, arranged in the same way as in the north arcade, and have moulded capitals of rather plain section and plain chamfered bases. At the east end are doors on either side to the rood loft. There are three much-restored clearstory lights on either hand; the first and third are quatrefoils, the second a circle with eight cusps. The tower arch is modern and of

the same detail as the north arcade, but there are a few old stones in the jambs, which suggest a 14th-century date for the original tower.

The north aisle has an east window of 15th-century date with three cinquefoiled lights and cusped spandrels under a square head, and with a moulded rear arch and external jambs of two moulded orders. In the south wall are three two-light windows of the same date and of similar general design. All of these have external labels and have been much restored. To the west are two modern trefoiled lights in an old opening. The north door, between the western pair of windows, is of 15th-century date with a blunt two-centred head and spandrel sinkings. The porch is modern.

The east window of the south aisle is of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery and of early 15th-century date, but is an insertion in an older opening, which it does not fit. At the east end of the south wall is a late 13th-century piscina with a moulded two-centred head and a curiously crude label, which is carried completely round the piscina, forming a sort of frame. There are three two-light windows to the south. All are very much restored, the westernmost is almost entirely modern but the openings are old. The lights are cinquefoiled, with cusped spandrel-lights over under a square head, and are of 15th-century style. Sufficient old stone remains, particularly in the easternmost, to make it appear probable that their tracery is a faithful copy of former work. The sill of the first window is carried down to form sedilia, and both this and the one next it have shafted jambs, and all have moulded rear arches and external jambs with square labels. The west window of the aisle is also of 14th-century date, with two trefoiled lights and two quatrefoils over in a square head. The south door, between the westernmost pair of windows, of late 14th-century date though much restored, is of two double ogee orders separated by a deep hollow, and has an external label.

The south porch of 15th-century date is of two stages, but the upper part has been completely rebuilt in recent years with the use of a great deal of new material. In the north-west corner is the door to the staircase, and the upper story is lighted by a modern square-headed south window. The porch entrance is of two orders and much restored.

The tower, which was completely rebuilt in 1800 and restored since then, is of three stages, the lower two of which are rough cast, the upper and the embattled parapet being faced with flint rubble. The belfry openings are modern and of two cinquefoiled lights with a square label. The west window is modern, of 14th-century detail with two trefoiled lights with tracery over.

The octagonal font is modern and of early 15th-century detail, but in the south aisle is preserved the basin of a 12th-century font of crude workmanship ornamented with alternate raised and sunk rosettes. The chancel roof is modern and of steep pitch. The roofs of nave and aisles are of low pitch and modern.

There is little woodwork of any interest, but a 17th-century table remains, and a couple of chairs of the same date stand within the sanctuary rails.

The tower contains six bells cast by Thomas Mears & Sons 1806, and a sanctus dated 1778.

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The church plate consists of a modern chalice, a standing paten of 1715, and a plated flagon.

The first book of the registers contains marriages from 1560 to 1721, baptisms from 1567 to 1722, and burials from 1560 to 1722. The second book contains all entries from 1723, marriages running to 1754 and the rest to 1752. A third book contains all entries from 1754 to 1812.

The church of *ST. LEONARD* is a small plain plastered building with a nave and chancel of equal width, 16 ft. 3 in., and without any structural division, the chancel being 24 ft. 3 in. long and the nave 25 ft. 3 in. The latter is continued 10 ft. further west to inclose a bell turret. There is a north porch to the chancel and a south-west porch to the nave. Little can be said of the history of the church. The earliest remains are a piscina and one sedile in the chancel which apparently date from the middle of the 14th century and may not be in their original position, as there is evidence that a second seat adjoined the single one which remains. The nave roof looks like 15th-century work, but can hardly be older than the repairs made by Cornelius Wood late in the 17th century. The windows are all modern or so much altered that their date is matter for conjecture only, and the chancel roof and the porches are modern.

The east window of the chancel is of three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and on its sill is set an embattled cornice, which is all that remains of a 15th-century reredos. On the north of the chancel is a pointed doorway which has been reset inside out and plastered so that its date is doubtful. At the east end of the south wall of the chancel is a cinquefoiled piscina ranging with a single sedile of the same detail, both having moulded labels; the start of the label of a second seat is to be seen. The bowl of the piscina projected from the wall face, but has been cut back. West of this is a window of two cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head.

The nave is lit by three windows, two on the north and one on the south. The latter, towards the east, is of two cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head and opposite to it in the north wall is a similar window. The second north window is a single three-centred uncusped light under a square head. The south door, very plain, is modern of 14th-century detail.

West of the nave is the bell-cot around which a thin wall in continuation of the nave walls has been built, the old west wall being destroyed and a modern window set in the new west wall.

The fittings are modern including the font which is octagonal in form, with a slender stem and traceried bowl. On the north wall of the nave is a marble monument with a pilastered entablature surmounted by a skull set up in memory of Mr. Seth Wood and Elizabeth his wife by their eldest son Cornelius Wood in 1707; it bears a note to the effect that another son John Wood was minister at St. Leonard's for 30 years. The arms of Wood are : crusilly three demi-woodhouses proper ; crest an oak

tree. On the south wall is a large florid monument to Cornelius Wood, who died 1712 aged seventy-five, and was colonel of a regiment of horse and lieutenant-general in the army of Queen Anne. On the tomb is an armed bust surrounded by warlike trophies and flanked by cherubs blowing trumpets. Over it are hung a funeral helmet, gauntlets, and crest. In the chancel is a small monument to Samuel Baldwin, 1760, and another to Mary Willis 1704, daughter of Joseph Willis, minister, bearing the arms : a chevron between three mullets.

The bell-cot contains one bell.

The church plate consists of a communion cup and cover paten of 1612, a second cup of 1814, and a standing paten inscribed as the gift of R. Penn, esq., and hall-marked for 1775.

Only one book of registers exists, which contains baptisms and burials from 1738 and marriages from 1739, all entries running to 1812. This book contains a few sheets stamped for the threepenny duty imposed on entries in registers from 1783 to 1794.

The church of Aston Clinton is *ADVOWSON* a rectory, and till the 18th century the advowson was presumably held by the lords of the chief manor in Aston Clinton. It is not, however, mentioned in any document during the Clinton tenure of the manor, nor in the regrant made by Edward I to Simon de Montagu in 1290.¹⁸⁷ His grandson William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, died seized of the advowson of the church of Aston Clinton in 1397,¹⁸⁸ but there seems to have been some question whether the right of presentation did not belong to the Crown. This may have arisen, however, after the forfeiture of the lands of John, Earl of Salisbury, who opposed the accession of Henry IV to the throne.¹⁸⁹ Henry IV presented Thomas Tuttebury as if the church was in his gift,¹⁹⁰ and on the resignation of Tuttebury he again in 1402 presented to the benefice.¹⁹¹ On the petition of Thomas de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, however, the letter of presentation was revoked, and the advowson was recognized to be the right of the earl.¹⁹² After the attainder of Edward Earl of Warwick, the advowson, together with the manor, came into the possession of the Crown, and Henry VIII presented several rectors to the church.¹⁹³ Edward VI granted the advowson to Lady Mary,¹⁹⁴ and it afterwards passed with the manor to the Barringtons and the Gerrards.¹⁹⁵ In 1727 the Lakes sold it to the Principal and Fellows of Jesus College, Oxford,¹⁹⁶ who are still the patrons of the living.

The chapel of St. Leonard is first mentioned in a charter of Henry de Crokesley, granting land to the abbey of Misen-den, in which he excepted from the gift of a third part of his demesne lands at Dundridge, 13 acres of land that he had granted to the chapel of St. Leonard.¹⁹⁷ Henry de Crokesley died before



JESUS COLLEGE, Oxford. *Argent three harts tripping gules.*

¹⁸⁷ Chart. R. 18 Edw. I, no. 38, m. 18.

¹⁸⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Ric. II, no. 35.

¹⁸⁹ Cal. Pat. 1401-5, p. 217.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 190.

¹⁹² Ibid. 206, 217.

¹⁹³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 88, 89.

¹⁹⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. VI, pt. 5, m. 8.

¹⁹⁵ Recov. R. East. 22 Eliz.; *ibid.* Mich.

¹⁹⁶ Jas. I; P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1663-7.

¹⁹⁷ Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* i, 500-1; P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1746, 1751, 1783, 1784, 1799, 1804.

¹⁹⁸ Harl. MS. 3688.



ASTON CLINTON CHURCH : THE SEDILIA



BIERTON CHURCH : NAVE LOOKING EAST

1193, and probably granted this land to the chapel during the reign of Henry II.¹⁰⁰ It was called in the 13th century the chapel of St. Leonard of Blakmere, and more land does not then seem to have been attached to it.¹⁰⁰ Another account, by Lipscomb, gives 1278 as the date of the foundation of the chapel,¹⁰⁰ when Bishop Gravesend of Lincoln, during a visitation, granted to William de Clinton, patron of the church of Aston, a chapel within the same parish.¹⁰¹ He apparently took a confirmation of an old grant for the foundation itself, since the chapel was in existence many years before, and the last William de Clinton had been dead more than fifty years.¹⁰⁰ The Montagus presented to the chapel after they had obtained the manor of Aston Clinton, the king presenting in 1403, during the minority of Thomas, Earl of Salisbury.¹⁰⁰ It was served by a stipendiary priest, and at the time of the dissolution of the chantries the messuage and land attached to the chapel were worth 23s. a year.¹⁰¹ There were at that time about thirty-five 'houceling' people living in the hamlet of St. Leonards,¹⁰⁰ about 3 or 4 miles away from the parish church, and the chapel seems to have escaped dissolution since it thus served as a chapel of ease. An inquisition was taken in 1570 to show why the land had been unlawfully detained from the hands of the Crown,¹⁰⁰ but the tenants of the house and land, Henry and Silvester Baldwin, successfully brought forward the plea that the chapel was a necessity for the hamlet.¹⁰¹ The land was then worth 30s. a year, and this was used for the repair of the chapel and the support of the services there,¹⁰⁰ and for the repair of the highways. A grant was made to William Tipper and Robert Dawe, the noted fishing grantees, of the chapel and Chapel Farm.¹⁰⁰ It is mentioned in 1640,¹⁰¹ but after the Civil War the building was in ruins, only the bare walls remaining. It was rebuilt by a loyalist, Cornelius Wood, who endowed it with provision for a minister exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop and archdeacon, and receiving his appointment solely from the patron, without institution or induction.¹¹¹ He placed the chapel and land in the hands of trustees, who are also the patrons of the benefice. The chapelry was formed in 1860 into a separate ecclesiastical parish, and the living is a vicarage in the gift of the trustees.

There is a Baptist chapel, built in 1830 and rebuilt in 1846, and again in 1897.

The Poor's Land, devised by will *CHARITIES* of Mrs. — Turpin, widow, an extract from whose will was contained on a tablet in the church, came into the possession of the parish in 1736. The trust property consists of meadow land containing 3 acres or thereabouts, let at £10 15s. a year, and thirteen plots of garden allotments producing £2 10s. a year. The income is applied, in accordance with the trust, in the distribution of loaves of bread.

The Church Estate, which it is understood was originally derived under the will of Sir Gilbert Gerard, bart., now consists of 7 a. 2 r. 4 p. at Broughton near Aylesbury, known as Mephams Land, let at £16 16s. a year, and a moiety of a field in College Road, Aston Clinton, let at £10 15s. a year. The net rents are carried to the church expenses.

Ecclesiastical District of St. Leonards.—The Parliamentary returns of 1786 mention that a rent-charge of £1 per annum was given to the poor by an unknown donor. The annuity is regularly paid by the owner of Dundridge Farm in this parish, and distributed in sums of 1s. each to twenty poor persons on St. Thomas's Day.

The Church Trust, founded by Thomas Plaistowe by seoffment dated 1 September, 23 Hen. VII, is regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 15 December 1896. The real estate consists of the Chapel Farm, containing 119 acres or thereabouts, and 27 a. 3 r. 21 p. at Whitchurch (Buckinghamshire) let at £145 a year, 23 acres of woodland at Mentmore (Buckinghamshire) in hand, and 3 cottages at St. Leonards, let at £12 a year. The personal estate (including a legacy of £100 bequeathed by will of Robert Fox, proved in 1869) consists of £2,667 15s. 6d. Canada 3½ per cent. stock, and £2,694 4s. 1d. South Australian 3½ per cent. stock, the rents and dividends making a gross income of £344 a year. The stock is held by the official trustees. By the scheme the net income is applicable in the payment to the churchwardens of any proper charges for the maintenance and repair of the fabric of the church, and the residue—subject to the payment of £10 a year for any public purpose for the benefit of the inhabitants, and £10 a year to the official trustees towards the formation of a 'Fabric Fund' of not less than £200 consols—is received by the incumbent.

¹⁰⁰ *Rolls of King's Ct.* (Pipe Roll Soc.), xiv, 127.

¹⁰⁰ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 254b.

¹⁰⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 93.

¹⁰¹ *Line. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gravesend.*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. manor of Aston Clinton.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, p. 240.

¹⁰¹ *Chant. Cert. Bucks.* 5, no. 65.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Memoranda R. Pasch. Rec.* 12 Eliz. rot. 20.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Pat.* 32 Eliz. pt. 4, m. 1.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640-1, p. 35.

¹¹¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 94.

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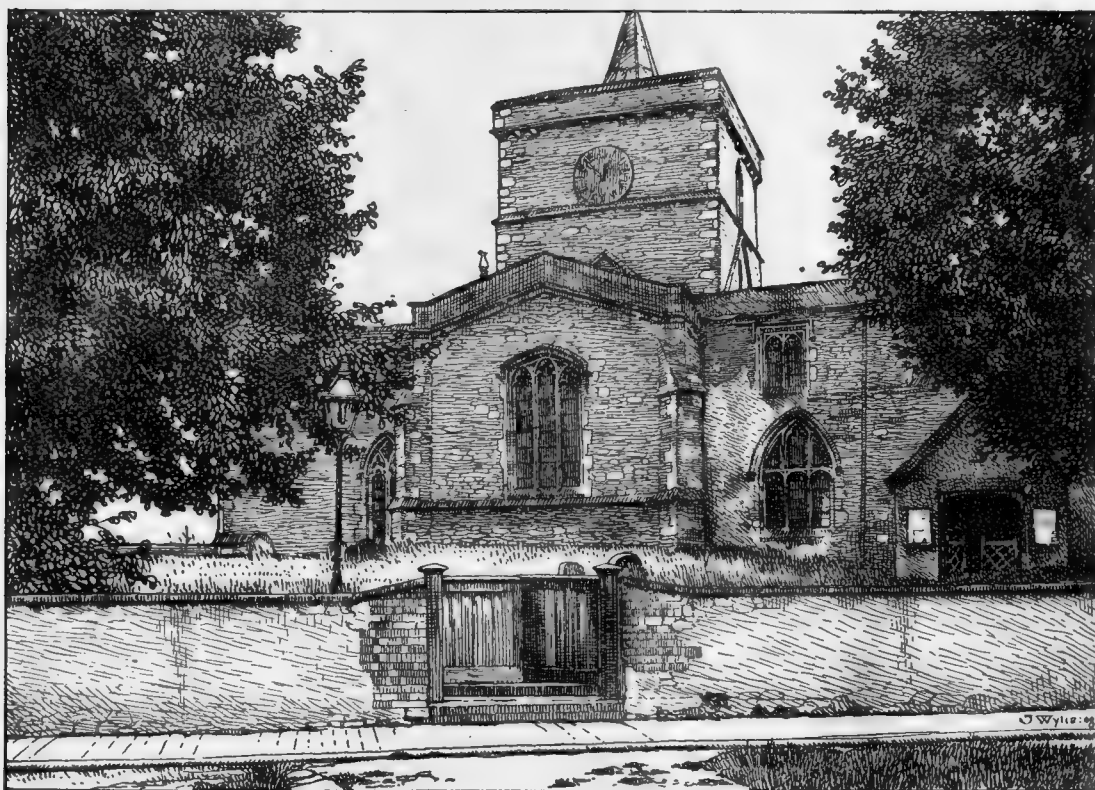
BIERTON (WITH BROUGHTON)

Burton (xiii cent.) ; Beerton (xv cent.).

Bierton parish lies in the Vale of Aylesbury, to the north-east of Aylesbury parish. It contains 2,476½ acres,¹ which are mainly laid down in permanent grass, only about 396 acres being arable land.² The population is mainly employed on grazing farms ; duck-breeding is also carried on to a very considerable extent. The subsoil is Portland Beds and Kimmeridge Clay, the surface clay.³ The land lies for the most part between 200 ft. and 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum, the highest point being only 214 ft.⁴ The parish is well watered ; Thistle Brook forms the northern boundary, and various streams rise near the hamlet of Broughton, flowing northwards. There is a moat at Manor Farm. The Aylesbury branch of the Grand Junction Canal also crosses the parish. The village of Bierton lies about a mile and a half from Aylesbury, on the main road to Leighton Buzzard. A branch road turns off at the north end of the village to Hulcott. The village spreads along the road, and is composed of modern houses, with one or two of an older date, which are not of any particular interest. The church lies at the south-west end of the village, and is surrounded by a small churchyard, with a detached portion, now used, to the east. The hamlet of Burcott almost forms a part of the village, and consists of a few cottages and farm houses. Broughton, another hamlet, comprises a row

of small cottages. The Aylesbury branch of the London and North-Western Railway crosses the parish, and the nearest station is at Aylesbury. The most important house is Bierton House, the residence of Mr. J. W. Grist. Various neolithic implements and a British urn have been dug up at different times.⁵ The parishes of Bierton and Hulcott were inclosed under the same Act of Parliament, and the award is dated 15 July 1780.⁶

The manor of *BIERTON* was probably held as parcel of the manor of Aylesbury, which was in the hands of the king at the time of the Domesday Survey.⁷ In 1258, in a lawsuit as to lands in Bierton, the defendants did not appear, pleading that the manor of Bierton was a member of Aylesbury, which belonged to the ancient demesne of the Crown, and that therefore they could only be impleaded by a little writ of right-close.⁸ Aylesbury Manor was in the hands of the Mandevilles, Earls of Essex, in the 12th century.⁹ A new grant was made by King John to his favourite Geoffrey Fitz Piers of the manor with its appurtenances at an increased rental.¹⁰ Geoffrey was to hold it with the same right and exemptions that Earl William de Mandeville had had. This probably included the manor of Bierton, since Fitz Piers' grandson and successor,¹¹ Lord Richard Fitz John, died seised before 1297 of the manor of Aylesbury with the hamlet of



BIERTON CHURCH FROM THE NORTH

¹ *Ord. Surv.*
² Information supplied by Bd. of Agric. (1905).
³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

⁴ *Ord. Surv.*
⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 192.
⁶ *Com. Incl. Awards.*
⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 231.

⁸ Assize R. no. 1188.
⁹ *Cart. Antiq. A A.* 23.
¹⁰ *Ibid.*
¹¹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

Bierton.¹³ Bierton was assigned to his widow Emma to hold in dower, but his possessions were finally divided among his four sisters or their heirs.¹⁴ The manor of Bierton was assigned to Joan the wife of Theobald le Botiller, and it has ever since been held by her descendants or their successors as appendant to the manor of Aylesbury (q.v.).¹⁵ The manors of Aylesbury and Bierton are at the present day in the hands of the trustees of the late Mr. John Parker.

Certain lands and rents in Bierton and Aylesbury were assigned to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, on the partition of Richard Fitz John's lands,¹⁶ and these were afterwards known as the manor of *BIERTON* *alias* *BIERTON* and *HULCOTT*. Richard de Burgh received the reversion of 9½ virgates of land, the suit and service of certain tenants in villeinage, and rent to the amount of £10 or 9½d., to fall to him on the death of Emma the widow of Richard Fitz John. He died before this reversion fell in, leaving his son William as his heir.¹⁷ The latter was a minor, and the king in 1333 committed his lands and rents in Bierton to Elizabeth de Burgh to hold during the young earl's minority.¹⁸ The latter died the next year seised of rent in Bierton, which was held by his widow in dower.¹⁹ His only daughter and heiress Elizabeth was one year old at his death.²⁰ She afterwards married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III.²¹ Their only daughter and heiress Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster,²² who died seised of the manor of Whaddon (part of the possessions of Richard Fitz John), 'with its members of Bierton and Amersham.'²³ His heir Roger was a minor at the time of his father's death. Roger was killed in 1398, and his son Edmund died in 1424-5.²⁴ His possessions passed to his nephew Richard Duke of York,²⁵ and from him descended to Edward IV. The manor of Bierton was granted by the king in 1461 to his mother Cecily Duchess of York, for life, in recompense for her jointure.²⁶ Richard III confirmed this grant,²⁷ and in 1492 the reversion of the manor was granted to her granddaughter Elizabeth of York for her jointure on her marriage with Henry VII.²⁸ After her death her sisters and co-heiresses, Katherine Courtenay, Countess of Devon, and Anne Howard, claimed the manor, but in 1511²⁹ it was settled on Henry VIII as the son and heir of Elizabeth. Katherine of Aragon held lands and rents in Bierton,³⁰ and the manor was granted in turn to Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, and Katherine Howard.³¹ After the execution of the last-named queen the manor of Bierton remained in the hands of the Crown until James I in 1603 granted it to Anne of Denmark as part of her dower.³² After the death of the queen the manor was granted

to Sir Henry Hobart and others³³ as trustees for Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. Soon after his accession to the throne it was released to the mayor and citizens of London as security for a loan of money,³⁴ and was to be held at the accustomed rent. In 1650 Thomas Greene bought this rent from the trustees for the sale of the fee-farm rents, formerly payable to the Crown.³⁵ Six years later he was said to be a lunatic, but his heir was unknown, so that the rent presumably again came into the hands of the Government.³⁶ After the Restoration, Sir Allan Appesley is said by Lipscomb³⁷ to have conveyed the fee-farm rent of £10 12s. 8½d. issuing out of the manor of Bierton to Thomas Morley, who reconveyed it to Timothy Neale in 1675.³⁸ The same historian also mentions a sale of the manor itself by Alexander Hawkins to Timothy Neale,³⁹ and the Neales certainly held the manor of Bierton some years later. John Neale was seised in 1719,⁴⁰ together with the manor of Hulcott (q.v.), and from this time these manors have been held together, and are now in the possession of Mr. Leopold de Rothschild.

The family of Stonors held lands in Bierton which were afterwards called the manor of *STONORS* *alias* *STONORS CROFT* *alias* *BIERTON-STONORS*. In 1325 John de Stonor and his son Richard held lands in Aylesbury, Walton, Bierton, Hulcott, and Caldecott.⁴¹ In an inquisition taken in 1336⁴² it was found that John de Stonor, after making certain grants in mortmain, would keep the manor of Bierton-Stonors, from which he could perform his foreign services. He held it by military service of the Earl of Ormond. He died in 1354, seised of lands and tenements in the township of Bierton.⁴³ His son and heir was John de Stonor, but in 1370 Edmund de Stonor⁴⁴ granted an annual rent out of the manor to the Bishop of Winchester. John de Stonor, son and heir of Edmund, died⁴⁵ seised of rents in Bierton in 1389. His brother and heir Ralph de Stonor granted the manor of Bierton-Stonors to William Sutton of Camden⁴⁶ and others, but this was presumably only a mortgage,⁴⁷ since the manor was afterwards recovered by the Stonors. Gilbert the son and heir of Ralph de Stonor was a minor at the time of his father's death,⁴⁸ and he died while still in the king's wardship in 1396.⁴⁹ The manor of Bierton-Stonors is not mentioned among his lands in an inquisition taken in 1416,⁵⁰ so that it was probably still in the hands



STONOR. Azure two bars dancetty or and a chief argent.

¹³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 50a.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*; *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 501; *Archæologia*, i, 93; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 734 (24); Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 30 Hen. VIII; *ibid.* Mich. 5 Jas. I.

¹⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 501.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 39; *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, p. 248.

¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 39.

²⁰ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

²¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 43 Edw. III (pt. 1), no. 23.

²² Ibid. 5 Ric. II, no. 43.

²³ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*; Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Ric. II, no. 34; 3 Hen. VI, no. 32.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 131.

²⁵ Pat. 1 Ric. III, pt. v.

²⁶ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 463a.

²⁷ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 3 Hen. VIII.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 155.

²⁹ Ibid. xvi, 107 (9); *ibid.* xv, 144 (2); Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. 6.

³⁰ Pat. 1 Jas. I, pt. 20; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccvii, no. 93.

³¹ Pat. 17 Jas. I, pt. 1.

³² Ibid. 4 Chas. I, pt. 35.

³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), Misc. dxv, no. 169.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 100.

³⁶ *Close*, 27 Chas. II, pt. 17, no. 17.

³⁷ *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 100.

³⁸ *Recov. R.* Mich. 9 Geo. I.

³⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 19 Edw. III.

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Edw. III, no. 41.

⁴¹ Ibid.; Chan. Inq. p.m. 28 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 58.

⁴² *Close*, 44 Edw. III, m. 4, 5.

⁴³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Ric. II, no. 48.

⁴⁴ *Coram Rege R.* Mich. 20 Ric. II, m. 26, Rex.

⁴⁵ *Close*, 14 Ric. II, m. 38 d.

⁴⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. V, no. 34.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

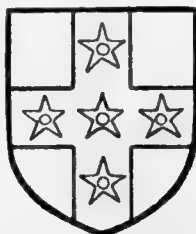
⁴⁸ Ibid.

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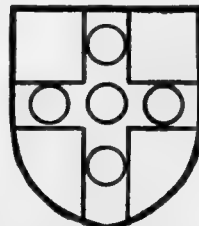
of mortgagees. His heir was his brother Thomas, who came of age in that year,⁶⁰ and probably recovered the manor. Another Thomas de Stonor, presumably his heir, together with his wife Joan, sold it in 1469⁶¹ to Sir Ralph Verney and others. Sir Ralph, who died in 1478, was seised of lands and tenements in Bierton, but it is probable that he had settled the manor on his second son, another Sir Ralph Verney.⁶² The latter died seised of the manor and had settled it on John Cheyne⁶³ and others to hold, to the use of his wife Eleanor for her life, and then to the use of John Verney his son and his issue. John died before 1549,⁶⁴ leaving a daughter Mary as his heir. His widow Dorothy entered the manor on his death, and a long lawsuit⁶⁵ was brought against her by Mary, who had married Lewis Reynolds. The result is not given, but in 1552 Dorothy Verney and Lewis Reynolds sold the manor for £236 to Leonard Chamberlain, Robert Woodlest, and William Howse.⁶⁶ The manor of Bierton-Stonors shortly afterwards passed into the possession of John Bosse, who died in 1558,⁶⁷ seised of lands called Stonors in Bierton. In the inquisition taken after his death it is impossible to discover if his property was called a manor or not. His son Richard was his heir,⁶⁸ and he held lands and rent in Bierton in 1585.⁶⁹ Some years later Sir Edmund Verney made a claim for the lands of his ancestors in Bierton, and sued Samuel Bosse and Francis Howse.⁶⁰ Samuel was the son of Richard Bosse,⁶¹ and he held the manor of Bierton-Stonors at the time of this lawsuit in 1598.⁶² The result is not given, but the plaintiff lost his case, since Samuel Bosse continued in possession. He died seised of a capital messuage⁶³ in Bierton. John Bosse was his son and heir,⁶⁴ but Bierton-Stonors was settled in 1614⁶⁵ by Samuel on his second son Thomas on his marriage with Grace Butterfield. Thomas Bosse held it in 1637 and died seised in the same year.⁶⁶ His heir does not appear, but the manor afterwards became united with the manor of Waynford (q.v.), passing to the family of Howse, possibly through the Temples.⁶⁷ It had passed to one of the Howse family before 1670,⁶⁸ from which date the name of Waynford is rarely used, their manor being called in that year the manor of Bierton.

William Waynford held land in Bierton during the reign of Henry VI,⁶⁹ which was afterwards known as *WAYNFORD'S* Manor. On the accession

of Edward IV Waynford forfeited his lands, having been an active partisan of the Lancastrian party during the Wars of the Roses. In consequence his lands were granted in 1462 to Thomas Seyntleger for life,^{69a} but in 1467 Sir Ralph Verney⁷⁰ obtained a grant of them for himself and the heirs of his body, to hold by military service. The grant consisted of three messuages and 150 acres of land and meadow. Waynford's Manors appears to have passed like Bierton-Stonors to Ralph the younger son of the first Sir Ralph Verney and then to his son and heir John.⁷¹ On the death of the first John Verney⁷² his widow Dorothy held Waynford's Manors, but it is also said to have been sold by Sir Ralph Verney, presumably the father of John, to Robert Woodlyfe,⁷³ who immediately sold it to William Howse for no profit because he found his title was defective.⁷⁴ There is, however, considerable obscurity about the history of the Verney lands in Bierton at this time, but William Howse certainly seems to have obtained Waynford's Manors before 1553.⁷⁵ In that year he obtained a quitclaim from Edmund Verney,⁷⁶ the direct descendant of the eldest son of the first Sir Ralph Verney,⁷⁷ who was also the heir of the younger branch of which the last representative was Mary Reynolds. The brother and heir of this Edmund Verney, himself Edmund by name,⁷⁸ attempted to recover Waynford's Manors at the same time as Bierton-Stonors in 1598.⁷⁹ Francis Howse, the son of William Howse, held it at that time⁸⁰ and retained it against Sir Edmund's attacks. Thomas Howse of Bierton was summoned to make proof of his arms and gentry in 1634,⁸¹ and was presumably a descendant of Francis. He was returned as a papist and delinquent under the Commonwealth, and his estates in Bierton were sequestered.⁸² He died before 1647, when they were valued for the Committee for Compounding at £60 a year.⁸³ In 1670⁸⁴ John Howse and his wife Martha held the manor. In 1697⁸⁵ their son and heir was Finch Howse, and in 1756 John Temple Howse and his wife Mary had succeeded to the manor.⁸⁶ In 1801 the manor of Bierton-Stonors with Waynford was bought by the Marquis of Buckingham,⁸⁷ afterwards Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. It was sold with the greater part of his property in the middle of the 19th century, but the name of the manor is now lost, and it does not seem possible to identify the land which it comprised.



VERNEY. *Assure a cross argent with five pierced molets gules thereon.*



GRENVILLE, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. *Vert a cross argent with five roundels gules thereon.*

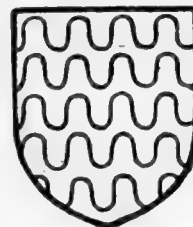
⁶⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. V, no. 34.
⁶¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 9 Edw. IV.
⁶² *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, i.
⁶³ Ct. of Requests, bdle. iv, no. 3.
⁶⁴ Common Pleas, D. Enr. East. 2 Edw. VI, no. 8.
⁶⁵ Ct. of Requests, bdle. iv, no. 3.
⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 5 Edw. VI.
⁶⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxviii, no. 4.
⁶⁸ Ibid.
⁶⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 27 Eliz.
^{69a} Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 40 & 41 Eliz, no. 14.
⁷⁰ Exch. Com. no. 460.

⁶² Exch. Dep. by Com. Mich. 40 & 41 Eliz. no. 14.
⁶³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), dviii, no. 21.
⁶⁴ Ibid.
⁶⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 13 Chas. I; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccclxxxv, no. 86a.
⁶⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 13 Chas. I.
⁶⁷ Recov. R. East. 22 Chas. II.
⁶⁸ Cal. Pat. 1461-7, p. 77.
^{69a} Ibid.
⁷⁰ Ibid. 1467-77, p. 33.
⁷¹ *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, i.
⁷² Exch. Dep. by Com. Bucks. Mich. 40 & 41 Eliz. no. 14.

⁷³ Ibid.
⁷⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1 Mary.
⁷⁵ Ibid.
⁷⁶ *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, i.
⁷⁷ Ibid.
⁷⁸ Exch. Dep. by Com. Bucks. Mich. 40 & 41 Eliz. no. 14.
⁷⁹ Ibid.
⁸⁰ Cal. S.P. Dom. 1634-5, p. 167.
⁸¹ Cal. of Com. for Compounding, 68.
⁸² Ibid.
⁸³ Recov. R. East. 22 Chas. II.
⁸⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 9 Will. III.
⁸⁵ Ibid. Hil. 29 Geo. II.
⁸⁶ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 510.

Before the Norman Conquest,⁸⁸ Edward, a thegn of King Edward the Confessor, held the greater part of the township of *BROUGHTON*, and could sell his manor there at will. It was then (T.R.E.) worth £10 a year. At the time of the Domesday Survey William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was lord of the manor, which had depreciated in value by £2.⁸⁹ Presumably it descended to his son and grandson in turn, and then to Isabella,⁹⁰ the heiress of the Warennes, since her husband, William, Count of Boulogne, the second son of King Stephen, confirmed a charter granting land in Broughton⁹¹ to Missenden Abbey. This grant resulted in the division of the township into two parts, and the manor remaining with the Count of Boulogne was known as the manor of *BROUGHTON PARVA* alias *HOLAND* alias *LOVEL* alias *STAVELY*. At the death of the count his lands escheated to the Crown,⁹² and the manor was presumably not alienated until either Henry III or Edward I granted it to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III. He died seised of the manor of Broughton Parva in 1295,⁹³ and it descended to his son Thomas, Earl

years to her younger son Thomas, afterwards Earl of Kent. Thomas held it in 1346,¹⁰¹ and after the death of his mother obtained a renewal of the grant¹⁰² of the manor for life from his brother. On the death of Thomas in 1361¹⁰³ it reverted to Robert de Holland, who died seised of it in 1373;¹⁰⁴ his son, another Robert de Holland, had predeceased him, leaving a daughter Matilda as his heir. She married Sir John Lovel,¹⁰⁵ and the manor of Broughton Parva passed to them on the death of her grandfather.¹⁰⁶ Sir John Lovel, their son and heir, succeeded his mother in possession of the manor, and also died seised in 1413.¹⁰⁷ Another John Lovel, a minor, was his son and heir,¹⁰⁸ but probably a mistake was made in the inquisition on his lands, made after the death of Sir John, as a William Lovel¹⁰⁹ succeeded to the estates. The manor of Broughton Parva was, however, held by his mother Eleanor for life,¹¹⁰ but he granted the reversion to Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, Alice Lady Deyncourt, and others.¹¹¹ Afterwards, by a further grant, Sir William Lovel transferred it to William Tresham and his heirs, on condition that the latter would give up certain deeds that were in his charge, between Sir William and Sir John Radcliff.¹¹² The two survivors of the first grant, John Potter and John Waget, also transferred their right¹¹³ in the manor to William Tresham to hold to him and his heirs and assigns. On the death of Sir William Lovel in 1454¹¹⁴ his son Sir John Lovel was his heir, and in 1461¹¹⁵ he obtained a ratification of the manor of Broughton Parva, of which he was said to be seised in fee-tail, but no descendant of his appears to have held any further right in the manor. William Tresham died seised in 1450,¹¹⁶ and was succeeded by Thomas Tresham, his son and heir. The latter sold the manor in 1466¹¹⁷ to William Stavely, from whom the manor obtained its fourth name. In 1495¹¹⁸ Stavely made a settlement of it to the use of himself and his wife Alice for life, and then to the use of his son George Stavely. Alice died in 1500¹¹⁹ seised of the manor, which passed to George Stavely, who settled it on himself and his wife Isabel by charter in 1523;¹²⁰ he held it till his death in 1525,¹²¹ when his son and heir John succeeded him. John Stavely mortgaged Broughton Parva¹²² to Thomas Walker and Simon Lowe, two London merchants, but in 1544 a sale of the manor was made by Stavely, Walker, and Lowe¹²³ to Alice Baldwin, daughter of Sir John Baldwin, for £340. In a copy of the will



LOVEL. Barry wavy or and gules.



THOMAS, Earl of Lancaster. ENG-LAND with a label of FRANCE.



HOLAND. Azure powdered with fleurs-de-lis a lion argent.

of Lancaster,⁹⁴ who subinfeudated it, but from this time it was held of the earldom or duchy of Lancaster.⁹⁵

The earl granted the manor about 1320 to Robert de Holland⁹⁶ and his wife Maud, but when his lands were seized, after his execution by Edward II, the Holands were dispossessed of Broughton Parva.⁹⁷ Maud de Holland and her son Robert petitioned Edward III in 1328 to recover their lands, and were successful in obtaining them.⁹⁸ Since the earldom of Lancaster was in the king's hands at this time, he held the manor during the minority⁹⁹ of the young Robert de Holland. Maud seems, however, to have recovered the manor, possibly after her son had come of age, and she died seised in 1349.¹⁰⁰ It seems probable that she had granted it for life or a term of

⁸⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 252b.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁹¹ *Harl. MS.* 3688.

⁹² *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁹³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 25 *Edw. I.* 51a.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 431.

⁹⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 23 *Edw. III* (pt. 1), no. 58.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 431.

⁹⁷ *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.)*, ii, 29b.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 248.

¹⁰⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 23 *Edw. III* (pt. 1), no. 58.

¹⁰¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 124.

¹⁰² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 35 *Edw. III* (pt. 1), no. 104.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 47 *Edw. III*, file 233 (1st nos.), no. 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 9 *Hen. IV*, no. 29.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 2 *Hen. V*, no. 30.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Close*, 8 *Hen. VI*, m. 6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 33 *Hen. VI*, no. 28.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 34 *Hen. VI*, no. 10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 33 *Hen. VI*, no. 28.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 85.

¹¹⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 34 *Hen. VI*, no. 10.

¹¹⁷ *Anct. D.*, A. 684.

¹¹⁸ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 11 *Hen. VII*; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xix, no. 64.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* lxxx, no. 126.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Close*, 35 *Hen. VIII*, pt. 2, no. 70.

¹²³ *Feet of F. Bucks. East.* 36 *Hen. VIII*.

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of Sir John it appears, however, that he bought the manor from John Stavely, but that he put his daughter Alice,¹³⁴ together with William Welshe and John Gelly, in seisin. Sir John Baldwin's lands¹³⁵ were inherited by his two grandsons and co-heirs, Thomas Pakington and John Burlace,¹³⁶ and at the division of his lands between them Broughton Parva came to Thomas Pakington.¹³⁷ His descendants held the manor until 1801,¹³⁸ when Sir John Pakington sold it to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.¹³⁹ On the sale of the duke's lands it was bought by Mr. Tindal,¹⁴⁰ at the same time as the manor of Bierton, and is now in the hands of the trustees of the late Mr. John Parker.

In 1616-17 James I¹⁴¹ granted the manor of Broughton Parva to Richard Goodwin and Hugh Dashfield, their heirs and assigns, for £110 and the rent of 12 marks a year. They may, however, have been fishing grantees, since they never had seisin of the manor, which was held at that time by the Pakingtons, a rental of whose tenants exists for the year 1627.¹⁴²

The Earl of Lancaster¹⁴³ granted the manor of Broughton Parva to Robert de Holand and his wife in fee-tail. Matilda held it¹⁴⁴ by the service of paying one rose a year to the Earl of Lancaster, but the military service from half a knight's fee was also due to the king, and was performed by her son Thomas de Holand.¹⁴⁵

Sir William Lovel and William Tresham,¹⁴⁶ however, are said to have held the manor of John Newport, and Tresham paid the rent of 1 lb. of cummin. Alice the widow of William Stavely¹⁴⁷ held of the king as of the duchy of Lancaster by fealty and the rent of 13d. a year. By the time of Sir Thomas Pakington, who died in 1571,¹⁴⁸ the tenure was unknown, and presumably all payment of rent to the duchy had ceased during the many changes of ownership in the 15th century.

The Pakingtons held the view of frankpledge¹⁴⁹ in Broughton Parva all the time that the manor was in their possession.¹⁵⁰ In 1772¹⁵¹ a free fishery there is also mentioned.

In the first half of the 12th century various alienations were made of lands in Broughton to the abbey of Missenden, which afterwards formed the manor of *BROUGHTON MAGNA* or *ABBOT'S BROUGHTON*. Hugh de Gurney granted his whole tenement to Missenden¹⁵² with the consent of his wife Millicent and his son Hugh. He held of Robert Maunsel, who made an agreement with the canons as to the service due from the tenement, and the Count of Boulogne confirmed both grants. The manor of Abbot's Broughton was held by the abbey until its

dissolution in 1538.¹⁵³ Three years later the king granted it to Sir John Baldwin,¹⁵⁴ from whom it descended, like Broughton Parva, to Thomas Pakington, and was held by his descendants during the 17th century. In 1665-6 Sir John Pakington, bart., and his wife Dorothy¹⁵⁵ granted a lease of the manor to John Backwell for ninety-nine years, for the rent of one grain of pepper, in return for £200. Various assignments of this lease appear to have been made; in 1670¹⁵⁶ William Reeve and his wife Sarah, together with Edward Backwell, quitclaimed the manor to Thomas Bowdler for £240, but in the next year¹⁵⁷ they sold the manor and farm to Henry Johnson. The latter also seems to have obtained the manor from Sir John Pakington¹⁵⁸ and his son and heir, another John Pakington. Its subsequent history is obscure, but it seems to have afterwards come into the possession of William Meade.¹⁵⁹ He sold it in 1721-2¹⁶⁰ to the trustees of Aylesbury Grammar School, who bought the manor of Abbot's Broughton¹⁶¹ with part of the money given in 1714 by Mr. Henry Phillips for the re-endowment of the school. The trustees held it in 1813,¹⁶² and are the lords of the manor at the present day.

The manor of Abbot's Broughton was held by the abbey of Missenden in frankalmoign, apparently in chief of the king.¹⁶³ Sir John Baldwin, however, held it as one-tenth of a knight's fee, and paid a yearly rent of 40s. 9d.¹⁶⁴

The abbot and canons of Missenden obtained a grant¹⁶⁵ of free warren in their demesne lands in Broughton in 1301-2, which was confirmed by Henry VI.¹⁶⁶ The abbot also held a view of frankpledge in 1254,¹⁶⁷ and paid 12s. for hidage from Broughton and Hulcott, which then formed one township.

A mill is mentioned at Broughton in Domesday Book,¹⁶⁸ being then worth 10s. a year, and a water-mill is mentioned in an extent of the manor of Broughton Parva in 1296.¹⁶⁹ The abbey of Missenden held a mill in Broughton,¹⁷⁰ which was granted to it before 1330. In 1721-2 a mill is mentioned¹⁷¹ in connexion with the manor of Abbot's Broughton.

In the time of Edward the Confessor one hide and three virgates of land in *BORTONE* was held by two sokemen,¹⁷² one a man of Alwin Varus and the other of Earl Leofwine. This has been identified with Bierton in the Domesday Survey,¹⁷³ but from its post-Conquest history it seems more probable that the land lay in Broughton. In 1086 it was held by the Bishop of Bayeux, who had subinfeudated it to a tenant named Roger.¹⁷⁴ As overlord and tenant the bishop and Roger also held Weston Turville and Bedgrave,¹⁷⁵ and it seems most probable that this land

¹³⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 7.

¹³⁵ Ibid. clvi, no. 1.

¹³⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 5 Edw. VI.

¹³⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccxviii, no. 69.

¹³⁸ Recov. R. Mich. 15 Chas. I; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Will. and Mary; ibid. Trin. 7 Geo. I; Recov. R. East. 32 Geo. II; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 13 Geo. III.

¹³⁹ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 510.

¹⁴⁰ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 95, 103.

¹⁴¹ Pat. 14 Jas. I, pt. 2.

¹⁴² Cott. MS. I, 4.

¹⁴³ *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 248.

¹⁴⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. II (pt. 1), no. 58.

¹⁴⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 124.

¹⁴⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 33 Hen. VI, no. 28; ibid. 34 Hen. VI, no. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. (Ser. 2), xix, no. 64.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. (Ser. 2), clvi, no. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Cott. MS. I, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 7 Geo. I; ibid. Mich. 13 Geo. III.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁵³ *Valor Eccl.* iv, 246; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 779 (8).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 17 & 18 Chas. II.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. Hil. 22 & 23 Chas. II.

¹⁵⁷ *Close*, 24 Chas. II, pt. 1, m. 9.

¹⁵⁸ Recov. R. Trin. 25 Chas. II.

¹⁵⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 8 Geo. I.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 510.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Harl. MS. 3688; *Feud. Aids*, i, 112; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁶⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Chart. R. 30 Edw. I, no. 95, m. 5, no. 32.

¹⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 344.

¹⁶⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 252b.

¹⁶⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 51a.

¹⁷⁰ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁷¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 8 Geo. I.

¹⁷² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 235b.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

followed the descent of the manor of Weston Turville.¹⁶⁵ Part of the land belonging to the manor of Weston Butlers, afterwards united to the manor of Weston Turville,¹⁶⁷ lay in Broughton, and part of Broughton, like Weston Turville, belonged to the duchy of Lancaster.¹⁶⁸

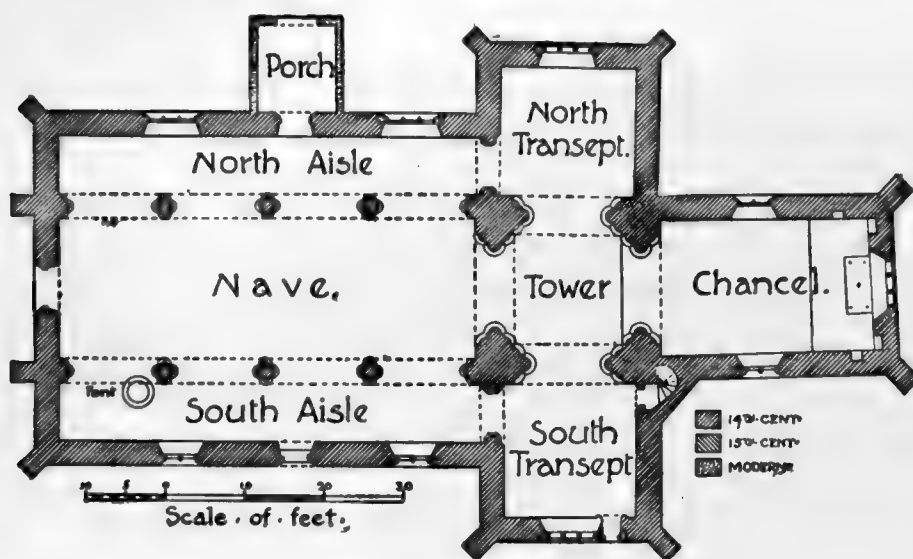
The church of *ST. JAMES* is a cruciform structure, the internal measurements of which are as follows: Chancel, 14 ft. 6 in. by 21 ft. 9 in.; central tower about 13 ft. 9 in. square; north transept, 17 ft. by 16 ft. 3 in.; south transept, 16 ft. 8 in. square; nave, 17 ft. 6 in. by 52 ft. 5 in.; and north and south aisles, 7 ft. 3 in. wide, with a north porch.

The church appears to have been built complete about the middle of the 14th century, since which time practically nothing has been done to alter the plan. At a late date, perhaps in 1636, the original high-pitched roof over the nave and aisles was removed and a low-pitched roof put in its place, the aisle walls being heightened and an upper

part of an Easter sepulchre, and of the same date as the chancel. The only window in this wall is also original. It is of two trefoiled lights with tracery in the form of trefoils with a quatrefoil over. The rear arch and the jambs of the internal splay are moulded with a broad wave mould, and there are internal and external labels with drips in the form of heads. At the east end of the south wall is a piscina with shafted jambs and moulded two-centred head, all considerably restored; and in this wall is also a duplicate of the north window already described. The roof of the chancel is a modern one of steep pitch.

The central tower is carried on four large clustered piers and arches of three simply moulded orders, the western arch having a label towards the nave.

The tower stair is in the north-east angle of the south transept, entered from the transept, and the belfry windows are plain pointed openings filled with luffer boards. The tower finishes with a low roof and a plain parapet which projects on corbels carved with ball-flowers. The steeple is said to have fallen in a



PLAN OF BIERTON CHURCH

tier of windows inserted in them—probably to light galleries. It is probable that the roofs of the transepts were also treated in this way at the same time, but the whole church was reroofed about the middle of the 19th century. The windows have also been altered at various dates from the 15th century to the present day. But despite these various alterations and additions the church remains a notable example of c. 1330–40, the nave arcades and the arches of the tower being particularly handsome in proportion and well thought-out in detail, while the tracery of such of the original windows as remain is of the best character.

The east window is of three cinquefoiled lights with 15th-century tracery, and is a modern insertion, the head and defaced moulded jambs and rear arch of the original and wider 14th-century window still being visible. On either side of this are image niches also of 14th-century date with cinquefoiled heads. In the north wall of the chancel is a fairly large niche with moulded jambs and a moulded trefoiled head, possibly

report of the church made in 1636, and its present upper stage is probably a rebuilding of that date.

The north transept contains one much-restored 15th-century north window of three cinquefoiled lights, under a four-centred head. There are no east or west windows; the arch to the north aisle is of two plain chamfered orders the outer of which is continuous, the inner having half-octagonal moulded capitals like those of the nave arcades.

The south transept has a south window like that in the north transept, with traces in its jambs and head of the original 14th-century light. In this transept are two doors, one to the tower stair and the other external. The former has a trefoiled head and a crocketed label of late 14th-century date, and seems to have been added after the church was completed, the label cutting into the respond of the tower arch. The external door is in the south wall and has a plain four-centred head. It has been cut through the back of a single sedile, evidently part of the original fittings, with an ogee cinquefoiled head, a crocketed and

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Weston Turville.

¹⁶⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹⁶⁸ D. of Lanc. M.sc. bble. 6, no. 15.

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finished hood-mould and small side buttresses ornamented with traceried panelling. The underside of the head is carved to imitate rib-vaulting. There is also a moulded 14th-century image bracket on the east wall with two mail-clad heads supporting it.

The nave arcades are of four bays, the piers being composed of four half-round shafts with moulded fillets between, and having circular moulded bases and capitals similar to, but not identical with, those of the tower piers. The arches are two-centred, and of two orders, both of which, towards the nave, are moulded with a deep hollow between two small square fillets, and two wave-moulds, while towards the aisles the mouldings are simplified to a wave-mould on each order. The arches have also labels towards the nave similar to that over the western tower arch, with grotesque heads as drips at the east end, and grotesque heads are inserted in the crowns of the western pair of arches. The west door, also original, has a two-centred head, both head and jambs being continuously moulded with an elaborate section of wave-moulds, hollows and fillets worked on a splayed face. There is also an external label. The west window of the nave is a 15th-century insertion with a deep hollow moulded external reveal, a four-centred head and label and four cinquefoiled lights with tracery above.

The roof of the nave is modern, of low pitch, and continued over the aisles, but the trace of the original steep-pitched roof of the nave is clearly visible on the west wall of the tower, and from this it is evident that the north and south walls of the nave retain their original height, while a change in the masonry of the north aisle, visible where the external rough-cast has fallen away, suggests that the aisles were originally roofed at about half their present height, the old nave roof running over them without a break.

The north aisle contains two original three-light windows, both with wave-moulded rear arches, and internal and external labels. The western of these two windows has, however, lost its original net tracery, and now has clumsy mullions and transoms of late date.

The north door between these windows is similar in detail to the west door, but has been much defaced. Above the door and windows are three two-light clearstory windows, insertions of late 15th-century style with cinquefoiled lights under a flat head, but probably dating from the 17th century.

The south aisle has two two-light windows, the western one being similar to the corresponding window on the north, both as to the original opening and the inserted tracery, while the second window is a replica of the north and south windows of the chancel. The original south door between these windows is blocked, while the clearstory over them has three two-light windows of 17th-century date, with rounded uncusped heads, plainer than those in the north aisle, as not being visible from the road. The north porch is a comparatively recent addition of timber, lath, and plaster. On the south wall of the chancel is a wall monument to Samuel Bosse 'of Byrton,' the founder of a local charity, and his wife Cecily, nine sons, and four daughters. The circular font is rather plain, with a cable moulding round the top, and of late 12th-century date.

There are six bells by Briant of Hertford, the tenor of 1809, and the rest of 1816, and there is also a small sanctus bell cast by Richard Chandler in 1678.

The church plate consists of a chalice of 1693, a standing paten of 1718, a flagon of 1729, bequeathed by the Rev. John Sambee, vicar of Bierton, who died in 1728, and an interesting small mediaeval paten without marks of any kind bearing the vernicle within a sunk quatrefoil. It has originally been parcel gilt, but the gold is almost entirely worn away.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and burials from 1560, and marriages from 1563, the latter two classes of entry continuing to 1723, and the burials to 1688, from which time they are continued in a separate book, containing notices of the affidavits of burial in woollen, to 1809. A third book contains baptisms and marriages from 1723 to 1757 and 1753 respectively, while a fourth book contains baptisms from 1758 to 1809, and a fifth baptisms and burials from 1810 to 1813, and there is a printed book of marriages by banns from 1754 to 1812.

The chapel of Bierton originally *ADVOWSON* belonged to the prebend of Aylesbury. In 1266 Richard, Bishop of Lincoln,¹⁶⁹ with the consent of Master William de Shirewode, rector of the prebendal church, granted the chapel to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. The reason of the grant is to be found in the poverty of the cathedral chapter, while the prebend was said to abound in temporalities. This grant was confirmed in 1315¹⁷⁰ by Edward II.

Besides the chapel of Bierton, the chapels of Buckland,¹⁷¹ Stoke Mandeville, and Quarrendon were at the same time detached from the parent church of Aylesbury and granted to the Dean and Chapter. The grantees obtained the ordination of a vicarage for the four chapels during the episcopate of Bishop Sutton¹⁷² (1290-9). Bierton, however, seems always to have been the principal church, the other three being appendant chapels. In 1535¹⁷³ the benefice was called 'Bierton with members,' and consisted of the church at Bierton with the chapels of Broughton, of the value of £20 a year, Buckland 100s., Stoke Mandeville with Stoke Halling £10, Quarrendon £6 13s. 4d. There were also tenements in Bierton worth 20s., and a cottage worth 4s. belonging to the benefice.

In 1636,¹⁷⁴ the church of Bierton was in a ruinous condition, the steeple having fallen down. The repairs were estimated to cost 200 marks, to the raising of which the inhabitants of the hamlet of Quarrendon should have contributed, since they did 'their Christian duties' at the church of Bierton. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln¹⁷⁵ have been patrons of the living ever since the first grant in 1266. The presentations of the vicar were made in the early part of the 19th century to the 'vicarage of Bierton, with Buckland and Stoke Mandeville,'¹⁷⁶ but they were separated in 1858,¹⁷⁷ and Bierton now forms a separate benefice, in the gift of the Dean and Chapter.

There are two references to a chapel at Broughton, but there are no traces of its existence at the present day. Originally it was one of the two chapels appendant to the church of Weston Turville, and is men-

¹⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 81.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Sutton*, fol.

118 d.

¹⁷³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 11.

¹⁷⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, p. 65.

¹⁷⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 11;

P.R.O. *Inst. Bks.* 1683, 1750, 1759-1786.

¹⁷⁶ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 104.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Mandeville and Buckland.

tioned in a privilege of Pope Alexander III.¹⁷⁹ The monastery seems to have claimed the church of Weston Turville and both the chapels of Lee and Broughton at this time, but probably they never obtained any of them except the chapel of Lee.¹⁷⁹ The chapel of Broughton is again mentioned in 1535, amongst the chapels appendant to the church of Bierton, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.¹⁸⁰ It was then worth £20 a year.¹⁸¹ It was, however, not mentioned in the grant of the church of Bierton, nor in the ordination of the vicarage, so that it seems doubtful whether it was ever separated from its mother church of Weston Turville.

There is a Baptist chapel, built in 1831, and a Wesleyan chapel, built in 1877, both at Bierton.

Charity of William Hill, founded **CHARITIES** by will, 1723, is endowed with 63 a. 3 r. 32 p. at Burcott in this parish, let at £160 a year, to be applied, as to £16, in providing eight coats, distribution of money to poor not receiving relief and attending sacrament in Wendover, Bierton, Buckland, Marsworth, Oving, and Thornborough, the residue for education, apprenticing, or other charitable purposes in Wendover and Bierton. In 1907 £8 was expended in coats to the six parishes, £8 in sacrament money, annuity of £6 to the vicars of Bierton and Wendover, £40 to the Bierton Schools, £40 to the Wendover Schools, and £5 in apprenticing.

The Feoffees Charity, mentioned in the Parliamentary returns of 1786 as founded by a donor un-

known, is endowed with 15 acres, let in allotments, producing £36 a year, a house let at £4 a year, and a rent-charge of £1 9s. issuing out of Dove House Close, now belonging to Mr. Thomas Bell.

By an order of the Charity Commissioners of 21 April 1899, made under the Local Government Act, 1894, the income was apportioned between the church and the poor. In 1907, out of the net income, £10 was paid to the churchwardens, and £17 10s. was distributed in 46 doles at 7s. 6d. each, and one at 5s.

Charity of Samuel Bose.—Under this title a further annuity of £2 is paid out of Dove House Close, which is distributed in sixpences.

A Mr. Allen, at a date unknown, gave a sum of £100 consols, the dividends to be distributed in best bread on Christmas and Easter Day for ever. The stock is held by the official trustees.

In 1862 Archdeacon T. Hill by deed gave £6 a year for the distribution of Bibles and New Testaments and for education of poor children in this parish and in Wendover.

The charity of William Reeve, comprised in an indenture, bearing date 12 October 18 Charles II, is regulated by scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 21 August 1891. The trust estate consists of two cottages and gardens let at £8 10s. a year, and 1 a. 3 r. 32 p. of land in Broughton, let at £8 a year, and £65 3s. 4d. consols, with the official trustees, producing yearly £1 12s. 4d. arising from accumulations of income. In 1907 the sum of £14 was expended in doles.

BUCKLAND

Buckland is a small parish lying on the Hertfordshire border. It is remarkably long and narrow in shape, and rises towards the south to the Chiltern Hills. There are 534½ acres of arable land and 380½ acres laid down in permanent grass.¹ The subsoil is Upper Greensand and Gault,² and the surface soil red and white clay. The land in the northern part of the parish is between 300 ft. and 400 ft. above the Ordnance datum³; it rises considerably in the south, the highest point being over 800 ft. near North Hill, and the hamlet of Buckland Common is over 600 ft. above the Ordnance datum.⁴ The parish is twice crossed by the Grand Junction Canal, by the Aylesbury Branch in the north and by the Wendover Branch in the south; there is a stream running through the village and an old homestead moat near Moat Farm, but the buildings which it surrounded have disappeared. The chief road crossing Buckland parish is Akeman Street, but the village lies along a branch road, joining the main road at Buckland Wharf. Another road branches from Akeman Street near the same point and runs towards the south through Buckland Common to Cholesbury. The Lower and Upper Icknield Ways also cross the parish, and the ancient earthwork known as Grim's Dike can be traced. No line of railway crosses the parish, and the nearest stations are at Aylesbury, 4 miles away, and Tring, 5 miles away.

The village lies round the church and consists of small farm houses, in one of which is some 17th-century panelling, and cottages, some thatched.

Buckland House, the residence of the Rev. Edward Bonus, a large house, lies to the south-west of the church.

The population is mainly agricultural. The parish was inclosed by Act of Parliament, the award bearing the date 11 April 1844.

The manor of **BUCKLAND** belonged **MANOR** before the Norman Conquest to the see of Dorchester, which afterwards became that of Lincoln. In the time of Edward the Confessor⁵ it was held by Godric, the brother of Bishop Wulwig, but he could not assign or sell it without the bishop's leave. Afterwards it was granted by William I to Bishop Remigius⁶ of Lincoln, the Norman successor of Wulwig, and it belonged to the temporalities of the see until the 16th century,⁷ when on the forfeiture of the lands of the Earl of Warwick, the bishop's sub-tenant, the manor was seized by the king.⁸ From that time it was held in chief of the king⁹ by his grantee by knight service.

Bishop Remigius granted the manor of Buckland to a sub-tenant named Walter, who held it at the time of the Domesday Survey.¹⁰ To whom it passed in the early part of the 12th century does not appear, but later it was presumably in the hands of William

¹⁷⁹ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 11.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

² *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

³ *Ord. Surv.*

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234a.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b;

Feud. Aids, i, 85, 98, 123; Chan. Inq.

p.m. 4 Ric. II, no. 21; *ibid.* 9 Ric. II, no. 131.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccviii, no. 99; *ibid.* cccviii, no. 102.

⁹ Ibid. Misc. D. xxxvii, 21 Chas. I, pt. 32, no. 105.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 233b.

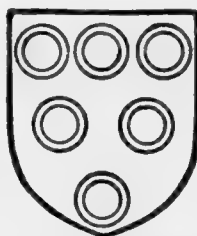
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de Bussey.¹¹ He died about 1185, leaving two daughters, Matilda the wife of Hugh Wake and Cecilia the wife of John de Builly. Buckland was divided between them, each holding the fee of one knight.¹²

Matilda's moiety passed to her daughter Joan, the James Wake¹³ who was the son and heir of her husband being presumably the son of a second wife. Joan first married Alan de Mumby, and secondly Thomas de Gravenel.¹⁴ The latter obtained seisin in 1218¹⁵ of all the lands that his wife claimed by right of inheritance from Matilda de Bussey her mother.

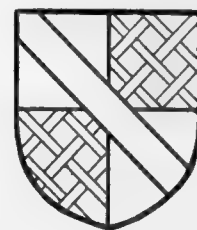
Joan died about 1247, when her son and heir John de Gravenel¹⁶ did homage for lands that he held in chief, and he probably obtained her moiety of Buckland at the same time from the Bishop of Lincoln. He made an agreement with the holder of the other moiety of Buckland in 1257,¹⁷ by which he granted his moiety of the manor to Robert de Vipont and his heirs for ever, while Robert then granted to him the whole manor,¹⁸ presumably to hold for life only, since it afterwards passed to the Viponts.

The moiety of Buckland which was held by Cecilia and her husband John de Builly passed to their only daughter and heiress Idonea, the wife of Robert de Vipont. She apparently died about 1241,¹⁹ when her lands were seized into the king's hands, and her son and heir John de Vipont²⁰ died very shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Robert de Vipont, who was a minor at the time.²¹ Robert made the agreement with John de Gravenel mentioned before, and the whole manor of Buckland finally descended to his two daughters and heiresses, Isabel and Idonea.²² Isabel married Roger de Clifford, who died seised of a moiety of one messuage and a garden, and 110 acres of arable land and 2 acres of pasture in Buckland.²³ For this land he paid 40s. scutage, when it was levied, to the Bishop of Lincoln. At the time of his death, however, the fees of knights and free tenants and the advowsons of churches that formed Isabel's inheritance had not been divided between her and her sister Idonea. Isabel held a moiety of the township of Buckland in 1285,²⁴ presumably half of the manor also, since Idonea's husband Roger de Leyburn died seised about 1283²⁵ of the other moiety. The manor does not appear, however, to have been permanently divided, since Isabel's moiety



VIPONT. Or six rings gules.

did not pass to her son and heir Robert de Clifford, but Idonea, by some settlement of their inheritance, obtained the whole manor. Her second husband, John de Cromwell,²⁶ paid the feudal dues from the whole in 1302-3 and 1316. A few years later, however, they seem to have sold the reversion of the manor²⁷ after their deaths to Hugh le Despenser. It was seized by King Edward II in 1326,²⁸ because John de Cromwell stayed out of England without licence, but being the inheritance of his wife, she was allowed to receive the issues and profits²⁹ of the manor, and also to retain her own 'robes, beds and jewels and other things pertaining to her chamber.' The king meanwhile seized John's horses, destriers, armour, falcons, vessels and jewels for himself.³⁰ Idonea recovered the manor before her death, since she was in seisin³¹ at that time, the reversion then belonging to Edward le Despenser, the second son of Hugh le Despenser the younger. The manor was afterwards settled on Edward³² and his wife Anne, by fine with the overlord, the Bishop of Lincoln. Edward died in 1342,³³ and Anne held the manor in 1346.³⁴ She surrendered it during her lifetime³⁵ to her son and heir Sir Edward le Despenser, lord of Glamorgan. He made various grants of the manor and rent issuing from it, which led to a long lawsuit after his death. In 1372³⁶ he granted a pension of 20 marks a year for life to Nicholas Bernak his esquire, and previously a rent to one Henry Hamwode.³⁷ The manor itself he granted for life to his brother Thomas le Despenser,³⁸ who died seised in 1380.³⁹ It then passed to Thomas, Lord Despenser, the son and heir of Sir Edward le Despenser, and he granted Buckland in 1398⁴⁰ to Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, Hugh le Despenser, and other feoffees. Probably this was a grant to the use of his daughter and heiress Isabel,⁴¹ since she afterwards inherited the manor. She married as her second husband Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.⁴² The manor was granted to John Mangan, or Nanston, esq., for life,⁴³ and he held it at the time of the countess's death in 1439.⁴⁴ He also outlived her son and heir Henry Beauchamp,⁴⁵ Earl of Warwick, and the manor, when the reversion fell in, presumably passed to Anne, the sister of the earl and the wife of Richard Nevill,⁴⁶ who was afterwards created Earl of Warwick, and became famous as the 'Kingmaker.' After his defeat and



DESPENSER. Argent quartered with gules fretty or and a bend sable over all.

¹¹ *Rot. de Domin.* (ed. Grimaldi), 6.
¹² *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 99-201; *Rot. de Domin.* 6. The wife of William de Bussey was Roesia daughter of Baldwin son of Gilbert, and Buckland may have belonged to her inheritance; cf. *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.
¹³ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 18, 21; *Cal. of Inq. Hen. III.*, no. 858.
¹⁴ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 18, 21.
¹⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 7.
¹⁷ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 42 Hen. III.
¹⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 44.
¹⁹ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 357.

²⁰ *Ibid.* i, 171, 389.
²¹ *Ibid.*; De Banco R. 39, m. 67.
²² *Ibid.*
²³ *Cal. of Inq. Edw. I.*, m. 478.
²⁴ *Feud. Aids.*, i, 85.
²⁵ *Cal. of Inq. Edw. I.*, no. 525.
²⁶ *Feud. Aids.*, i, 98, 112.
²⁷ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 14 Edw. II; Chan. Inq. p.m. 6 Ric. II, no. 166.
²⁸ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), i, 299; *Cal. Close*, 1323-7, p. 603.
²⁹ *Ibid.*
³⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66.
³¹ *Ibid.* 16 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 49^a

³² *Ibid.*; G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.
³³ *Feud. Aids.*, i, 123.
³⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), pt. ii, no. 46, pt. 85.
³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 181.
³⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 6 Ric. II, no. 166; *ibid.* 9 Ric. II, no. 131.
³⁷ *Ibid.*
³⁸ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, no. 21.
³⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, p. 417.
⁴⁰ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.
⁴¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Hen. VI, no. 3.
⁴² *Ibid.*
⁴³ *Ibid.*
⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 24 Hen. VI, no. 43.
⁴⁵ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

death at the battle of Barnet in 1471, his lands were seized by Edward IV, and were divided between the earl's two sons-in-law, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the brothers of the king.⁴⁷ The Despenser lands passed to Clarence, the claims of the Countess of Warwick being entirely passed over. After the accession of Henry VII, they were restored to her by an Act of Parliament of 1487, but she immediately regranted them to the Crown.⁴⁸ In this grant the manor of Buckland is named, and it remained in the hands of the Crown until the reign of Queen Mary.⁴⁹ Henry VIII, however, granted a lease of the demesne lands and another tenement in the manor to Thomas Greenway in 1522⁵⁰ for twenty-one years, a second lease for twenty-one years being drawn up in 1535⁵¹ to Thomas and his son Richard, when the same lands were described as parcel of the lands of the late Earl of Warwick. The manor of Buckland was granted by Queen Mary⁵² to Sir Anthony Browne, Lord Montagu,⁵³ whose daughter Elizabeth married Robert Dormer, first Lord Dormer. It was given to the latter in 1584,⁵⁴ and his direct male descendants held it until the death of Charles Dormer second Earl of Carnarvon in 1709,⁵⁵ with perhaps a short interval during the Civil War.⁵⁶ Robert, the first Earl of Carnarvon, was killed at the first battle of Newbury,⁵⁷ fighting on the Royalist side, and possibly his lands were confiscated. Charles, his son, seems to have made an assignment of the manor in 1653,⁵⁸ but possibly his relationship to Philip Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery,⁵⁹ an influential Parliamentarian, and a party in this assignment, enabled the Earl of Carnarvon⁶⁰ to recover his lands. His daughter and co-

manor has since passed into the hands of Mr. Peter Parrott who is the present lord of the manor.

In 1308⁶¹ John de Cromwell and his wife obtained a grant of free warren for ever in all their demesne lands of Buckland. This was also held by their successors the Despensers⁶² and Robert Lord Dormer obtained a new grant of free warren, and also of free park in Buckland from James I.⁶³

The right to hold a view of frankpledge in the manor of Buckland is not mentioned until the 14th century. Idonea de Leyburn, the widow of John de Cromwell, held a view twice a year at Michaelmas and Hockday,⁶⁴ but presumably her ancestors had also held it for their tenants in Buckland. The Despensers⁶⁵ held the view in the 15th century, and in the grant of the manor to Sir Anthony Browne, Lord Montagu,⁷¹ he obtained all the privileges that the previous lords of Buckland had exercised. The view of frankpledge was also held by the Dormers in the 17th century.⁷²

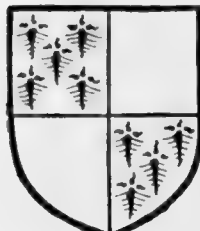
No mill is mentioned in Buckland in Domesday Book, nor in later surveys of the manor, and there is no mill there at the present day.

The church of *ALL SAINTS* consists *CHURCH* of a chancel 22 ft. by 15 ft., a north vestry, a nave 36 ft. 6 in. long and of a mean width of 19 ft., a north aisle 8 ft. 6 in. wide, and a western tower. The church has been so many times restored as to have been practically rebuilt. The north arcade of the nave is of mid-13th-century date, and the chancel and west tower retain evidence of work of the same period, but the architectural history of the building is effectually obscured by the modern work. The nave is irregular, being 14 in. wider at the west than at the east, and the centre line of the tower is a little to the north of that of the nave.

The east window of the chancel is modern and of three trefoiled lights with tracery of early 14th-century style over, and in both the north and south walls of the chancel is a modern window of two uncusped lights with a quatrefoil over. West of the window in the north wall is a 13th-century arch opening to the vestry. In the south wall at the east is a 15th-century piscina with a trefoiled head, and at the west a single lancet very much restored but originally of 13th-century date. Between the two windows in this wall is a small modern priest's door. The chancel arch is of an obtuse two-centred form, and on the east has one plain chamfer, while on the west it is of two chamfered orders; its date is doubtful, and perhaps late. The jambs are square and on the west have a square-edged string-course on the springing line, which probably carried the back beam of the rood-loft, and may belong to the time when the loft was set up.



DORMER. Azure with billets or and a chief or with a demi-lion sable therein.



STANHOPE. Quarterly ermine and gules.

heir Elizabeth married Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield,⁶¹ who held the manor in 1717.⁶² The fifth Earl of Chesterfield held it in 1813,⁶³ but after his death, during the minority of his son and heir, it was sold by the trustees under the direction of the Court of Chancery⁶⁴ to George Hassall of Cholesbury. The latter died in 1821, and 'is said to have bequeathed, by will, his estates in this county to John Atkinson, and others, solicitors, in London.'⁶⁵ The

⁴⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xi, 296.

⁴⁸ *Materials for Reign of Hen. VII.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 241.

⁴⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* i, 896; iii, 779 (25).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 2297 (18); *Pat. 14 Hen. VIII.* pt. ii.

⁵¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* viii, 962 (9).

⁵² *Rot. Orig.* 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, pt. iii, R. 63.

⁵³ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁵⁴ *Feet of F. Bucks. East.* 26 Eliz.

⁵⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), ccclviii, no. 99; *ibid.* no. 102; *Feet of F. Div. Co.*

Trin. 8 Chas. I; *Recov. R. Trin. 8 Chas. I*; *Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc.* (Ser. ii), dxxxvii, pt. 32, no. 105; *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁶² *Pat. 34 Eliz.* pt. iv, m. 21. Queen Elizabeth granted the manor of Buckland in 1592 to William Tipper and Robert Dawe, who were, however, only fishing grantees.

⁶³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xv.

⁶⁴ *Recov. R. Hil. 1653*; *Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 1653.*

⁶⁵ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁶⁶ *Cf. Horsenden.*

⁶¹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

⁶² *Recov. R. East.* 3 Geo. II.

⁶³ *Lysons, Magna Brit.* i, 530.

⁶⁴ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 127.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Chart. R.* 2 Edw. II, m. 14, no. 50.

⁶⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 4 Ric. II, no. 21.

⁶⁸ *Pat. 14 Jas. I.* pt. 11, no. 12.

⁶⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 8 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, no. 21.

⁷¹ *Rot. Orig.* pt. iii, 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, R. 63.

⁷² *Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 8 Chas. I.*

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

The nave is of three bays with a north arcade having two-centred arches of two chamfered orders, with an undercut label and round columns with moulded bell capitals which have alternately octagonal and circular abaci. In the east respond is the 15th-century opening to the rood-loft, and over the arcade are three modern clearstory windows, each of two trefoiled lights. In the south wall are two windows, that to the east is of two uncusped lights under a pointed head, and though very much restored appears originally to have been of early 14th-century date. The other window is quite modern, and is of two trefoiled lights with tracery of 15th-century detail. The south door is of late 14th-century date, and has been much repaired. The jambs and two-centred head have a wide hollow between two double ogees, enriched with four-leaved flowers, and on the old stones are scratched many almost indecipherable 15th and 16th-century inscriptions. The whole of this south wall has been rebuilt, and some pieces of 14th-century window tracery are set in the outer face of the wall. Two heads set in the wall are traditionally known as those of two robbers executed at Hang Hill, 2 miles away.

The north aisle has also been rebuilt and has in its north wall two modern two-light windows, and between them a modern north door. To the east of the aisle is a modern arch to the vestry, and at the west a modern two-light window, a few old stones being re-used in its splay.

The tower arch is two-centred, of two chamfered orders dying into flat responds, and appears to be late 13th-century work. The tower itself is of three stages with an embattled parapet, and has been completely rebuilt in recent years with the use of much of its old material. There are modern single belfry openings and a modern west window of one cinquefoiled light.

The modern south porch is of wood upon a dwarf wall.

The font is circular, and though much restored is of 13th-century date, with a fluted bowl and a band of heavy foliage running round the rim.

The roof of the chancel is modern, but those of the nave and aisle are of 15th-century date. The seating and rood screen are modern, but there is a late 17th-century altar table in the north aisle. There are no monuments of interest in the church.

The tower contains three bells: the treble by Ellis and Henry Knight, 1675; the second by

Chandler, 1693; and the tenor by the same founder, 1708.

The only piece of silver plate is a small communion cup, 8 in. high, of Elizabethan date.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms, marriages, and burials between the years 1653 and 1753. The second book contains baptisms and burials between 1762 and 1781; and the third marriages and baptisms between 1783 and 1812, and burials between 1784 and 1812.

The chapel of Buckland was originally dependent on the prebendal church of Aylesbury, together with the chapels of Bierton, Stoke Mandeville,⁷⁵ and Quarrendon. It was separated with them from the mother church in 1266,⁷⁶ and the four chapels were given to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. In 1294 the vicarage of Bierton with the chapels of Stoke Mandeville, Buckland, and Quarrendon was ordained,⁷⁶ but in 1858 the chapels of Buckland and Stoke Mandeville⁷⁶ were separated from Bierton and formed into separate benefices. In 1281⁷⁷ the lords of Buckland Manor, Roger de Clifford and his wife Isabel, and Roger de Leyburn and his wife Idonea, claimed the advowson of the church of Buckland from the Bishop of Lincoln and the Dean and Chapter. They maintained that their ancestress Idonea the wife of Robert de Vipont had presented a certain Robert le Esquier in the time of Henry III to the church and he had been admitted, and so they claimed that the right to present to the benefice had descended to them. The bishop and dean answered that the church of Buckland was a chapel appurtenant to the church of Aylesbury, which William Rufus had given to the church of St. Mary of Lincoln, with the chapel of Buckland. They presented his charter and its confirmation by Edward I. The result of the suit is not given, but the Dean and Chapter presumably gained it, since they were in peaceful possession in 1294 at the time of the ordination of the vicarage. They are still the patrons of the living at the present day.

There is a Wesleyan chapel at Buckland, built in 1831, and another at the hamlet of Buckland Common, built in 1860.

Charity of William Hill—see under *CHARITIES* Bierton. The annual sum of £1 received from the trustees is given to eight parishioners, and one overcoat is also given to one old man each year.

⁷⁵ See Bierton and Stoke Mandeville.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 304.

⁷⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Bp. Sutton's Inst. ; Rec. of Bucks.* i, 233-5.

⁷⁶ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 109.

⁷⁷ *De Banco R.* 39, m. 67.

ELLESBOROUGH

Ellesborough is an irregularly-shaped parish, lying on the northern slope of the Chiltern Hills. It contains nearly 3,595 acres.¹ The highest point is Combe Hill, which is 852 ft. high,² but in the northern part of the parish the land lies between 300 ft. and 400 ft. above the Ordnance datum. In the hills the land is well-wooded, with 514½ acres of woods or plantations.³ The park at Chequers Court contains some fine timber. The subsoil is chalk and Upper Greensand, the surface variable—chalk and flint in the uplands and loam in the low-lying district. The occupation of the inhabitants is entirely agricultural; the proportion of arable land and permanent pasture is nearly equal, with 1,158 acres of arable and 1,143 of grass.⁴ The main roads in the parish are the Upper and Lower Icknield Ways. The latter forms at this part of its course the main road from Wycombe to Aylesbury, and passes through Terrick End. The Upper Icknield Way wanders from the main road, running from Little Kimble Church to Wendover, through Ellesborough village and the hamlet of Butler's Cross. The parish is well watered by various streams running northwards; one of these turns the Ellesborough mill and another passes near Chalkshire. There are springs to the north of Ellesborough village, feeding a good-sized pond, used for water-cress growing. Moats still exist at Grove Farm, where there is an old dovecote, possibly of the 16th century, Terrick House, at which there are remains of 17th-century work much modernized, and Nash Lee Farm; there is also a reservoir near Beacon Hill in the southern part of the parish. Between Nash Lee and Terrick House the site of a Roman villa has been discovered, and various British coins⁵ have been found in the parish. The nearest railway station is at Little Kimble on the Aylesbury branch of the Great Western Railway. Wendover station on the Metropolitan Extension Railway is 2 miles away. The parish was inclosed by an Act of Parliament⁶ for the inclosure of the three parishes of Great and Little Kimble and Ellesborough, the award being dated 2 May 1805.

Before the Norman Conquest the *MANORS* township of *ELLESBOROUGH* was held in three parts, by Earl Harold, Baldwin the man of Archbishop Stigand,⁷ and Levenot the man of King Edward.⁸ The land held by Earl Harold⁹ was assessed at 13½ hides, and was called a manor. At the Conquest it was given to Ralph Talgeboesch or Taillebois, but before the Domesday Survey was made he had exchanged it with Ansculf de

Picquigny for half of Risborough at the king's command, and William Fitz Ansculf was the tenant in 1086.¹⁰ The latter also held the land of Baldwin, but had enfeoffed Osbert as his sub-tenant.¹¹ Ralph Paganell became possessed of all the lands of Fitz Ansculf,¹² which formed the honour of Dudley or Newport. He was succeeded by his son Gervase Paganell,¹³ who paid feudal dues for lands in Buckinghamshire in 1190–1.¹⁴ Four years later, however, his honour¹⁵ was in the hands of the king, but it afterwards passed to Ralph de Someri,¹⁶ the son of John de Someri, who had married Hawisia Paganell.¹⁷ The Someris held the honour until the death of John de Someri in 1323,¹⁸ when his possessions were divided between his two sisters Margaret and Joan, and Ellesborough was assigned to the latter,¹⁹ who was the widow of Thomas Botecourt. The overlordship appears to have lapsed after the honour was broken up, and in the 15th century this part of Ellesborough was held in chief under the honour or castle of Nottingham.²⁰

In 1086²¹ Ralph held the manor of *ELLESBOROUGH* of William Fitz Ansculf, but its descent in the following century is lost. At the close of the 12th century, however, it was in the hands of Richard son of William, but he, during the civil wars of the reign of John, granted it to William Cauntlow.²² A dispute arose between his widow Geva and William Cauntlow in 1224²³ about her dower. An agreement had previously been made between them,²⁴ but in spite of this she brought a claim for a third part of the manor, which she obtained by judgement of the king's court. William Cauntlow died in 1239²⁵ and was succeeded by another William Cauntlow,²⁶ who held the manor as mesne lord till his death in 1251.²⁷ He had been the close friend of Henry III.,²⁸ but this friendship was not extended to his son and heir William,²⁹ whom the king treated with great harshness.³⁰ He did homage for his lands in the same year, 1251, but only survived his father a short time. His early death, which took place in 1254,³¹ was lamented by the chronicler Matthew Paris,³² by whom he was described as 'juvenis elegans et dives.' His heir was his son George, who was either two or three years old at the time of his father's death.³³ George died just after reaching his majority,³⁴ and Ellesborough passed to Milicent, the elder³⁵ of his two sisters and co-heiresses. She had married first Eudo la Zouche,³⁶ and afterwards John de Montalt.³⁷ Ellesborough passed to her son William la Zouche,³⁸ and on his

¹ *Ord. Surv.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Inf. from Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 192.

⁶ *Com. Incl. Awards.* 'Eddlesborough' is printed in the Blue Book by mistake.

⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 254a.

⁸ *Ibid.* 269b.

⁹ *Ibid.* 254a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* 213.

¹³ *Dugdale, Mon. Angl.* vii, 1038.

¹⁴ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 90.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 109, 113.

¹⁷ *Dugdale, Mon. Angl.* vii, 1038; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. I.* no. 813.

¹⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 16 Edw. II, no. 72.

¹⁹ *Cal. Close.* 1318–23, p. 630.

²⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 19 Edw. IV, no. 11;

Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle. 5, no. 3.

²¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 254a.

²² *Assize R.* 54, m. 5 d.; *Hund. R.*

(*Rec. Com.*), i, 20.

²³ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 8 Hen. III, no. 6.

²⁴ *Assize R.* 54, m. 5 d.

²⁵ *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.),

iii, 529.

²⁶ *Hund. R.* (*Rec. Com.*), i, 20.

²⁷ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (*Rec. Com.*), ii,

100.

²⁸ *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.),

v, 224.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (*Rec. Com.*), ii,

100.

³¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III.* no. 318,

340.

³² *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.),

v, 463.

³³ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III.* no. 318,

340.

³⁴ *Ibid. Edw. I.* no. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

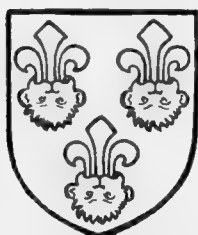
³⁶ *Cal. Close.* 1272–9, pp. 420, 533.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 420; *Feud. Aids.* i, 86.

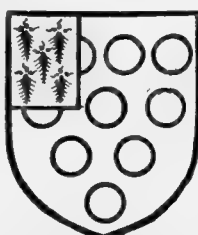
³⁸ *Fine R.* 27 Edw. I, m. 21.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

death in 1352⁸⁹ he was succeeded by his grandson William la Zouche of Harringworth,⁹⁰ who afterwards gave the manor of Ellesborough to his second son Thomas to hold in demesne for life.⁹¹ The latter died



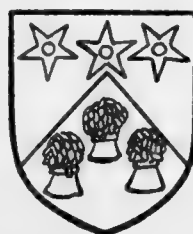
CAUNTLOW. *Gules three fleurs-de-lis coming out of leopards' heads reversed or.*



ZOUCHE. *Gules bezanty and a quarter ermine.*

seised in 1404, and the manor reverted to his nephew William la Zouche,⁹² the son of his elder brother William. The reversion, however, had already been granted by William la Zouche to Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, and other feoffees in 1402,⁹³ and William la Zouche made a further release of his right in the manor of Ellesborough to John Toly and William Glen, clerks,⁹⁴ two of the original feoffees. At his death, however, in 1416, he was said to have enfeoffed Sir William de Roos of Hamelake⁹⁵ and others, probably another set of trustees, of the manor; but only Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Thomas le Warr, and Robert Isham survived at that date.⁹⁶ William la Zouche left a son William, in whose interest the feoffments had probably been made. In 1430⁹⁷ the manor appears to have been held by Thomas Bronus, clerk, Roger Heron, clerk, Robert Chatheley, John Barton the younger, and Thomas Compworth, but they then conveyed it to John Cotesmore, John Cheyne, and others.⁹⁸ Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury,⁹⁹ also released his right in the manor to the new feoffees. These numerous enfeoffments seem to cover a transfer of the manor between 1416 and 1430 from the Zouche family to John Cheyne, who held it in 1432.¹⁰⁰ Shortly afterwards, however, Cheyne enfeoffed Thomas Frowyk,¹⁰¹ Henry Frowyk, and William Walton,¹⁰² who held the court of the manor in 1442.¹⁰³ Cheyne and his feoffees next released the manor to John Hampden of Kimble¹⁰⁴ and Edward Brudenell on condition that they enfeoffed John Brekenok¹⁰⁵ on his payment of a sum of money to Cheyne. Brekenok failed to pay at the appointed date,¹⁰⁶ and Cheyne tried to recover the manor from Hampden and Brudenell, who refused to relinquish it.¹⁰⁷ Brekenok probably paid after a time and held the manor till 1458, when he and his wife quitclaimed it to John

Heton, Edward Brudenell and others for £200.¹⁰⁸ Who was in actual seisin at this time is very doubtful, but the manor shortly afterwards must have passed to the Poles, since in 1479 Geoffrey Pole died seised.¹⁰⁹ His son Richard, who married Margaret daughter of the Duke of Clarence, inherited it.¹¹⁰ Their son Henry Pole, Lord Montagu, a minor at his father's death,¹¹¹ had livery of his lands in 1513,¹¹² but afterwards was attainted and executed, and his possessions reverted to the Crown in 1539-40.¹¹³ Henry VIII sold the manor of Ellesborough to Sir John Baldwin, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas,¹¹⁴ for £623 18s. 5½d.¹¹⁵ From him it descended to one of his two grandsons and heirs, Thomas Pakington, the son of Ann Baldwin and Robert Pakington.¹¹⁶ It was held by the Pakingtons, his descendants,¹¹⁷ until it was bought in 1770 by Sir John Russell, who held the manor of Chequers in Ellesborough.¹¹⁸ The Pakingtons claimed the paramount lordship in Ellesborough in the 18th century,¹¹⁹ but this claim was abandoned when a farm in the parish was bought of the Pakingtons by the Russell family. The manor of



PAKINGTON. *Party cheveronwise sable and argent with three pierced molets or in the chief and three sheaves gules in the foot.*



RUSSELL. *Argent a lion gules and a chief sable with three roses argent therein.*

Ellesborough is now held by the trustees of Mr. Frankland-Russell-Astley, who has inherited the estates of the Russells.¹²⁰

In the 13th century the manor of Ellesborough was held for a time by a younger branch of the Cauntlows. The first William Cauntlow or his son and heir, William, apparently subinfeudated Nicholas the second son,¹²¹ who was seised in 1254.¹²² William, the son of Nicholas, succeeded him, but granted the manor to his mother Eustachia and William de Ros her second husband for life.¹²³ He, however, was re-enfeoffed jointly with his wife Eva for their lives by Eustachia and her husband,¹²⁴ and held the manor at his death in 1308.¹²⁵ It then reverted to his mother and William de Ros for life. William Cauntlow's heir¹²⁶ was his son another William, but the latter died childless, so

⁸⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1349-54, p. 416; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 26 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 51.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 6 Hen. IV, no. 17.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 4 Hen. IV.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Cal. of Anct. D.*, B. 1453.

⁹⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 3 Hen. V, no. 46.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Cal. of Anct. D.*, B. 1458.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Close*, 8 Hen. VI, m. 7.

¹⁰¹ *Cal. of Anct. D.*, B. 1456.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *P.R.O. Ct. R. pt.* 155, no. 11.

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. of Anct. D.*, B. 1452.

¹⁰⁵ Early *Chan. Proc. bdle.* 17, no. 151.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 37 Hen. VI.

¹⁰⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 19 Edw. IV, no. 11.

¹¹⁰ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹¹¹ *Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle.* 5, no. 3.

¹¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 4325.

¹¹³ *Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle.* 33, no. 7; *L.*

and P. Hen. VIII, xiv (1), 1354 (45).

¹¹⁴ *Pat.* 36 Hen. VIII, pt. ix.

¹¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 166 (37).

¹¹⁶ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no.

7; *Visit. of Bucks.* 1566 (ed. Metcalfe).

¹¹⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), clvi, no.

1; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 5 Jas. I;

Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccxviii, no.

69; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Will. and Mary; Trin. 7 Geo. I; Mich. 13

Geo. III; *G.E.C. Complete Baronetage.*

¹¹⁸ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* ¹²⁰ Cf. manor of Chequers.

¹²¹ *Close*, 15 Ric. II, m. 23; *Hund. R.*

(*Rec. Com.*), i, 20.

¹²² *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. I*, ii, 504.

¹²³ *Hund. R.* (*Rec. Com.*), i, 44; *Ex-*

cerpta e Rot. Fin. (*Rec. Com.*), ii, 349;

Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 29 & 30

Edw. I.

¹²⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 80; *Feud.*

Aids, i, 98; *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 468.

¹²⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 2 Edw. II, no. 51.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

that Nicholas his brother obtained the manor on its reversion to the Cauntlows.⁷⁷ Nicholas settled the manor of Ellesborough on his wife Joan for life,⁷⁸ with remainder to Nicholas his grandson and son of William Cauntlow and the heirs of his body.⁷⁹ If these failed the further remainder was granted to William brother of Nicholas with the same restrictions.⁸⁰ Nicholas the grandson died without heirs of his body,⁸¹ and William obtained seisin of the manor.⁸² He died in 1376, his father William Cauntlow being his heir.⁸³ The latter seems to have had no other children besides the two sons who had predeceased him, so that on his death the manor reverted to the Zouches, as the representatives of the elder branch of the Cauntlow family.⁸⁴

William Cauntlow held the view of frankpledge for his moiety of the parish of Ellesborough,⁸⁵ but in 1254 the origin of his right to do so was unknown.⁸⁶ Probably, however, Richard son of William who had granted his father the manor of Ellesborough had also held the view, and Cauntlow continued to do so without any definite grant. The view was probably held by the Zouches, and in the 15th century the feoffees of Sir John Cheyne held it,⁸⁷ the right afterwards coming to the Pakingtons in the 17th century.⁸⁸ In the reign of James I.⁸⁹ Edward Brudenell obtained a grant of a court leet and view of all his tenants in Stoke Mandeville, Ellesborough, and Little Kimble, to be held twice a year, but probably the Ellesborough tenants belonged to his manor of Stoke Mandeville.

APPESELEY alias APSLEY is first mentioned in a charter of Roger de Hampton, granting 5s. rent to the abbey of Missenden, which William de la Merse paid him for land in 'Aspeleia.'⁹⁰ It presumably belonged to the honour of Dudley, since in 1486-7 it was held of Geoffrey Pole, who then held the manor of Ellesborough.⁹¹

In 1247⁹² William de Appesley brought an action against the Abbot of Missenden concerning a free tenement and rent in Ellesborough.

Another William de Appesley was plaintiff in a fine for lands and rents in Ellesborough in 1316,⁹³ but the manor of Appesley is not definitely mentioned until 1486-7, on the death of Thomas Temple.⁹⁴ His heir was his son William, a minor. During the reign of Henry VIII Francis Temple obtained possession of the manor probably in succession to William. He was seised in 1537,⁹⁵ and made various settlements for the use of himself and his wife Elizabeth and the heirs of their bodies. After his death⁹⁶ Elizabeth brought several actions against lessees of the manor and lands

to recover possession.⁹⁷ It seems to have passed to one John Temple by 1575,⁹⁸ and from him to Thomas Temple before 1584-5,⁹⁹ since in that year Thomas, together with his wife Cecily, sold Appesley Manor to William Sheppard of Great Rollright, co. Oxon.¹⁰⁰ It passed on his death in 1625¹⁰¹ to his son William, whose descendants held the estate¹⁰² until 1733,¹⁰³ when William Sheppard sold it to William Ledwell. His son William Bridges Ledwell again sold the manor of Appesley in 1792¹⁰⁴ to Sir Scrope Bernard, afterwards Sir Scrope Bernard Morland, bart. At the beginning of the 19th century it had again been sold to James Humphreys,¹⁰⁵ but it 1844 it was obtained by Mr. Edward W. Blanchard. In 1894 Lieut.-Colonel Horwood of Walton Warren, Aylesbury, purchased Appesley Manor Farm, and is the owner at the present day.¹⁰⁶

The reputed manor of MORDAUNTS in the parish of Ellesborough was held as a sub-manor under the Cauntlows, and so belonged to the honour of Dudley. In 1274-5 Lawrence de Brok died seised of 6 marks rent, which he held of Nicholas Cauntlow.¹⁰⁷ His son and heir was Hugh de Brok,¹⁰⁸ who held the same rent in 1284-6.¹⁰⁹ Hugh died before 1300, when his widow Isabel granted away certain lands and rents in Ellesborough for the term of her life.¹¹⁰ Another Lawrence de Brok, her son, held tenements in Ellesborough,¹¹¹ the rents and services from which he granted to John de Bykton for fourteen years, and in 1309 made a settlement of 100s. rent in Ellesborough on himself and his wife Ellen.¹¹² His lands descended to his granddaughter Helen,¹¹³ who married Edmund Mordaunt.¹¹⁴ The latter died seised of rents in Ellesborough in 1374,¹¹⁵ which were held of William Cauntlow; he was succeeded by his heir Robert, then a minor. The Mordaunts presumably held this rent in Ellesborough uninterruptedly during the 15th century, and in 1504 or 1505 Sir John Mordaunt held land in Ellesborough.¹¹⁶ He was raised to the peerage as Baron Mordaunt of Turvey, and was succeeded by his son and grandson in turn.¹¹⁷ In 1560¹¹⁸ their possessions in Ellesborough were described as the manor of Ellesborough, and this name was again used when Lewis the third Lord Mordaunt



BROK. Gules a chief argent with a lion passant guardant gules thereon.

⁷⁷ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 336; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 16 Edw. II, no. 72.

⁷⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 45 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 13.

⁷⁹ Close, 15 Ric. II, m. 23; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 49 Edw. II (1st nos.), no. 28; *Assize R.* 1458, m. 17 d.

⁸⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 45 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 13; 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.

⁸³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 28.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *P.R.O. Ct. R. portf.* 155, no. 11.

⁸⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 5 Jas. I.

⁸⁹ *Pat.* 14 Jas. I, pt. 17.

⁹⁰ Harl. MS. 3688.

⁹¹ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII*, no. 306.

⁹² *Assize R.* 56, m. 20.

⁹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 10 Edw. II.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII*, no. 306.

⁹⁵ *Chan. Proc.* (Ser. 2), bñle. 176, no. 77.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* bñle. 60, no. 12.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 39, 29.

⁹⁸ *Recov. R. Hil.* 18 Eliz.; Feet of F.

Bucks. Hil. 18 Eliz.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Mich. 21 Eliz.; *East.* 21 Eliz.;

Recov. R. Hil. 21 Eliz.

¹⁰⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 27 Eliz.

¹⁰¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccxix, no. 46;

ibid. cccxi, no. 67.

¹⁰² Feet of F. Bucks. *East.* 8 Chas. I;

Recov. R. Hil. 7 Anne.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* Mich. 7 Geo. II; Feet of F.

Bucks. Mich. 7 Geo. II.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Hil. 32 Geo. III; *Recov. R. East.* 32 Geo. III.

¹⁰⁵ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

¹⁰⁶ From information kindly given by Messrs. Horwood and James of Aylesbury.

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. I*, no. 110.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹¹⁰ Harl. Chart. 46, F. 51.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 46, G. 5.

¹¹² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 3 Edw. II.

¹¹³ Harl. Publ. Soc. xix, 41; *Visit. of Bucks.* 1566 (ed. Metcalfe).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 47 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 27.

¹¹⁶ *Exch. Inq. p.m.* v, no. 2.

¹¹⁷ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹¹⁸ *Recov. R. Mich.* 2 & 3 Eliz.

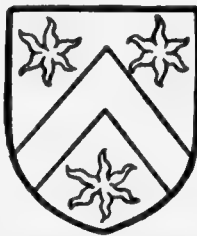
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sold it to William Hawtrey in 1571.¹¹⁹ It afterwards became known as the manor of Mordaunts, and from the time that it passed to the Hawtreys was held with the manor of Chequers (q.v.).¹²⁰

The first Laurence de Brok held his rent from Nicholas Cauntlow by the service of a clove gillyflower paid annually,¹²¹ but in 1374 Edward Mordaunt held it by military service.¹²²

William Fitz Ansculf subinfeudated the 1½ hides of land in Ellesborough that Baldwin had held before the Norman Conquest.¹²³ They were held at the time of the Domesday Survey by Osbert, who also held the manor of Great Hampden.¹²⁴ This land probably came into the possession of the Hampdens,¹²⁵ the successors and possibly the descendants of Osbert. In 1200¹²⁶ — de Hinton paid 1 mark to the king for a judgement as to half a knight's fee in 'Esseburg,' which was apparently given in his favour against Michael Malherbe and his wife Mabel. Twenty-one years¹²⁷ afterwards Robert de Pinkeny paid 1 mark for a similar suit as to 11 virgates of land against Roger de Hampden and his wife Mabel. Roger held land in Ellesborough in 1240—1,¹²⁸ but he had died before 1247, in which year his widow claimed land there as her right.¹²⁹ Whether this Roger was any relation to the main branch of the Hampden family does not appear. He had granted certain land to the first William Cauntlow in 1228,¹³⁰ and it seems possible that all the land belonging to the honour of Dudley became united under the Cauntlows.

The third part of the township was given after the Conquest to Maigno the Breton,¹³¹ and was held by his descendants as half a knight's fee belonging to their barony of Wolverton. It passed to his descendant Hamo son of Meinfelin who, in 1166, owed the service of fifteen knights to the king.¹³² Hamo was succeeded by his son, known as Hamo son of Hamo,¹³³ and the latter confirmed a grant of land in Ellesborough made to Missenden Abbey.¹³⁴ On his death his son William obtained his possessions,¹³⁵ but taking part with the barons against King John he forfeited them for a time.¹³⁶ He made his peace in 1216, paying a fine to the king,¹³⁷ and held the barony of Wolverton till his death c. 1248.¹³⁸ In that year his brother and heir Alan son of Hamo did homage to the king for his lands,¹³⁹ but in the same year the new lord of Wolverton died and was succeeded by his son John son of Alan.¹⁴⁰ John was the overlord of



MORDAUNT. *Argent a chevron between three stars sable.*

this part of Ellesborough in 1254,¹⁴¹ and presumably held it till his death in 1271—2.¹⁴² It was amongst the knights' fees assigned on dower to his widow Isabella, who married as her second husband Ralph de Ardena.¹⁴³ John son of Alan's heir at the time of his death¹⁴⁴ was his son Richard a boy five years old, but he seems to have died before he came of age and the barony of Wolverton passed to his brother John.¹⁴⁵ The family at this time appear to have taken the surname of Wolverton.¹⁴⁶ This John was a knight in 1318¹⁴⁷ and died before 1342.¹⁴⁸ He was succeeded by his son John de Wolverton¹⁴⁹ and grandson Ralph de Wolverton.¹⁵⁰ The latter, however, died while still a minor, and the barony was divided between his two sisters Margaret and Elizabeth.¹⁵¹ The former was betrothed at the time of her brother's death to John le Hunte, and the overlordship of Ellesborough was assigned to her.¹⁵² Her daughter and heiress Joan succeeded her and married John Longville.¹⁵³ He held her inheritance by courtesy after her death for his life,¹⁵⁴ and then it passed to her son and heir George Longville.¹⁵⁵ His descendants held her moiety of the honour of Wolverton until the 17th century, and in 1636 Sir Henry Longville held the overlordship of half a knight's fee in Ellesborough among his other possessions belonging to the manor of Wolverton.¹⁵⁶



WOLVERTON. *Azure an eagle or with a bend gules over all.*

In 1254 John son of Alan paid 3s. a year to be quit of suit to the shire and hundred courts and 2s. for the right to hold the view of frankpledge for his tenants at Ellesborough.¹⁴⁷ No further mention of this view is made, but probably the lords of the barony of Wolverton held a view for all the tenants of their barony.

The land held under the honour of Wolverton was probably subinfeudated before 1166 and one moiety of it was afterwards known as *SEYTON'S MANOR* or the *MANOR OF GROVE*. William Brito held certain land in Ellesborough¹⁵⁸ shortly after that date, and may perhaps be identified with William son of Alan who was then one of the knights of Hamo son of Meinfelin.¹⁵⁹ William Brito granted land to Missenden Abbey in the time of Hamo son of Hamo.¹⁶⁰ He seems to have been succeeded by Alan Brito, possibly his son, who died during the reign of Richard I.¹⁶¹ A lawsuit was held as to his lands in Ellesborough between his nephew Simon de Maidwell, apparently his heir, and William de Med-

¹¹⁹ Com. Pleas D. Enr. Bucks. Trin. 13 Eliz.; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 13 Eliz.

¹²⁰ Ibid. East. 16 Chas. I.

¹²¹ Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. I, no. 110.

¹²² Chan. Inq. p.m. 47 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 27.

¹²³ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 254a.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Cf. Great Hampden.

¹²⁶ Pipe R. 2 John, m. 18 d.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 5 Hen. III, m. 13 d.

¹²⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 25 Hen. III.

¹²⁹ Assize R. 56 n.

¹³⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. 12 Hen. III, no.

¹³¹ V.C.H. Bucks. i, 269b.

¹³² Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 314.

¹³³ Dugdale, Mon. iv, 350.

¹³⁴ Harl. 3688.

¹³⁵ Dugdale, Mon. iv, 350.

¹³⁶ Rot. de Oblat. et Fin. (Rec. Com.), 568.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.), ii, 36.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 42, 59.

¹⁴¹ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁴² Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, no. 812.

¹⁴³ Cal. Close, 1272—9, p. 351.

¹⁴⁴ Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, no. 812.

¹⁴⁵ Dugdale, Mon. iv, 350.

¹⁴⁶ Cal. Close, 1288—96, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 1318—23, p. 94.

¹⁴⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 15 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 25.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 23 Edw. (pt. i), no. 35.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 25 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. ¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid. 17 Hen. VI, no. 38.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. (Ser. 2), cccxxx, no. 131.

¹⁵⁷ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁵⁸ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁵⁹ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), 314.

¹⁶⁰ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁶¹ Rolls of the King's Ct. (Pipe Roll Soc.), xiv, 125.

menham, who called to warranty his wife Matilda, who in her turn called to warranty Henry de Pinkeny; the last-named had, it was alleged, given the land to Matilda's father. The result of the suit is not given, but Simon de Maidwell was one of the parties to various fines concerning land in Ellesborough at the time, the last being in 1202.¹⁶⁰ He also obtained a grant of free warren in his lands there from Henry III.¹⁶¹ He was succeeded by Alan de Maidwell, probably his son,¹⁶² who was defendant in a suit as to land in Ellesborough, and about that time held a quarter of a knight's fee of the barony of Wolverton.¹⁶³ He is mentioned for the last time in 1241.¹⁶⁴ Possibly he left a son Simon, since in 1261 or 1262 Alice daughter of Simon de Maidwell recovered various charters of lands in Ellesborough, which had been kept by the executor of her father's will.¹⁶⁵ She was a minor in the wardship of Richard de Seyton of Maidwell, Northamptonshire.¹⁶⁶ He married his ward, and her land, which she held as the heiress of William Brito, passed to the Seyton family.¹⁶⁷ She died before 1284-6 and was succeeded by her son John de Seyton.¹⁶⁸ He was at that time a minor, and his land was in the wardship of Anthony de Bek.¹⁶⁹ He was holding it himself in 1302,¹⁷⁰ but had been succeeded before 1312 by Nicholas de Seyton.¹⁷¹ Nicholas died in or just before 1316,¹⁷² and his manor passed to his son John de Seyton, who held it till his death.¹⁷³ His son and heir John de Seyton did homage for his manors to his overlord in 1361-2.¹⁷⁴ John made two grants of the manor of Grove to feoffees, who were presumably trustees for his lands while he went to the Holy Land.¹⁷⁵ He died at Jerusalem in 1396¹⁷⁶ and was succeeded by his son and heir John. The latter held the manor till his death, which took place about 1436-7. His son Thomas de Seyton assigned it at that date in dower to his father's widow Joan,¹⁷⁷ but in 1446 he granted the



SEYTON. Gules a bend between six martlets argent.

manor of Grove to John Kempe, Cardinal and Archbishop of York, John Stopyngham, Thomas Kempe, and others.¹⁸⁰ These grantees in 1459¹⁸¹ conveyed the manor to Sir Ralph Verney and Robert Whittingham and others, to the use of Ralph Verney his heirs and assigns. The Verneys held the manor for about a hundred years,¹⁸² John Verney being seised of the manor in 1530,¹⁸³ and Edmund Verney in 1553.¹⁸⁴ It changed hands shortly afterwards and passed to Robert Hewster of Chalford, Oxfordshire, who in 1564 conveyed it to Nicholas Eggleton. In 1579 the latter complained that his son and heir William had entered into the manor and detained certain deeds concerning it, but by 1596 Nicholas had recovered seisin.¹⁸⁵ In 1631¹⁸⁶ Christopher Eggleton was lord of the manor, and in that year settled it on his son Christopher on the marriage of the latter with Margaret daughter of Thomas Style.¹⁸⁷ They were in seisin in 1654,¹⁸⁸ and were succeeded by Thomas Eggleton, whose daughter and heiress Amy married Sir Lyon Pilkington, bart.¹⁸⁹ The latter was seised together with his wife in 1694,¹⁹⁰ but they shortly afterwards, or possibly at that date, sold the manor of Grove. Presumably it passed into the hands of Alexander Horton 'of the Grove' who died in 1715-16.¹⁹¹ William Horton shortly afterwards held the manor,¹⁹² but in 1735 he sold it to John Bristowe.¹⁹³ Richard Bristowe held it in 1768, but he or his heir sold it in 1798 to Sir John Russell, and from that time it has followed the descent of the manor of Chequers (q.v.).¹⁹⁴

The manor of CHEQUERS belonged to the half-fee in Ellesborough held under the barony of Wolverton, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it was held immediately from the lords of Wolverton or from the de Maidwells and Seytons as mesne lords.¹⁹⁵ The name of Chequers was probably derived from the name of the first tenants. Helyas de Scaccario, or of the Exchequer, appears amongst the witnesses to two charters,¹⁹⁶ one of which is dated 1187, to the abbey of Missenden. Henry de Scaccario was the plaintiff in several lawsuits in the beginning of the 13th century,¹⁹⁷ and held a quarter of a knight's fee in Ellesborough of the barony of Wolverton.¹⁹⁸

Henry de Scaccario had a son Ralph, whose

¹⁶⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. 10 Ric. I, no. 60; *ibid.* 4 John, no. 20.

¹⁶¹ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 242.

¹⁶² *Assize R.* 54, m. 13.

¹⁶³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 248; *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 351; *Feud. Aids*, i, 86, 98, 123. It is difficult to ascertain if the Maidwells held the whole half fee in Ellesborough belonging to the barony of Wolverton and had subinfeudated a tenant with a quarter fee or if they only held a quarter of a fee, while the other quarter was held direct from the lords of Wolverton. The Maidwells and their successors the Seytons were sometimes said to hold a half fee and sometimes the quarter. It seems possible that they only held the latter, but that they were responsible for the payment of the feudal dues and service from the whole half fee; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 248; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 23 Edw. III (pt. 1), no. 35; *ibid.* 25 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 6; *ibid.* 17 Hen. VI, no. 38.

¹⁶⁴ *Assize R.* 55, m. 3.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 57, m. 12; *ibid.* 58, m. 10 d., 14 d.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 57, m. 12.

¹⁶⁷ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 728; *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 351; De Banco R. 15, m. 26.

¹⁶⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁷¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 5 Edw. III.

¹⁷² *Feud. Aids*, iv, 24, 209; i, 112.

¹⁷³ Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 11 Edw.

III; B.M. Add. Chart. 22164; *Feud.*

Aids, i, 123.

¹⁷⁴ Add. Chart. 22181.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 22213-15, 19912.

¹⁷⁶ *Visit. of Northants.* 1564 (ed. Metcalfe).

¹⁷⁷ Add. Chart. 20303-4-5.

¹⁷⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 24 Hen.

III; Add. Chart. B.M. no. 7383.

¹⁷⁹ *Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle.* 25, no. 12.

¹⁸⁰ See manor of Stonors Croft in Bier-

ton.

¹⁸¹ *Recov. R. Trin.* 21 Hen. VIII.

¹⁸² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1 Mary.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* Mich. 38 & 39 Eliz.

¹⁸⁴ *Recov. R. Trin.* 7 Chas. I. In the

15th, 16th, and 17th centuries there is

some confusion as to the overlordship of

the manor of Grove. Sir Ralph Verney

was said to hold it of the Abbot of Missenden (*Exch. Inq. p.m. bdle.* 25, no. 12), and in 1637 Christopher Eggleton (sen.) held it of John Fleetwood, as of the late monastery of Missenden; *Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc.* dxxxviii, 13 Chas. I, pt. 33, no. 95. The monastery, however, never seems to have had any right in the manor, and at the time of the Dissolution its only possession in Ellesborough was a rent of 8s.; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 246.

¹⁸⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc.* dxxxviii, 13

Chas. I, pt. 33, no. 95.

¹⁸⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1654.

¹⁸⁹ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage*, ii.

¹⁹⁰ Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 5 Will.

and Mary.

¹⁹¹ Monument in Ellesborough Church.

¹⁹² *Recov. R. Mich.* 9 Geo. II.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555; Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 122.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Manors of Grove, n. 165.

¹⁹⁶ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹⁹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. John, case 14,

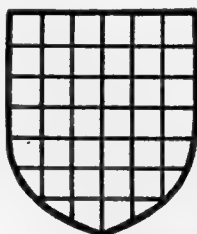
file 4; *ibid.* 2 Hen. III, no. i; 9 Hen.

III, no. xi; 20 Hen. VII, no. viii.

¹⁹⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 248.

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daughter and co-heiress Catherine married William Hawtrey.¹⁹⁹ In 1286 lands in Ellesborough were conveyed by William Hawtrey, jun., to William Hawtrey, sen., and Katharine his wife.²⁰⁰ In 1383 William Hawtrey, and in 1422 Richard Hawtrey, both appear in charters referring to the manor of Grove.²⁰¹ In 1350²⁰² and 1439²⁰³ the heir of Henry de Scaccario held a quarter of a knight's fee of the barony of Wolverton, and as late as 1544 Thomas Hawtrey died seised of the manor of Chequers, with land and tenements in Ellesborough.²⁰⁴ His heir was William his grandson,²⁰⁵ son of Thomas Hawtrey and Sibilla daughter and co-heiress of Richard Hampden of Kimble.²⁰⁶ The son of William Hawtrey died leaving four daughters, of whom the eldest, Mary, married Sir Francis Wolley.²⁰⁷ She probably inherited the manor of Chequers, since a settlement of the manor was made in 1594²⁰⁸ by William Hawtrey and Sir John Wolley. Mary died without children,²⁰⁹ and the manor passed to her next sister Bridget, the wife of Sir Henry Croke.²¹⁰ His son Sir Robert Croke was certified as a delinquent during the Commonwealth, but he was said to have had no real property in Ellesborough.²¹¹ In 1660, however, he was seised of the manor of Chequers,²¹² and on his death in 1680 the manor passed to his daughters. Susan, the eldest, had married Samuel Wall, M.D.,²¹³ but neither she nor the third sister Isabella had children, and Mary the second sister obtained the whole estate of Chequers.²¹⁴ She married John Thurban, serjeant-at-law, and the manor descended to their daughter Johanna,²¹⁵ who married first Colonel John Rivett. Her three sons, of whom the eldest, John Rivett, was a party to a common recovery in 1759,²¹⁶ all died leaving no children, and the manor passed to their sister Mary Johanna, the wife of Colonel Charles Russell.²¹⁷ Their son Sir John Russell, bart., was seised of the manor in 1765.²¹⁸ He died in 1783,²¹⁹ and was succeeded by his two sons John and George in turn, but both died without direct heirs. On the death in 1804 of Sir George Russell, who had enlarged the estates of his family in the parish of Ellesborough by various purchases,²²⁰ Chequers passed under the will of his father to his aunt, Mary Russell, with remainder to the Rev. John Russell Greenhill.²²¹ The latter was a descendant of Elizabeth, the sister of Colonel Charles Russell.²²² The estate, however, was given up by them to Robert Greenhill, the son of John Russell Greenhill, who held it in 1813.²²³ He took the name of Russell in addition to Greenhill, and was created a baronet in 1831.²²⁴ On his death



DE SCACCARIO. *Checky argent and azure.*

in 1837 Chequers passed to Sir Robert Frankland, bart.,²²⁵ a distant kinsman of the Russells. He assumed the name of Russell, by sign manual, and on his death in 1849 left five daughters as his heiresses.²²⁶ Chequers came to the youngest, Rosalind, the wife of Colonel Astley,²²⁷ and she took the additional names of Frankland-Russell in 1872. On her death in 1900 she was succeeded by her son Bertrand Frankland-Russell-Astley, who was lord of the manor till his death in 1904. Chequers is now in the hands of the trustees of his son Henry Frankland-Russell-Astley, a minor.

Chequers Court is situated in a small valley in a position south-south-east of the parish church. The many small hills by which it is surrounded and the slopes and spurs of the Chilterns forming the park are thickly wooded with beech trees, interspersed with larch, holly, and box.

The present house dates from the end of the 15th century, but is on the site of an earlier building of which no traces remain. The 15th-century house appears to have consisted of a central block with two projecting wings, the fourth side of the court being probably formed by a wall. In 1565 the house was much altered by Sir William Hawtrey, but the present north and east fronts are apparently a part of the earlier work, though re-decorated.

The west wing was completely rebuilt by Sir George Russell towards the end of the 18th century, and the south front was at the same time much altered, while both fronts were stuccoed and gothicized in the approved manner of that date. A small wing with a clock tower was added, a little later, at the south-west. Considerable alterations were made during the 19th century, and a good deal of oak panelling is said to have been cleared out. In more recent years, however, the house has been restored to something approaching its original form. The gables which had been battlemented have been restored and the stucco almost completely cleared off. Mullioned windows have also been inserted in place of some of the 18th-century sashes and the court has been covered in to form a hall.

The library is a large gallery occupying the greater part of the west wing, and though altered in the 18th century retains its mullioned windows. Over the bay window appear the Croke arms. Over the drawing-room bay, a part of the 16th-century work, appear the Hawtrey arms and the initials A.H. and W.H., with the date 1565. The house contains many pictures of great interest and a large collection of Cromwellian relics, including some of the Protector's clothes, his sword, jack boots, &c., and several contemporary portraits.

The church of *ST. PETER AND ST. CHURCH PAUL*²²⁸ consists of a chancel 30 ft. by 18 ft. with south organ chamber and vestry; a nave 52 ft. by 21 ft. 2 in. with south aisle

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Sir Alexander Croke, *Gen. Hist. of the Croke Family; Visitation of Bucks.* 1566 (ed. Metcalfe).

²⁰⁰ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 14 & 15 Edw. I.

²⁰¹ B.M. Add. R. 22213; *ibid.* 7383.

²⁰² Chan. Inq. p.m. 27 Edw. III, pt. 1, no. 35.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 17 Hen. VI, no. 38.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* (Ser. 2), lxxiii, no. 4.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Gen. Hist. of the Croke Family.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 36 Eliz.

²⁰⁹ *Gen. Hist. of the Croke Family.*

²¹⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 16 Chas. I.

²¹¹ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, i, 68.

²¹² *Recov. R. Bucks. Mich.* 12 Chas. II.

²¹³ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 3 Jas. II.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* Mich. 3 Will. and Mary.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* Hil. 2 Anne.

²¹⁶ *Recov. R. East.* 32 Geo. I.

²¹⁷ Berry, *Bucks. Pedigrees.*

²¹⁸ *Recov. R. East.* 5 Geo. III.

²¹⁹ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage.*

²²⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 196.

²²¹ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

²²² Berry, *Bucks. Gen.*

²²³ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

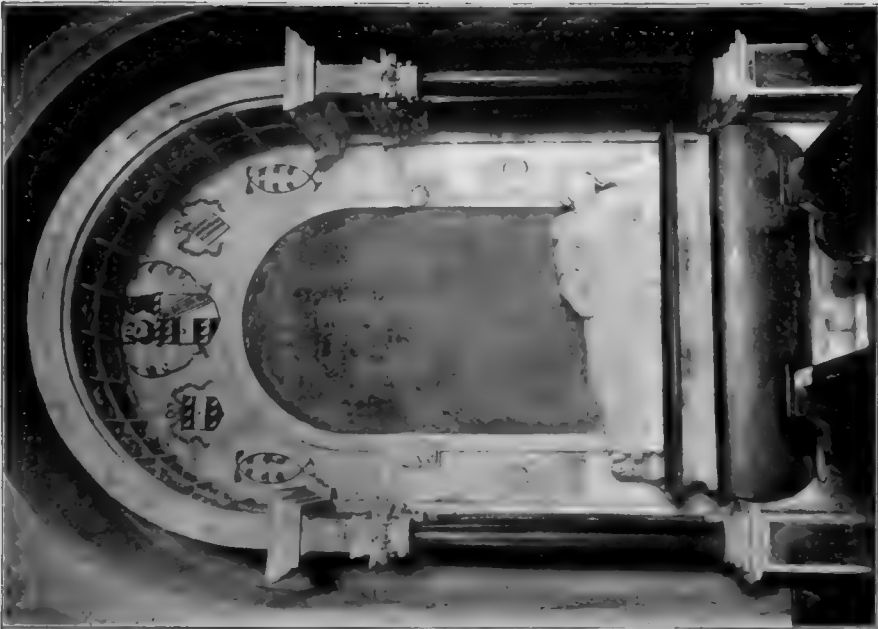
²²⁴ G.E.C. *Complete Baronetage.*

²²⁵ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* *Peerage and Baronetage.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.* *Landed Gentry*, 1906.

²²⁸ In a lawsuit of the time of Edward I the dedication is given as in honour of St. Peter only; De Banco R. 15, m. 26.



ELLESBOROUGH CHURCH : CROKE MONUMENT



HULCOTT CHURCH : SOUTH AISLE LOOKING WEST

9 ft. wide, south porch, and a south-west tower 10 ft. 6 in. square, all measurements being internal.

The whole building seems to be of 15th-century date, with modern additions and repairs, and has had its outer surface entirely renewed, so that hardly a trace of old work shows on the outside.

The situation is an unusually fine one at the top of a spur of the Chiltern Hills, 500 ft. above the Ordnance datum and overlooking the Vale of Aylesbury.

The east window of the chancel is completely modern and of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery over. The two windows in the north wall of the chancel are also modern and of late 14th-century detail, that to the east being of two lights, and that to the west of three, while in the south wall is a two-light window like that opposite to it on the north and the door and arch to the vestry and organ chamber, all modern and of plain detail. In this wall is a small 15th-century piscina with a shelf and a bracket, the head of its recess being embattled. The chancel arch is also much restored, but in the main of 15th-century date.

The nave is of five bays and is lit on the north by three large three-light windows with modern tracery of 15th-century detail in 15th-century openings. The blocked north door is between the west pair of windows and is of two moulded orders contemporary with the rest; it has a trefoiled recess for holy water to the east. The south arcade is of four bays with four-centred arches of two moulded orders, octagonal pillars and capitals, the abaci of the capitals being slightly concave in plan.

West of the arcade is a single arch to the tower which is built at the west end of the aisle. The arch detail is identical with that in the nave arcade, while the abacus of the west respond of the arcade is continued round the north-east pier of the tower and runs into the capitals of the tower arches. The west window of the nave is of three lights like those on the north and, like them, has modern tracery in a 15th-century opening. The west door externally is completely modern but the internal reveal and moulded rear-arch are of 15th-century date.

At the east end of the south wall of the aisle is a two-light window similar in detail, date, and degree of restoration to the north windows of the nave, but somewhat broader in proportion. The south door opposite the fourth bay of the arcade is continuously moulded with a double ogee and, externally at least, is quite modern. West of this is a modern single cinquefoiled light with tracery over.

The south porch is completely modern and has a continuously moulded entrance arch of 14th-century detail, over which are a pair of modern niches containing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The south-west tower is of three stages with an embattled parapet and a south-east octagonal turret staircase, it is of considerable height with belfry windows of two cinquefoiled lights, single trefoiled lights in the second stage, and a two-light west window on the ground stage.

The font has an octagonal 14th-century bowl upon a modern base and stem. The bowl is moulded and of ogee profile, its faces being panelled with flowing tracery in relief. The roofs throughout are modern.

In a recess in the aisle is a handsome black and white marble monument to Bridget Croke, 1638.

On a moulded sarcophagus of black marble is the white marble effigy of a woman in the costume of the period of Charles I, an extremely well executed and well preserved piece of work, the various details of the costume being treated with the utmost care and exactness. Above the effigy is a white marble semicircular pediment springing from the cornice of a complete entablature of the composite order, which is supported on either hand by a free and an engaged black marble column with white marble bases and capitals. The soffit of the entablature is panelled, the panels having alternately cherubs' heads and rosettes in relief. The inscription is cut on a slate slab let into the white



CROKE. *Gules a fesse between six martlets argent with a crescent sable on the fesse for difference.*



HAWTREY. *Argent four leopards passant bendways between double cotises sable.*

marble back and has no date. Above is Croke impaling Hawtreys, between Croke and a lozenge with Hawtreys.

In the north aisle on the wall is a brass with the figures of Thomas Hawtreys, 1544, Sybil his wife, and eleven sons and seven daughters, with the Hawtreys shield, apparently engraved over another coat. Below is the inscription of another brass to Mary, 'somtyme the wyfe of Willm Hawtreys,' who died in 1555. In the floor of this aisle are slabs to the following: Henry Croke, 1588, with the Croke arms quartering a fesse nebuly between three rings; Henry Croke, 1662, with Croke quartering a shield bearing a chaplet; Sir Robert Croke, 1680, with Croke bearing the last quartered shield in pretence, and Susannah Croke, 1685. In the chancel is also a slab to Robert Wallis, rector, 1666. In the windows of the organ chamber are preserved a few fragments of 15th and 17th-century glass. There is no woodwork of any interest in the church, but in the vestry is a large chest with handsome brass hinges, lock-plate, &c. of 17th-century date.

The tower contains six bells, the treble cast by Mears and Stainbank in 1870; the second, third, fourth, and tenor by Thomas Mears, 1823, and the fifth by G. Mears, 1863.

The church plate consists of a large covered cup of 1569, of extremely graceful design with a band of typical Elizabethan ornament. The sacred monogram and some of the Crucifixion emblems have been engraved on it at a later date; there are also a plated flagon and salver.

The first book of the registers contains all entries between 1603 and 1663. The second book (overlapping the first) contains baptisms from 1659 to 1739; burials from 1660 to 1739, with burials in woollen from 1678 and marriages from 1662 to 1739. A third book contains all entries from 1740, baptisms and burials running to 1812, and marriages to 1753. A fourth book contains the marriages and banns from 1754 to 1812.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Towards the close of the reign of *ADVOWSON* Henry II Gervase Paganell, then lord of Dudley honour, granted to the priory of Sandwell, in Staffordshire, as much of the church of Ellesborough as appertained to his honour.²²⁹ In 1398 the prior and convent obtained leave to impropriate their half of the church,²³⁰ and on the death or resignation of the rector then holding the benefice, to serve it by a secular priest or by one of the monks of Sandwell. In the 15th century a lease of the advowson and half the rectory²³¹ was held under the priory by Henry Danvers, William Danvers, and Joan Selwood in turn.²³² In 1524, however, the house was dissolved, and no vicarage is mentioned amongst its possessions,²³³ but only the advowson of the rectory of Ellesborough and tenements there, and in 1535 the benefice is described as a rectory.²³⁴ The priory of Sandwell was amongst the religious houses dissolved and granted to Cardinal Wolsey for the endowment of his new college at Oxford,²³⁵ and the advowson and half the rectory of Ellesborough were in consequence given to Cardinal College.²³⁶ When Wolsey fell from the king's favour his foundation was deprived of many of its possessions; those in Ellesborough passed by an exchange, made in 1531 by Henry VIII, to the Carthusian Priory of Sheen.²³⁷ After the dissolution of Sheen in 1539,²³⁸ the advowson of the church of Ellesborough was granted to William Sewster, who, however, very shortly obtained leave to alienate it to William Gardiner and his wife Anne.²³⁹ Gardiner died seised of the advowson in 1558,²⁴⁰ but his son and heir John Gardiner sold it to Roland Beresford.²⁴¹ The advowson changed hands from this time with great rapidity, passing from Beresford to Henry Newman in 1599–1600,^{242a} and from Newman to Thomas Weedon in 1620.²⁴³ Weedon held it at his death in 1624,²⁴⁴ but his brother and heir William sold it to Robert Wallis, clerk, ten years later.²⁴⁵ His family still held the advowson in 1725,^{246a} but before 1728 it had passed into the possession of Joseph Wells of Aston Clinton.²⁴⁶ He died in 1732, and the advowson passed to his son the Rev. Joseph Wells, who was still the patron of the living in 1813.^{246a} In the previous year he had sold the advowson to Sir Robert Greenhill Russell, presumably reserving to himself the next presentation.²⁴⁶ It is now in the hands of the Frankland-Russell-Astleys. The moiety of the rectory granted to the prior of Sandwell by Gervase Paganell was held with the advowson until the sale of the latter to Sir Robert Greenhill Russell; Joseph Wells appears to have retained the rectorial estate in his own hands. Allotments were made under the Inclosure Act of 1803 for the glebe rights of common and the great and small tithes. On the death of the Rev. Joseph

Wells in 1818, the allotment passed to his widow, with remainder to her son Fleetwood Wells. The lords of the honour of Wolverton probably granted their half of the church of Ellesborough to their subtenants, with the manor of Grove. William Brito presented to the church in the reign of Henry II,²⁴⁷ and his heirs Richard de Seyton and his wife Alice claimed the advowson in 1276 against the Prior of Sandwell.²⁴⁸ The plaintiffs lost their case, not, however, because they had no right to the advowson, but because their moiety of the church was not vacant at the time. When Thomas de Seyton granted the manor of Grove to John, Archbishop of York, and others in 1446,²⁴⁹ the advowson of the church of Ellesborough was also alienated.²⁵⁰ The Verneys were enfeoffed of the advowson,²⁵¹ but it seems probable that the right to present to the church of Ellesborough was not claimed by their successors the Eggletons. From the 17th century certainly the patrons of the other moiety alone have presented to the benefice. Lands in Ellesborough were given for lights in the church, and they were valued, after the dissolution of chantries by Edward VI, at 7s. yearly.²⁵² There is a Baptist chapel at Chalkshire, which was built in 1873.

Dame Elizabeth Dodd's Charity for *CHARITIES* almspeople and pensioners, founded by will bearing date 2 March 1720, and the subsidiary endowments are regulated by scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 28 July 1885, as varied by a scheme of 11 April 1899. The trust estate consists of 36 a. 1 r. 15 p. in Great Kimble, let at £75 a year, and 5 acres of pasture land in Aylesbury, let at £16 a year, and £2,456 14s. 2d. India 3 per cent. Stock, with the Official Trustees, the rents and dividends making a gross income of £164 14s.

In 1907 the four inmates received 5s. a week and £2 each in clothing, and 6s. a week was paid to four out-pensioners.

The Poores' Allotment consists of 45 acres or thereabouts of scrub land allotted to the poor for fuel on the inclosure. The sporting rights are let at £10 a year, which is the only income, and is, after payment of rates, &c., distributed among the non-ratepayers. In 1907, 2s. was given to seventy-one persons.

The charity of Dame Louisa Anne Frankland Russell founded by will, proved 1871, is regulated by scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 4 January 1878 as modified by scheme of 3 July 1885. The trust fund consists of £218 12s. 10d. consols, with the Official Trustees, producing yearly £5 9s. 4d., which is added to the funds of the coal and clothing clubs, containing in 1907 fifty-nine members.

²²⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 90.

²³⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 263.

²³¹ De Banco R. East. Hen. VII, m. 377 d.

²³² Ct. of Requests, bde. 1, no. 5; Early Chan. Proc. bde. 235, no. 41; *ibid.* bde. 160, no. 9.

²³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxvi, no. 5.

²³⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 249.

²³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (i), 650, 697.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* 1913 (1), 2167 (1); *ibid.* (2), 4001 (2), (3), 5117 (i); Pat. 17 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 38; Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 18 Hen. VIII.

²³⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 403; vi, 299 (ix).

²³⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 30.

²³⁹ Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. iii; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), 166 (82).

²⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxviii, no. 3.

²⁴¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 35 Eliz.

^{242a} *Ibid.* Hil. 42 Eliz.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* Mich. 17 Jas. I.

²⁴⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccx, no. 90.

²⁴⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 10 Chas. I; Common Pleas Recov. R. Trin. 10 Chas. I, m. 9.

^{246a} Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 12 Chas. I;

Trin. 34 Chas. II; Trin. 36 Chas. II; P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1665, 1686, 1722; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1 Jas. II; Mich. 12 Geo. I.

²⁴⁷ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

^{248a} P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1745, 1749, 1804; Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 555.

²⁴⁹ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 122.

²⁴⁷ De Banco R. 15, m. 26. ²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 24 Hen. VI; B.M. Add. Chart. 7383.

²⁵⁰ Recov. R. Trin. 21 Hen. VIII.

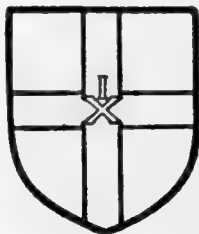
²⁵¹ Exch. Inq. p.m. 25, no. 12.

²⁵² Chant. Cert. Bucks. 5, no. 67.

HALTON

The parish of Halton lies on the northern slopes of the Chiltern Hills, and comprises 1,455½ acres.¹ It is well wooded, particularly on the higher and southern parts, about four-sevenths of the total area being woodland. The highest point, about 800 ft. above the Ordnance datum, is in Halton Wood, but in the northern part of the parish the land lies for the most part between 300 ft. and 400 ft. above the Ordnance datum. The Wendover branch of the Grand Junction Canal crosses the parish near the village of Halton, but there are no natural streams of any size in the parish. The most important road passing through the parish is the Upper Icknield Way. The village lies on a cross road running between the Upper and Lower Icknield Ways, joining the latter near Weston Turville village. The nearest station is at Wendover, 2 miles distant, on the Metropolitan Extension Railway. The people are mainly occupied in agriculture. There are gas-works on the Grand Junction Canal. The principal building in the parish is the great modern house of Mr. Alfred de Rothschild.

The manor of HALTON seems to have **MANOR** been in the possession of the monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, in the latter part of the 10th century. A tradition names Queen Edith² as the first donor of the manor in 959, but there seems to be no documentary evidence of such a grant. Possibly it came into the hands of the monastery at the same time as Monks Risborough,³ which certainly belonged to Christchurch before 995.⁴ There are charters concerning land in Halton of Archbishop Æthelnoth about 1033,⁵ and Archbishop Eadsige between 1045 and 1052.⁶ Both were dated from Monks Risborough and related to the gift of land at Halton by one To-briges, who gave it after his death to Christchurch. In the time of Edward the Confessor the manor came into the possession of Earl Leofwine,⁷ who probably had no right to it, for the family of Godwine were accused of despoiling the church of its lands.⁸ Archbishop Lanfranc apparently held the manor after the Norman Conquest,⁹ but there was no distinction made at that time between the lands of the archbishop and the lands of the monastery. The restitution of Halton was probably obtained before



CHRISTCHURCH, CANTERBURY. Azure a cross argent with the sacred monogram & sable upon the cross.

1074, and as the king gave it without demanding any price, the claim of the monastery must have been strong.¹⁰ In the division of the lands between the archbishop and the monks¹¹ under Lanfranc, Halton went to the monastery,¹² and the prior held the manor in chief of the king in frankalmoign until the Dissolution,¹³ when it was worth £21 14s. 4½d. a year.¹⁴ In 1541 Henry VIII granted it to the newly-formed Chapter of Canterbury¹⁵ in frankalmoign, but four years later they were forced to make an exchange of lands with the king,¹⁶ and it was sold to Henry Bradshawe¹⁷ to hold as one-fortieth of a knight's fee for 800 marks. He probably belonged to the family of Bradshawe of Wendover. There is a brass in Wendover Church to William Bradshawe, who died in 1537, giving a list of his nine children and twenty-three grandchildren, and it is possible that Henry Bradshawe was his eldest son. Henry was a member of the Inner Temple, and served as reader, treasurer, and governor of the society.¹⁸ He became solicitor-general in 1540,¹⁹ attorney-general five years later,²⁰ and in 1552 Chief Baron of the Exchequer.²¹ Very little is known about him beyond the outlines of his career. He was Chief Baron till the end of the reign of Edward VI, and witnessed that king's will in favour of Lady Jane Grey. He died a few weeks after the accession of Mary in 1553, and so escaped removal from his office or further disgrace. According to his will the manor passed to his widow Joan during the minority of his heir,²² and she was in seisin in 1562.²³ His heir was his son Benedict,²⁴ who was a minor at the time of his father's death. He only survived him a few months,²⁵ and the reversion of the manor passed to his two sisters, Christiane the wife of Thomas Winchcombe, and Bridget the wife of Henry White. Christiane died in 1557,²⁶ and her husband came into possession of her moiety of the manor and held it till his death in 1574,²⁷ when her son Benedict Winchcombe²⁸ succeeded him. Benedict Winchcombe had however quitclaimed the manor in his father's lifetime²⁹ to his aunt Bridget, Benedict Bradshawe's other co-heiress, and her second husband Thomas son of Richard Fermor, a merchant of the Staple of Calais, who settled at Easton Neston (Northants).³⁰ Thomas, though a younger



BRADSHAWE. Azure two bars gules between nine leopards or.

¹ Information supplied by Bd. of Agric. (1905). By this there are 1,112 acres of woodland, 271 acres of arable and 566 acres of grass, which gives a total exceeding the area of the parish, owing to the returns being made by the farmers of lands cultivated by them which sometimes extend into other parishes.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 219.

³ Cf. Monks Risborough.

⁴ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* cclxxxix.

⁵ Ibid. mcccxxi.

⁶ Ibid. mcccxxxvi.

⁷ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 233b.

⁸ Ibid. 210.

⁹ Ibid. 233b.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 97.

¹¹ Somner, *Antiq. of Cant.* 122.

¹² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

¹³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20, 44; *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, p. 418; *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xvi, 878 (59).

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 15.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xvi, 878 (59); *Pat.* 33 Hen. VIII. pt. 9, m. 20.

¹⁶ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 6, m. 41.

¹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xx (1), 465 (51); *Pat.* 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 9, m. 63; *Orig. R.* pt. 3, 36 Hen. VIII, 101.

¹⁸ *Foss, Judges of Engl.* v, 292.

¹⁹ *Pat.* 32 Hen. VIII. pt. 5, m. 55.

²⁰ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 13, m. 21.

²¹ *Pat.* 6 Edw. VI. pt. 6, m. 13.

²² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), c. no. 2, clxxxiv, no. 1; cii, no. 7.

²³ *Lay Subs. R.* (P.R.O.), bde. 79, no. 188; bde. 79, no. 190.

²⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), c. no. 2.

²⁵ Ibid. cii, no. 7.

²⁶ Ibid. clxxxiv, no. 1.

²⁷ Ibid.

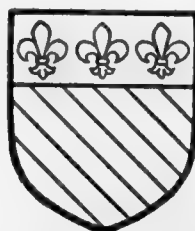
²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Hil. 19 Eliz.; *Pat.* 19 Eliz. pt. 3, m. (22).

³⁰ Collins, *Peetage* (ed. Brydges), iv, 200-1.

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son, inherited the estate of his uncle at Summertown and Tusmore, Oxon, besides holding the greater part of the Bradshawe estates.³¹ He represented the borough of Wycombe in 1562-3,³² but does not seem to have been a member in later Parliaments. He died before his wife,³³ and at her death the manor of Halton passed to their son and heir Richard,³⁴ a child of three. After attaining his majority, he settled the manor in 1598 upon Sir Francis Wolley and his wife Mary,³⁵ with contingent remainder to Lady Elizabeth Egerton, the mother of Sir Francis. On the death of Sir Francis in 1601³⁶ Halton reverted to Sir Richard Fermor, who was holding it in 1641.³⁷ Henry Fermor, presumably the son and heir of Sir Richard, was a papist,³⁸ and had to compound in 1647 for £556 for his reversionary estate in Halton. A settlement was made of the manor in 1656³⁹ between Henry Fermor and a younger Richard, presumably his son and heir, and in 1671 Henry Fermor bought from Lord Hawley and other trustees for the sale of rents belonging to the Crown the fee-farm rent⁴⁰ of 40s. 7½d. due from the manor of Halton. Richard Fermor succeeded Henry before 1678, in which year he leased the manor for ninety-nine years,⁴¹ probably in mortgage, to Sir Thomas Crewe, Edmund Verney, Ralph Sheldon, Basil Drake, and Ambrose Holbech, for whom presumably the last-named acted, as his name appears in a settlement of the manor made in 1684,⁴² and he presented to the rectory, which was leased at the same time.⁴³



FERMOR. *Bendy of eight pieces or and gules and a chief argent with three fleurs de lis azure therein.*

Halton passed to Henry Fermor before 1684,⁴⁴ and to his son James before 1719.⁴⁵ In the next year James Fermor⁴⁶ sold the manor with its appurtenances and a water-mill to Francis Dashwood, afterwards Sir Francis Dashwood, bart., whose descendants held it for more than a hundred years,⁴⁷ and his grandson, Sir John Dashwood King, lived at Halton Manor House,⁴⁸ but after his death it was unoccupied for some time. The manor was sold either by his executors or by his son George Dashwood in 1851⁴⁹ to Baron Lionel de Rothschild, and Mr. Alfred de Rothschild is the present lord of the manor.

The prior and convent of Christchurch obtained a grant of free warren in their demesne lands in Halton from King Edward II in 1316,⁵⁰ and the grant was afterwards confirmed by Edward III⁵¹ and Henry VI.⁵² In the latter charter, reference is made to a charter of Henry II, granting warren in the lands of the church of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, in Buck-

inghamshire and Oxfordshire,⁵³ so that the monks of Christchurch had presumably exercised the privilege long before the grant of Edward II. The prior also claimed to hold the view of frankpledge in Halton,⁵⁴ and to have waifs and the chattels of felons and fugitives, and was quit of suit to the shire and hundred courts for himself and his men.⁵⁵ When his privileges were challenged by Edward I he quoted a charter of William the Conqueror⁵⁶ to Archbishop Anselm with a long list of ancient privileges. He also claimed to have his own gallows, tumbril, and pillory, but it was said that neither tumbril or pillory existed at Halton.⁵⁷ No privileges are mentioned in the grant to Henry Bradshawe, nor in documents relating to the Fermors. In 1786, however, George Dashwood claimed certain general privileges in the manor,⁵⁸ and presumably both the Fermors and Dashwoods held the view of frankpledge.

A piece of land in Halton appears to have been parcel of the honour of Gloucester in the 14th and 15th centuries. Presumably it had formed part of the lands of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham,⁵⁹ many of which descended to the Earls of Gloucester, and from them to the Earls of Stafford, who were overlords of a knight's fee, or part of a fee, in Halton in the 14th century. In 1386⁶⁰ John Hampden was the tenant of this land, and may presumably be identified with the John Hampden who inherited Upton Manor in Great Kimble in 1377.⁶¹ His heir is mentioned in 1460,⁶² but this land in Halton is not again referred to.

The church of *ST. MICHAEL* is a *CHURCH* completely modern structure consisting of a shallow chancel, a nave of four bays with north and south aisles, and a western tower. It was built in 1813 and is faced with Heath stone, and designed in a poor adaptation of 13th-century style. The nave is separated from the aisles by arcades of four bays with pointed arches and columns with foliate capitals. The windows are either lancets or have simple tracery. The tower is a small one of three stages with an embattled parapet, and contains a stair to a small gallery, projected through the tower arch, which serves as an organ loft. The seating, fittings, woodwork, &c., are all modern, except the font, which is of late 18th-century date. It is constructed of white marble inlaid with coloured marbles, and has a small square bowl, ornamented with grotesques, which is supported upon a twisted stem.

The only trace remaining of the old church, which occupied about the same site, is some stone curbing laid down to the east of the present church, marking the lines of the old chancel.

In the sanctuary, affixed to the north wall, is a brass, removed from the old church, with the figures of a man in armour, his wife, four sons, and four daughters. The inscription runs: 'Orate p aIab3

³¹ Collins, *Peerage* (ed. Brydges), iv, 200-1.

³² *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clxxxviii, no. 1.

³⁴ Ibid. (Ser. 2), Misc. 9 Jas. I, dviii, no. 8.

³⁵ Lay Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bde. 80, no. 302.

³⁶ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, i, 68.

³⁷ *Recov. R. Trin.* 1656.

³⁸ Close, 24 Chas. II, pt. 9, no. 12.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *Recov. R. Trin.* 36 Chas. II.

⁴¹ Notes of F. Bucks. Hil.; 30 & 31 Chas. II; (P.R.O.), Inst. Bks. 1691.

⁴² *Recov. R. Trin.* 36 Chas. II.

⁴³ Ibid. Hil. 6 Geo. I.

⁴⁴ Close, 7 Geo. I, pt. 18, no. 21.

⁴⁵ *Recov. R. Trin.* 26 Geo. III; Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 567.

⁴⁶ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 138.

⁴⁷ Chart. R. 10 Edw. II, m. 24, no. 60.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 38 Edw. III, no. 156, m. 8, no. 15.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, p. 418.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁵² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 86-7.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *Recov. R.* 26 Geo. III.

⁵⁶ Cf. Great Kimble.

⁵⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Ric. II, no. 38; ibid. 16 Ric. II (pt. 1), no. 27.

⁵⁸ Cf. Great Kimble.

⁵⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 38 & 39 Hen. VI, m. 59.

henrici Bradshawe Armig'i capitlis baron scoti dñi Regis & Johane uxoris eius qui quidem henric' obiit xxvij^o die julie a^o dñi m^ol^oliij A^o vii^o Reg' E vi^o cui' ant' ppiciet' deq'. On another plate is a shield of arms: Two bends and a chief with a fleur de lis between two roses dimidiated, quartering quarterly 1 and 4, Party bendwise a crosslet, 2 and 3, On a cross five lozenges, the whole impaling a trellis. This is perhaps a memorial of a Fermor marriage.

The tower contains four bells, cast by John Briant of Hertford in 1814.

The church plate comprises a covered cup of 1569, the foot of which was remade in the 17th century; an unmarked standing paten and a salver of 18th-century date and a ewer of 1830.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1663 to 1728, marriages from 1607 to 1724, with a gap between 1639 and 1654, and burials from 1606 to 1773, with notes of affidavits of burials in woollen from 1678. The second book contains baptisms from 1729 to 1757, marriages from 1744 to 1757 with a gap between 1751 and 1754, after which date the entries are in the form of the 1754 printed book, and burials between 1729 to 1770. The third book contains marriages with banns between 1760 and 1812; and the fourth baptisms from 1763, and burials from 1783, both running to 1812.

The church of Halton, like that of Monks Risborough, belonged to the deanery of Risborough, in the exempt jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶³ The exempt jurisdiction was abolished in 1841,⁶⁴ and Halton, like Monks Risborough, is now in the diocese of Oxford. The church of Halton presumably came into the possession of the monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, as early as the manor, but it is not definitely mentioned till the 13th century. After the separation of the monastic and episcopal possessions it passed to the archbishops,⁶⁵ who held the advowson of the church until the reign of Henry VIII.⁶⁶ Archbishop Cranmer surrendered it⁶⁷ with the ratification of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to the king, and Henry VIII granted it in 1565-6⁶⁸ to Sir Edward North and his wife Alice. Edward VI appears to have made reparation for the loss of the advowson of Halton Rectory to the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁶⁹ but it was itself never recovered. Sir Edward North sold it in 1548-9⁷⁰ to Henry Bradshawe, and from him it passed to the Fermors. In 1667 the advowson was quitclaimed by Henry and Richard Fermor to Henry and Francis Harris and the heirs of Henry,⁷¹ and the latter probably presented in

1678. John Harris was the new rector, and in a list of rectors⁷² he is said to have been presented by Francis Harris, and admitted by Archbishop Sancroft, but owing presumably to some confusion the archbishop is said elsewhere to have collated to the rectory himself in that year.⁷³ The right to present to the rectory passed for the next time to William Wilmer, who exercised his right in 1685.⁷⁴ Some years previously, however, in 1678,⁷⁵ Richard Fermor had granted a lease of the advowson for 99 years, and the lessee, Ambrose Holbech, presented to the rectory twice in 1691.⁷⁶ The Fermors recovered possession of the advowson before 1719,⁷⁷ and it was sold with the manor to Sir Francis Dashwood,⁷⁸ and has since then been in the possession of the lord of the manor,⁷⁹ Mr. Alfred de Rothschild being the present patron of the living. The rectors of Halton do not seem to have been in any way distinguished like many of the clergy in Buckinghamshire. Two of them indeed seem to have had an unenviable reputation. In 1318⁸⁰ Philip de Walton was accused with several others of theft at Hulcott, and in the 17th century John Latimer obtained a grant of pardon⁸¹ for the manslaughter of 'Christopher Harper, his servant, who was hurt through his passionate and indiscreet correction, but lived 9 months after.'

In 1553, as appears from a Decree *CHARITIES* of Commissioners for Charitable Uses, 1630, Mrs. Alix Bradshawe in her will gave out of her lands in Edlesborough and Dagnall 20s. a year, of which 6s. 8d. was for the poor of Halton. See under Wendover. The annuity is paid by Earl Brownlow.

The poor of this parish are entitled to a moiety of the income of Mrs. Joan Pradshaw's Charity in Wendover. In 1906 the sum of £16 12s. 6d. was received as the half share of the George Inn, Wendover.

Widow Turpin's Charity consisted of a rent-charge of 18s. payable out of a close called Turpin's Spring, in this parish, which is distributed in bread at the church porch on St. Thomas's Day. An annuity of £1 is paid by Mr. A. C. de Rothschild.

Edmund Lambert, M.D., by will dated 1st October 1866, administration of which was granted 5 February 1878, left a sum of ordinary stock of the Great Western Railway, now represented by £100 like stock, the dividends to be applied for the benefit of the poor. The stock, together with a sum of 11s. 4d. consols, is held by the Official Trustees, producing in 1907 £5 7s. 6d.

The incomes of these charities are administered together. In 1906 £18 was distributed in money, £5 in blankets, and £1 in bread.

⁶³ Cf. Monks Risborough. ⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, p. 299.

⁶⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 249.

⁶⁷ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII, pt. 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Pat.* 1 Edw. VI, pt. 2, m. 26.

⁷⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 1 Edw. VI; East. 2 Edw. VI.

⁷¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 19 Chas. II.

⁷² Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 219.

⁷³ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1678.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 1685.

⁷⁵ Notes of F. Bucks. Hil. 30 & 31 Chas. II.

⁷⁶ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1691.

⁷⁷ *Recov. R.* Hil. 6 Geo. I.

⁷⁸ *Close*, 7 Geo. I, pt. 18, no. 21.

⁷⁹ *Recov. R.* Trin. 26 Geo. III; Inst. Bks. (P.R.O.), 1736, 1755, 1765, 1805, 1826; Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 138.

⁸⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 100.

⁸¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1667, p. 459.

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HULCOTT

Hulcott is a small parish in the Vale of Aylesbury, lying on the Hertfordshire border, and containing 740½ acres of land,¹ of which 36 acres are arable land, 595 acres permanent grass, and no woods.² The population is almost entirely occupied in agriculture, and as might be expected from the large proportion of pasture to arable land, the farms are chiefly grazed by dairy stock. The land lies between 200 ft. and 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum;³ the subsoil is Kimmeridge Clay and Portland Beds,⁴ and the surface is clay. The parish is well watered by the Thistle Brook, and there is water in the village of Hulcott. No main road passes through the parish, two branch roads from the Aylesbury to Tring road being the most important. The Aylesbury branch of the London and North-Western Railway passes through the parish, and the nearest station is Marston Gate, on the same line, 2 miles away. An Act of Parliament was obtained for the inclosure of the two parishes of Bierton and Hulcott, and the award was given on 15 July 1780.⁵

The village stands round a wide green, the church being on the east side, and the manor house near it on the south. There is a moated site to the east of the church, with water in some parts of the moat. The vicarage stands on the south of the village green, the schools on the west, and scattered cottages on the north-west. The manor house has been modernized, but the staircase is of early 17th-century date, and in the panels of its timber partitions are some well-preserved contemporary paintings, with the stories of Phaedra and Hercules.

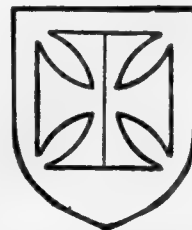
There appears to be no record of the *MANOR* of *HULCOTT* before the 13th century. In 1254, however, it was held of the honour of Wormegay,⁶ which at that time was held by William Bardolf, through his mother, Beatrix, the heiress of William de Warenne, of Wormegay.⁷ His descendants in the direct line held the overlordship of Hulcott till the reign of Henry IV.,⁸ when Thomas, Lord Bardolf, was attainted and forfeited his lands.⁹ His two daughters and heiresses recovered many of his possessions,¹⁰ but the overlordship of Hulcott appears to have lapsed.

The manor was held by the family of Graunt under the Bardolfs in the 13th century. In 1254 and 1284 William Graunt was lord of Hulcott, which he held by charter of the king.¹¹ He lived till after the year 1290, and was succeeded by his son Walter Graunt.¹² In 1322 Walter made a settlement of the manor, excepting certain tenements which had already been dealt with,¹³ by which he was to hold it for life,

with remainder to his son William and Clarice wife of the latter.¹⁴ William succeeded his father in the manor,¹⁵ and died presumably towards the close of the reign of Edward III, leaving a daughter Joan as his heir.¹⁶ In 1369¹⁷ William Brys or Bryd and his wife Joan made a settlement of half the manor, to be held by William and Joan and their heirs, or by default by the heirs of Joan. Hence it appears to have been held in her right, and probably this Joan was the daughter and heiress of William le Graunt. Two years later, however,¹⁸ William Bryd and his wife sold the manor to William Brancingham, with the homage and services of their tenants. In 1307¹⁹ the son and heir of Joan daughter of William le Graunt was called John de Bury. There may have been a confusion in the names of Bury and Bryd, or Joan may have been married twice. The manor must have been conveyed very shortly by Brancingham to James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who was holding certainly as early as 1396, and died seised of it in 1405.²⁰ His successor, the fourth earl, together with John Neel, clerk, granted the manor of Hulcott to James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, son and heir of the earl, and others, and to the heirs of the body of the Earl of Wiltshire.²¹ The Earl of Ormond died in 1452,²² and his son obtained licence to alienate the manor in mortmain to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon,²³ of which John Neel was then master. The hospital was founded²⁴ by the sister of Thomas Becket, and the Butlers were her descendants. The master of the hospital²⁵ and his successors were to find two priests to pray daily for the souls of the king and queen, and many of the ancestors of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. Of these, his father and mother were both buried at the hospital. A confirmation of this grant of the manor was obtained from Parliament in 1472.²⁶ In 1535²⁷ the hospital held the manor of Hulcott, which was then in lease to Benedict Lee for sixty-one years.²⁸ After the Dissolution Henry VIII granted the reversion, and the rents



BUTLER. Or a chief indented azure.



HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS OF ACON. Azure a cross formy party gules and argent.

¹ *Ord. Surv.*

² *Inf. from Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

³ *Ord. Surv.*

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

⁵ *Com. Incl. Award.*

⁶ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁷ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 411.

⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 32 Edw. I, no. 64a; *ibid.* 3 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66; *ibid.* 13 Ric. II, no. 6; *ibid.* 4 Hen. IV, no. 39; *ibid.* 7 Hen. IV, no. 19.

⁹ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 606a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v, 222b; *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 448.

¹¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20; *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹² *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, p. 132; *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 344; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 32 Edw. I, no. 64a.

¹³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 112; *De Banco R.* Mich. 21 Ric. II.

¹⁴ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Mich. 16 Edw. II, nos. 4, 5.

¹⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 13 Ric. II, no. 6.

¹⁶ *De Banco*, Mich. 21 Ric. II, R. of Protections and Chart.

¹⁷ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Mich. 43 Edw. III.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Hil. 45 Edw. III.

¹⁹ *De Banco*, Mich. 21 Ric. II, R. of Protections and Chart.

²⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 7 Hen. IV, no. 19.

²¹ *Ibid.* 31 Hen. VI, no. 11; *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 257b.

²² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 31 Hen. VI, no. 11.

²³ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), v, 257b.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ²⁵ *Ibid.* vi, 62a.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 391.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1056 (47).



HULCOTT : STAIRS OF THE MANOR HOUSE

reserved on the lease, namely £14 13s. 4d., to Richard Greenway, gentleman usher of the King's Chamber.³⁹ He held the manor at his death in 1551-2, leaving his son Anthony, a minor, as his heir.⁴⁰ Anthony Greenway sold the manor in 1571 to John Fountain and his son Thomas.⁴¹ They held jointly till the death of John, from which time Thomas held it alone.⁴² On his death in 1623 he was succeeded by his nephew, another Thomas Fountain.⁴³ The manor was again sold in 1639⁴⁴ to William Elmes, Thomas Elmes, and Thomas Wyan; the last-named seems to have obtained seisin of the manor, and a quitclaim was made in 1652 to him by Thomas and Mary Fountain and Alice Fountain, widow.⁴⁵ Twenty years later⁴⁶ Thomas Westerne and George Wyan sold the manor to Timothy Neale and his wife Anne. The Neales held the manor till 1741, when John Neale and his wife, together with Thomas Hanbury and William Neale, sold it to Sir John Fortescue Aland, justice of Common Pleas.⁴⁷ In 1746, on retiring from the bench, he was created Baron Fortescue of Credan in the peerage of Ireland.⁴⁸ He died in the same year, and his son Dormer Fortescue Aland, the second baron, inherited the manor, but died unmarried in 1781.⁴⁹ By his will, dated 27 March 1779, he left it to Dame Anne Tynte to hold for life, then to John Parkhurst in fee-tail male, and then in default to John George Parkhurst, also in fee-tail male, with certain remainders and limitations.⁵⁰ Dame Anne Tynte was the widow of Sir Charles Kemys Tynte, the grandson of Grace Fortescue, a cousin of the first Lord Fortescue of Credan.⁵¹ Dormer Parkhurst was one of the executors of the first baron's will,⁵² and the devisees in remainder in the second Lord Fortescue's will were probably his heirs. John Parkhurst died during the lifetime of Dame Anne,⁵³ and on her death in 1798 the manor of Hulcott came into possession of John George Parkhurst.⁵⁴ The latter had to pay an annuity of £300 to one John Purling,⁵⁵ and he had already granted away his reversionary interest in Hulcott to Robert Walpole to secure the better payment of the annuity.⁵⁶ In 1794 the annuity was £1,350 in arrears,⁵⁷ and Parkhurst had other debts.⁵⁸ Various arrangements were made, and Walpole agreed to convey the manor to John Purling.⁵⁹ Finally it was put up for sale by public auction,⁶⁰ and was bought by John Baker,⁶¹ who was lord of the manor in 1813.⁶² Hulcott was purchased in the middle of the 19th century by Baron Lionel de Rothschild,⁶³ and Mr. Leopold de Rothschild is now lord of the manor.

A mill is first mentioned at Hulcott in 1322.⁶⁴ The Fountains in the reign of Queen Elizabeth held a water-mill,⁶⁵ which is again mentioned while the Neales held the manor.⁶⁶ In 1652 a windmill is

mentioned as well as the water-mill, and was quitclaimed with the manor to Thomas Wyan.⁶⁷

William le Graunt claimed to hold the view of frankpledge and the assize of bread and ale before the justices in 1276, but it is not clear whether he made his claim for Hulcott or only for land in Aylesbury.⁶⁸ He held a free fishery in 1281, which is again mentioned in a document of 1672.⁶⁹

The church of *ALL SAINTS* has a *CHURCH* chancel 22 ft. 9 in. by 12 ft. 6 in., nave 32 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft. 3 in. with north porch, and south aisle 14 ft. wide. Over the west end of the nave is a wooden belfry.

There are no details earlier than the 14th century, but the walling of the nave is probably older than this date. The chancel has a marked deviation to the north, and seems to have been rebuilt in the first half of the 14th century, its north wall being set outside the line of that of an older chancel, while its south wall is in part on the older foundations. A south transept chapel was added to the nave about 1330, and this was thrown into a south aisle early in the 16th century, its east and south walls being apparently rebuilt in the process. A second bay was added to the south arcade, but the western part of the south wall of the nave was left in position, with a window in it as it now appears.

The bell-turret is difficult to date, its timbers being for the most part rough; it may be 15th-century work, and is set rather irregularly across the west end of the nave, resting on four large posts.

The east window has a 14th-century rear-arch and jambs, with shafts and roughly cut heads serving as capitals; the tracery, of two cinquefoiled lights with a sexfoil over, is an insertion of c. 1420. On either side are plain image brackets, half-octagonal in plan. The eastern part of the north wall is blank, but near the west end is a narrow doorway with chamfered jambs and segmental head, having a label with large dripstones carved as grotesque beasts' heads. West of it is a small square-headed light, perhaps coeval with it. In the south wall is a piscina with a roughly trefoiled head, and to the west of it a window of two cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over, good work of c. 1330, with moulded inner and outer jambs and head. The rest of the south wall is blank.

The chancel arch is of two orders chamfered on the east with double ogee moulds on the west; the responds are half-octagonal with moulded capitals and bases c. 1340.

The nave has a large north window of late 15th-century date, of three cinquefoiled lights, and a 14th-century north doorway with a moulded label under a plain stone porch which may be of 15th-century date.

³⁹ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 1056 (47).

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xc, 4.

⁴¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. and Trin. 13 Eliz.; *Recov. R. East.* 13 Eliz. The lessee of the manor, Benedict Lee, was then dead; his widow Joan married Michael Harcourt, and these were parties to the sale by Anthony Greenway.

⁴² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxvi, 119.

⁴³ Ibid. cccxxx, 187.

⁴⁴ *Recov. R. Hil.* 14 Chas. I.

⁴⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1652.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Trin. 24 Chas. II; *Recov. R. Mich.* 6 Geo. I.

⁴⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 14 & 15 Geo. II.

⁴⁸ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage; Dict. Nat. Biog.* i, 216.

⁴⁹ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

⁵⁰ Lord Clermont, *Life, Works, and Family Hist. of Sir John Fortescue*, ii; *Recov. R. Trin.* 42 Geo. III.

⁵¹ Lord Clermont, *Life, Works, and Family Hist. of Sir John Fortescue*, ii, 51.

⁵² Ibid. 68.

⁵³ *Recov. R. Trin.* 42 Geo. III.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. East. 58 Geo. III.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Trin. 42 Geo. III.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 39 Geo. III.

⁷² Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 582-3.

⁷³ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.*

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⁷⁴ Feet of F. Mich. 16 Edw. II.

⁷⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxvi, 119; *Recov. R. Hil.* 14 Chas. I.

⁷⁶ *Recov. R. Mich.* 6 Geo. I.

⁷⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1652.

⁷⁸ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 47; *Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)*, 274.

⁷⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 24 Chas. II.

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It has a plain chamfered outer arch and a square-headed window on the west.

The east bay of the south arcade has an obtusely pointed arch of three chamfered orders and half-octagonal responds with moulded capitals and bases, while the second bay has plain splayed jambs without capital or base and an arch of two chamfered orders. It is roughly worked and of 16th-century date, the eastern arch being of much better detail, c. 1330. To the west of it a 14th-century window remains in the wall, unglazed, and having lost its central mullion; its tracery is a 15th-century insertion, of two cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over. The west window of the nave is of three cinquefoiled lights, contemporary with the north window. The south aisle has an east window of three trefoiled lights under a straight-lined four-centred head, and south of it is a small image bracket. To the north in the angle of the aisle is a blocked square-headed recess which seems to have been a squint to the chancel. The south and west windows of the aisle are of the same character as the east window, and all are of the 16th century, as is the rather clumsy trefoiled piscina recess at the south-east. The south doorway seems to be 14th-century work of the first half of the century, and has a continuous casement moulding between two sunk chamfers with a label, much patched with Roman cement.

The bell-turret is covered with modern weatherboarding and has a short spire; in the belfry stage the beams have a double hollow chamfer. All the wood fittings of the church are modern, but in the south aisle is a 17th-century altar table; the corbel for the south end of the rood-loft remains. The altar is modern with a white marble front elaborately carved in relief with the journey to Calvary.

In the south aisle is an altar tomb against the south wall with a chamfered marble slab, evidently not in its original position, and having indents of the brasses of a man and his wife and one child, with four shields and a marginal inscription.

The font at the west end of the south aisle is modern, octagonal with quatrefoiled panels on the bowl.

There are three bells, the treble blank, the second apparently an alphabet bell with a blundered inscription, and the third of 1621 by James Keene of Woodstock.

The plate consists of a chalice, paten, flagon, and alms-dish, of plated ware and modern date.

The first book of the registers contains entries from 1539 to 1805, the second being the marriage register 1754-1810, and the third the baptisms and burials for 1806-12.

In the 14th century the advowson **ADVOWSON** of the church of Hulcott belonged to the Graunts,⁶⁰ and from the heirs of William Graunt it probably passed with the manor to James Butler, Earl of Ormond. His grandson James, Earl of Wiltshire, granted it to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon,⁶¹ in whose hands it remained till the dissolution of the hospital in 1538.⁶² In that year Benedict Lee presented to the rectory, by reason of a grant from the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon,⁶³ but in the recital of two leases of the manor to Lee the advowson is expressly excepted.⁶⁴ Still he may have obtained a separate lease from the hospital. Henry VIII granted the advowson of the rectory to Richard Greenway, subject to the lease to Lee.⁶⁵ After Lee's death⁶⁶ his widow Joan held the advowson, she and her second husband, Michael Harcourt, presenting to the rectory in 1557.⁶⁷ The advowson was sold, together with the manor, to John Fountain,⁶⁸ and was held by the lords of the manor till 1741. In 1666⁶⁹ George Wyatt presented, presumably having acquired the right for one time. Timothy Neale presented in 1679,⁷⁰ and John Neale owned the advowson in 1719.⁷¹ It was not sold to Sir John Fortescue Aland with the manor, but continued with the Neales, who, however, did not hold it for long, since in 1755 John Marriot presented.⁷² In 1768 the name of Edward Bangham occurs as patron,⁷³ but he probably held the presentation for one time only. In 1776⁷⁴ Thomas Marriot and his wife Jane sold the advowson to Stephen Langston, who presented to the rectory in 1779 and 1790.⁷⁵ The Rev. Stephen Langston appears as the next patron in 1803.⁷⁶ Rebecca Langston, presumably his widow, presented in 1817,⁷⁷ and in 1819 John Brereton appears to have become possessed of the advowson, and was holding it about 1847,⁷⁸ but before 1862 it had passed to Dr. Kenny.⁷⁹ It was shortly afterwards purchased by the Rothschilds, and Mr. Leopold de Rothschild is now the patron of the living.

There are no endowed charities in this parish.

⁶⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 16 Edw. II; Mich. 43 Edw. III; Hil. 45 Edw. III; East. 26 Hen. VI.

⁶¹ *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.)*, v, 257b; vi, 62a.

⁶² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 646.

⁶³ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 340.

⁶⁴ Pat. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. 3, m. 14.

⁶⁵ Pat. 38 Hen. VIII, pt. 7.

⁶⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xcvi, 4.

⁶⁷ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 340.

⁶⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. East. and Trin. 13 Eliz.

⁶⁹ (P.R.O.) Inst. Bks. 1666.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 1679.

⁷¹ Recov. R. Mich. 6 Geo. I.

⁷² P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1755.

⁷³ Ibid. 1768.

⁷⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 16 Geo. III.

⁷⁵ P.R.O. Inst. Bks. 1770, 1790.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 1803.

⁷⁷ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 340.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 163.

LEE

Legh, xiv cent.

Lee (or The Lee) is a small parish, lying on the northern slopes of the Chiltern Hills. It contains 502 acres¹ of land, which are divided into arable and permanent pasture lands in nearly equal proportions. There are about 14 acres of old woodlands and about 16 acres of more recent plantings.² The land lies mainly between 600 ft. and 700 ft. above the Ordnance datum, the highest point rising to 730 ft.³ The subsoil is chalk.⁴ The parish is very secluded, no highway or railway passing through it. Several winding by-roads are the chief thoroughfares; one, starting out from the high road between Wendover and Amersham, forms the northern parish boundary from King's Ash to the hamlet of Lee Gate; King's Lane, in which are some remains of the ancient earthwork known as Grim's Dike, also bounds the parish on the west and south. The village of Lee lies on another by-road, on three sides of a village green, on which is a large glacier-borne sandstone rock dug up in the neighbourhood, and erected on a pedestal by the present lord of the manor. The village contains a small number of picturesque houses, farms, and cottages. The nearest stations are Wendover and Great Missenden, on the Metropolitan Extension Railway, which are 4 and 3 miles away respectively. The official postal address for the village is The-Lee. The population is mainly employed in agriculture. Straw-plaiting was formerly a considerable industry and is still carried on to a limited extent. The manor house, which was restored and enlarged in 1901, is the residence of the lord of the manor, Mr. Arthur Lasenby Liberty.

The manor of LEE is not mentioned in Domesday Book, but from later evidence it seems probable that it was granted by the Conqueror to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and followed the same descent as Weston Turville,⁵ being held of the honour of Leicester, and later of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁶ In the 12th century it was held by Ralph de Halton,⁷ but it is not clear whether he held it directly from the Earl of Leicester, or from the Turvilles as mesne lords. He was succeeded by Geoffrey de Turville, clerk,⁸ the brother of William de Turville, who was lord of Weston Turville⁹ at the close of the 12th century. Geoffrey granted Lee to Missenden Abbey in frankalmoign,¹⁰ and his grant was confirmed by William de Turville¹¹ and Robert, Earl of Leicester. Unfortunately the charters, though they appear in the index of the Missenden Cartulary, are missing in the text, but there are several papal confirmations¹² of the grant. In 1535¹³ Lee and Brondes were enumerated amongst the temporalities

of the monastery, and were valued at 110s. a year. Brondes was presumably a freehold farm in the neighbourhood of Lee. A reference in the *Monasticon* records that Ralph Marshall, admitted Abbot of Missenden on 10 July 1356, was convicted of counterfeiting and clipping the king's coin, namely, groats and sterling, at his manor called 'Legh,' near Missenden.¹⁴ After the dissolution of Missenden Abbey the manor of Lee¹⁵ remained in the possession of the Crown till Edward VI granted it in 1547¹⁶ to Lord Russell. Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, succeeded him, and was probably holding it in 1583,¹⁷ when he mortgaged certain land in Lee. How long he retained the manor does not appear, but it is not mentioned in the inquisitions taken on his lands at his death, and at the death of his son.¹⁸ Its subsequent history is very obscure, but it seems probable that it passed into the hands of the Plaistowe family during the 17th century. William Plaistowe obtained a lease of the tithes in Lee in 1635¹⁹ for ninety-nine years. In 1641²⁰ his land there was assessed at 50s. annual value, but it is not certain that he also held the manor. His family, however, was obviously established in Lee at this time, though on another supposition the Plaistowes only obtained the manor after the Civil War, during which many of the Russell estates were sequestered.

Before 1665 William Plaistowe had been succeeded by Thomas Plaistowe, who may probably be identified with the Thomas Plaistowe of the Lee, whose monument is in Lee Church.²¹ He died in 1715 at the age of eighty-seven. In a monument in Little Kimble Church he is called Thomas Plaistowe of Amersham,²² and this suggests that he was the first of the family to own the manor, and that their chief estate had previously been at Amersham. At Lee he was succeeded by his youngest son William, who married Dorothy the daughter of Richard Plaistowe of Small Deane.²³ He in turn was succeeded by his son Thomas, presumably the Thomas Plaistowe who died in 1785,²⁴ leaving an only daughter and heiress Elizabeth.²⁵ She is said to have advertised²⁶ for a husband, and by this means married an Irishman named Henry Deering. Mrs. Deering died in 1812,²⁷ and her husband held the manor for many years after her death.²⁸ Before 1862, however, it reverted to the family of Plaistowe, and in that year John Plaistowe was lord



PLAISTOWE. *Gules a lion argent between two bends or.*

¹ *Ord. Surv.* A proposal is at present before the Bucks County Council to enlarge the existing parish of Lee by adding to it certain outlying portions of the parishes of Great Missenden and Wendover.

² Inf. supplied by Bd. of Agric. (1905).

³ *Ord. Surv.*

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, Geological Map.

⁵ Cf. Weston Turville.

⁶ Harl. MS. 3688; (P.R.O.) Rentals and Surv. (gen. ser.), portf. 19, no. 13.

⁷ Harl. MS. 3688; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 434.

⁸ *Ibid.* Harl. MS. 3688.

⁹ Cf. Weston Turville.

¹⁰ Harl. MS. 3688.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 434.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 246.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 547, note 1.

¹⁵ (P.R.O.) Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccccv, 29.

¹⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. VI, pt. 1.

¹⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 25 Eliz.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxi, no. 182.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 11 Chas. I.

²⁰ (P.R.O.) Lay Subs. bdle. 80, no. 302.

²¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 358, quoting monument in Lee Church.

²² *Ibid.* ii, 355.

²³ *Ibid.* ii, 358, quoting monument in Lee Church.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 594.

²⁶ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 356.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 594; Lipscomb, loc. cit.

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of the manor.²⁸ In 1900 Mr. Lasenby Liberty bought the manor from John Plaistowe, and is the present owner of the estate.

The Abbot of Missenden obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne lands at Lee from Edward I in 1287-8,²⁹ which grant was confirmed by Henry VI.³⁰ The abbot held a view of frankpledge for his tenants at Lee, paying 2s. a year to the Duchy of Lancaster.³¹

The supposition that Ralph de Halton held Lee of the Turvilles as mesne lords receives corroboration from the fact that he apparently did not hold the whole of Lee. Hence some land remained with the Turvilles, and was not included in Geoffrey de Turville's grant to Missenden Abbey. After the division of the manor of Weston Turville between the three heiresses³² of the second William de Turville, the fee that passed to Hugh de Herdebergh included land not only in Weston, but also in Little Broughton, Bedgrove, and Lee,³³ which all formed one township in 1285. This land in Lee presumably belonged to the manor of Weston Butlers, and afterwards to the united manor of Weston Turville.³⁴

The church of **ST. JOHN THE CHURCHES BAPTIST** was built in 1868, on a site 100 yds. or so east of the old church, and consists of a nave, chancel, south porch, and north organ chamber. It is constructed of brick in 13th-century style. At the east end of the south wall are a well-designed piscina and sedile of the middle of the 13th century, which were removed from the old church, and reset in their present position. Both have shafted jambs and a scroll label with buckle drips. The head of the piscina is moulded with a roll and a filleted bowtel, and has an inner cinquefoiled head, and there is a shelf, while the drain is old but mutilated. The head of the sedile has a plain hollow-chamfered arch, and in both cases the engaged shafts have circular moulded capitals and bases. There are also a number of wall monuments removed from the old church, one to Elizabeth (Welch) the wife of Thomas Plaistowe, died 1762, of grey and white marble in Adams style, and another, an excellent though somewhat florid piece of work, is in white marble with a rococo cartouche and cupids' heads, to Thomas Plaistowe, died 1715. All the fittings of the church are modern, including the font, which is octagonal.

There is one bell in a small stone bell-cot or gable, at the west end of the church. This bell was removed from the old church, and is of considerable antiquarian interest, only four others by the same founder being known. It is inscribed 'Michael de Wymbis me fecit.' It is not certain when Michael de Wymbis lived, but the style of his bells suggests a date of about 1290.^{34a}

The church plate consists of a flagon, chalice, and two patens, all the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Deering in 1811, and hall-marked for the previous year.

The first book of the registers contains burials between 1679 and 1802, baptisms between 1679 and

1797, and marriages between 1700 and 1799. After this there is a gap, the baptisms being continued in a second book with entries between 1804 and 1812, while the other entries are only continued from 1812.

An extensive rectangular earthwork probably marks the boundary of the old monastic grounds, and there are traces of fishponds on the north.

The **OLD CHURCH**, now used as a Sunday school room, is built in chalk, and consists of a nave and chancel in one range and a south porch; it is lit on the north by three lancets of 13th-century date, and on the south by two, while the east window is a late 13th-century one reset with shafted jambs and inserted tracery. There are two doors to the south, a small one near the eastern end, and one at the western end of 15th-century date with a four-centred head, on the rear-arch of which are some traces of colour decoration. The south porch is of early 19th-century construction. There is also a west door, a late insertion with a round head, and traces of a consecration cross on the masonry below. On the west and north interior wall are some indistinct traces of colour decoration and, preserved on shelves, a number of fragments of late 13th-century date, capitals, portions of mouldings, &c., but the dismantled state of the building makes it impossible to assign these to their places. The font, which was removed when the new church was built, forty years ago, has recently been re-erected in its original position. It is old but of uncertain date. The stained glass in the east window, the gift of the present lord of the manor, contains in the centre light the figure of John Hampden, supported in the two side lights by Oliver Cromwell and Miles Hobart. At the top of the centre light, and occupying its original position in the window, is a very interesting and well-preserved fragment of 13th-century glass.

The chapel of Lee was originally **ADVOWSON** appendant to the church of Weston Turville,³⁵ and seems to have been served by the rector of that parish. Ralph de Halton, when he held Lee,³⁶ made an agreement with regard to the chapel, by which he was to pay 5s. a year at the altar of Weston Turville on St. Thomas' Day in commutation for all tithes due from his land at Lee. Geoffrey de Turville³⁷ confirmed this agreement. He appears to have granted the chapel as well as his manor to the abbey of Missenden,³⁸ and various disputes arose as to the payments due from it to the rector of Weston Turville. It was finally agreed however that the abbot and canons were to pay 6s. a year to the mother church, and were to hold the chapel in peace.³⁹ The chapel was served by the canons, and the rectory was impropriated. In 1535⁴⁰ the benefice was described as the rectory of Lee and Brownes and was let at farm, the tenant in 1540 being Thomas Adam.⁴¹ Lord Russell obtained a grant of the rectory as well as the manor of Lee in 1547⁴² and no endowment seems to have been left for the chapel. No vicarage appears to have been ordained,⁴³ and though there were churchwardens in 1537,⁴⁴ two years earlier,

²⁸ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.*

169.

²⁹ Chart. R. 30 Edw. I, 95, m. 5, no. 32.

³⁰ Cal. Pat. 1422-9, p. 344.

³¹ (P.R.O.) Rentals and Surv. (gen. ser.),

portf. 19, no. 13.

³² Cf. Weston Turville.

³³ Feud. Aids, i, 86.

³⁴ Cf. Weston Turville.

^{34a} A. H. Cocks, *Church Bells of Bucks.*

444.

³⁵ Harl. MS. 3688.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid. ³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.; *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, iv,

247.

⁴⁰ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)* iv, 247.

⁴¹ (P.R.O.), Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), ccccv,

fol. 29.

⁴² Pat. 1 Edw. VI, pt. 1.

⁴³ In 1422 in the Lincoln Episcopal Registers there is an entry of the ordination of 'Lega,' but it was appropriated to the priory of Canons Ashby. Hence it seems impossible that it refers to Lee; Bp. Fleming's Inst. 1420-6.

⁴⁴ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xii (2), 221.

when it was in the hands of the abbot,⁴⁵ it was still called the chapel of Lee. It is not certain whether Lee had become a separate parish at this time, but the extraordinary position of the chapel was apparent as early as 1537. In that year two churchwardens, Richard Westwood and Thomas Newynt(on), appear to have gone round the neighbouring parishes⁴⁶ asking charity for their church. A curious story has been preserved that on going to the house of Francis Fonge of Little Missenden for this purpose, Alice his wife asked them to come in to drink. In the house Westwood saw a book of the gospels in English lying open in the window. He read the opened pages and shortly afterwards accused his hostess, who was thereupon indicted for heresy.⁴⁷ The result unfortunately is not forthcoming. The efforts of the churchwardens to raise money probably enabled them to tide over the difficulty caused by the dissolution of the monastery, and the chapel may very likely have been continuously served by the ex-canon, John Slythurst, to whom an extra pension of £8 a year was granted in 1539 to serve the cure at Lee;⁴⁸ if he refused, the pension was reduced to £5 6s. 8d. How long this arrangement went on does not appear, but probably the lords of the manor were forced to make some reasonable provision for a curate at Lee Chapel. A vicarage is spoken of in the grant of the manor and

rectory to Lord Russell,⁴⁹ and possibly some assignment of land had already taken place. The lords of the manor were the patrons and presented to the chapel as a donative.⁵⁰ The living at the present day is a vicarage, the advowson belonging to Mr. Lasenby Liberty.

The Charity of Nicholas Almond, *CHARITIES* founded by deed 1629, see under Wendover. The poor of this parish receive 10s. a year from this charity.

In 1880 Miss Harriet Day by will proved at London 4 June, left to the vicar and churchwardens £4,000 stock, now represented by £4,045 1s. 9d. Corporation of Croydon 3 per cent. stock, producing yearly £121 7s., to be applied 8s. weekly to each of five poor women, not under the age of sixty years, who should have dwelt for ten years within a radius of 2 miles of Lee parish church and be communicants there; £2 to vicar for making weekly payments aforesaid; residue to said women in coal at midsummer. The widows receive 8s. a week according to the terms of the will.

In 1881 Abraham Watson by will, proved at London 9 May, left to the vicar and churchwardens £200 now represented by £200 consols, dividends to be applied in food and coals at Christmas amongst the poor.

The sums of stock are held by the official trustees.

GREAT MISSENDEN

Missedene (xi cent.) Messenden, Mussenden.

The parish of Great Missenden has an area of 5,819 acres. It attains an elevation of considerably over 600 ft. along the centre of the parish, to which an offshoot of the Chiltern Hills penetrates; the highest point, just north of Springfield Farm, being a little over 650 ft. To the east the ground slopes down slightly, but remains for the most part considerably over 500 ft. To the west it falls away more, but rises again to above 650 ft. on the western boundary of the parish, where the village of Prestwood is situated.

Three thousand one hundred and ninety-two acres of the parish are arable land, 1,710½ acres permanent grass, and 513 acres wood.¹

The River Misbourne flows through Great Missenden from north to south, the Metropolitan Extension Railway and the main road from London to Wendover running parallel to it a little to the west. The large village of Great Missenden is situated on this road, Missenden Abbey and Park with its fine sycamore trees lying at the south end. The village comprises a number of modern houses of the better sort with a few half-timbered, and others of brick of the Georgian period. The railway station, on the Metropolitan Extension Railway, is near the village. The road leading past the church of St. Peter and St. Paul to Chesham turns eastwards from the main road about the centre of the village. Four roads branch off to the west, leading to Prestwood and Hampden.

In the north-east of the parish is Lee Common and the greater part of the hamlet of Lee Clump;

in the north-west Woodlands Park, with Grim's Ditch. Ballinger Common and hamlet lie about half-a-mile south of Lee Common, with Potter Row to the east. At South Heath, about a mile east from the village of Great Missenden, is a camp and moat. Part of Hyde Heath is included in this parish in the south-east, and Heath End is situated in the extreme south-west. Peterley Manor lies north of the latter, with the straggling village of Prestwood to the west and north of it. The soil is alluvial, with a chalk base, abounding in the deposit of flint and shells. The subsoil is chalk. There are disused chalk-pits to the east of Prestwood and near Potter Row, and another east of Hyde Heath, near which there is an old gravel-pit. There are extensive brickworks also near Hyde Heath.

The Inclosure Award was made in 1855 and is in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace.²

In the time of Edward the Confessor *MANORS* the manor of *GREAT MISSENDEN* was held by a thegn of the king, Sired, the son of Alveva. In 1086 it formed part of the lands of Walter Giffard, and was then assessed at ten hides.³ This Walter was the son of Walter Giffard de Longueville, who is said to have come to England with William the Conqueror and died before 1085. The son Walter was probably created Earl of Buckingham by William II, and died in 1102, leaving an only son, also named Walter, who died without issue in 1164.⁴ The family of Giffard thus became extinct, but their estates were known as the honour of Giffard until about 1300. Great Missenden was

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 247.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 221.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xiv (2), 262.

⁴⁹ Pat. 1 Edw. VI, pt. 1.

⁵⁰ Cf. Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 594, 694; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 356; Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 169.

¹ Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).

² *Com. Incl. Awards*, 12.

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

⁴ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

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held of this honour by the service of one knight's fee.⁵

After the death of Walter Giffard his lands remained for some time in the king's hands, but in 1191 they were restored by Richard I to his two nearest heirs, who were descended from Rohais, sister of Walter Giffard, first Earl of Buckingham. Rohais had married Richard Fitz Gilbert, from whose elder grandson Richard was descended the first claimant in 1191, Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford. From the younger grandson, Gilbert de Clare first Earl of Pembroke, was descended Isabella de Clare, whose husband William Marshal was the second claimant in 1191, on his wife's behalf.⁶ The Giffard estates in



CLARE. Or three chevrons gules.



MARSHAL. Party vert and or a lion gules.

England seem to have been assigned to William Marshal, for the honour is later found in the possession of his son Walter, Earl of Pembroke,⁷ one of the five brothers who in turn succeeded to the earldom. At the death of the last of the five without issue in 1245 the Marshal estates were divided between his sisters,⁸ the honour of Giffard or part of it apparently being apportioned to Isabella the wife of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, and son of the Richard de Clare who claimed the honour in 1191. The honour, including the overlordship of Great Missenden, descended with the Earldom of Gloucester,⁹ and passed upon the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1314 to his daughter Margaret, who married firstly Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, and secondly Hugh Audley, who became Earl of Gloucester.¹⁰ Upon the death of Hugh Audley in 1347 the overlordship of Great Missenden passed to his daughter Margaret, who was the wife of Ralph Earl of Stafford,¹¹ and descended with that earldom¹² until its

forfeiture in 1521, when it came into the possession of the Crown.

The sub-tenant of Great Missenden in 1086 was Turstin, son of Rolf,¹³ of whose descendants nothing is known. The manor seems to have been granted early in the 12th century to William de Missenden, who founded the abbey of Missenden in 1133.¹⁴ He had a son Hugh, who took the surname of de Noers, which had perhaps been assumed by his father also.¹⁵ Hugh de Noers became lord of the manor before 1141¹⁶ and was still living in 1166,¹⁷ but was succeeded soon after by his son William de Noers,¹⁸ who died before 1185, for in that year his son William was a minor in the custody of Henry de Pinkeni.¹⁹ William de Noers the younger died, however, about 1189, and his lands passed to his brother Hugh,²⁰ whose daughter and heir Joan married Hugh de Sanford,²¹ and was holding Missenden together with her husband in 1233.²² Hugh seems to have died in 1233 or 1234,²³ and Joan about 1252. She left two daughters, Christiana, who married first William de Sideham,²⁴ and secondly John de Plessy, afterwards Earl of Warwick,²⁵ and Agnes, the wife of Matthew Husee.²⁶ The manor of Great Missenden was divided between these two heiresses, the moieties being known at a later date as Overbury and Netherbury.

The moiety of the manor of Great Missenden subsequently known as *OVERBURY* was assigned to Agnes and Matthew Husee. Matthew died before 1254, at which time the wardship of his son Henry was purchased by John Maunsell, whose niece, Joan Fleming, Henry was to marry.²⁷ Henry Husee lived until 1290,²⁸ when his lands passed to his son Henry, who was succeeded about 1332 by a third Henry, to whose mother Isabella one-third of the manor was assigned in dower.²⁹ In 1348 the manor was conveyed to Thomas de Mussenden,³⁰ the king's groom, who seems to have settled it on himself in that year, although Henry Husee did not finally quitclaim his right in the manor until 1356.³¹ Certainly Thomas de Mussenden was in occupation before that date. He was still living in 1367, and his wife Isabella, widow



STAFFORD. Or a chevron gules.

⁵ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 312; *Gr. R. of the Pipe* (Rec. Com.), 1189-90, p. 37; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 247, 258; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁶ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 247; *G.E.C. (Complete Peerage)* says that the English estates were granted to Richard, Earl of Hertford, but it seems that they only came into this family by a later marriage.

⁸ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

⁹ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 95; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85-98; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 18 Edw. I, no. 36; *ibid.* 20 Edw. I, no. 156; *ibid.* 29 Edw. I, no. 54; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 8 Edw. II, no. 68.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. II, no. 74; *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 6 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66; *Feud. Aids*, i, 123; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 11 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 38.

¹¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 21 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 59.

¹² *Ibid.* 1 Hen. IV, pt. i, no. 73, and pt. ii, no. 20; *ibid.* 8 Hen. IV, no. 19; *ibid.* 8 Hen. V, no. 87; *ibid.* 2 Edw. IV, no. 10; *ibid.* 2 Ric. II, no. 20; *ibid.* 3 Ric. II, no. 43; *Inq. a.q.d.* file 401, no. 10; *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

¹³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 247b.

¹⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 31 Edw. III, no. 2, 5; *Harl.* 3688. According to another document (Lansd. 257 A) William de Missenden founded the abbey in 1336. Possibly this is a confusion with another man of the same name, who, perhaps, gave it extensive endowments.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 18a and b.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 18b.

¹⁷ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 312.

¹⁸ *Harl.* 3688, fol. 18b.

¹⁹ S. Grimaldi, *Rot. de Dominabus*, 20.

²⁰ *Gr. R. of the Pipe* (Rec. Com.), 1189-90, p. 37.

²¹ *Harl.* 3688, fol. 20; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 259-61.

²² *Cal. Close*, 1231-4, p. 330.

²³ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 253; *ibid.* ii, 147; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 37 Hen. III, no. 8.

²⁴ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 253.

²⁵ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*.

²⁶ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rec. Com.), i, 253; *Close*, 37 Hen. III; *MSS. Cardig.* quoted by Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 361.

²⁷ *Dugdale, Baronage*, i, 623, quoting *Pat.* 37 Hen. III, m. 20; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 33.

²⁸ *Ibid.* i, 44; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 95; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 18 Edw. I, no. 36; *ibid.* 6 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66; *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.

²⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 469.

³⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 22 Edw. III; *Chart. R.* 28 Edw. III, m. 3, no. 12.

³¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 20 Edw. III; *Chart. R.* 41 Edw. III, m. 3, no. 13.

of Sir John Golafre, survived until after 1383.³² Edmund de Missenden, son and heir of Thomas, died in 1394,³³ the manor having been settled on his wife Juliana for the term of her life and one year beyond. She married secondly Thomas Shelle, who died about 1400,³⁴ and died herself in 1407, when the manor passed to her son Bernard de Missenden.³⁵

Bernard died in 1420, leaving two daughters, Katherine and Alice,³⁶ the manor being apportioned to the elder, who married John Iwardby.³⁷ Nicholas Iwardby, son of John,³⁸ became lord of the manor upon the death of his father,³⁹ and was succeeded by his son John in 1462,⁴⁰ who being under age was placed under the custody of Richard Fowler.⁴¹ He died in 1485, leaving three daughters, Elizabeth wife of William Elmes and afterwards of Thomas Pigot, Margery wife of Ralf Verney, and Helen who married first William Cutland⁴² and secondly Thomas Clifford.⁴³ This manor was apparently assigned to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, as it afterwards descended in the family of Elmes. John, son of William Elmes, succeeded his father,⁴⁴ and in 1557-8 the manor was held by Edward or Edmund Elmes, son of John.⁴⁵ Edmund's son, John Elmes,⁴⁶ was lord of the manor previous to 1624, in which year he died, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas.⁴⁷ The latter died in 1632,⁴⁸ and Overbury passed to his son William,⁴⁹ who was succeeded in 1641 by his son Arthur.⁵⁰ Arthur Elmes and his wife Jane were still holding it in 1660,⁵¹ but later there must have been a sale, for in 1684 Overbury appears in the possession of William Fleetwood, owner of Netherbury.⁵² The two manors being thus again united descended together⁵³ and formed once more the single manor of Great Missenden.

The moiety of the manor of Great Missenden assigned to Christiana and John de Plessy was subsequently known as *NETHERBURY*. After the death of Christiana John married Margaret, Countess of Warwick, in whose right he became Earl of Warwick.⁵⁴ Upon his death in 1263 this manor passed to his son Hugh de Plessy,⁵⁵ who lived until about 1292.⁵⁶ He was succeeded by his son Hugh in that year,⁵⁷ and in 1301 by his grandson of the same name,

who was then a minor in wardship of John de Segrave.⁵⁸ A fourth Hugh, son of the last, became lord of the manor in 1337,⁵⁹ his mother Millicent retaining half of it in dower.⁶⁰ He died between 1351 and 1357, half of his lands passing to his sister Eleanor, who was the wife of John Lenneysey,⁶¹ or Lenveysey, and the other half remaining for life to his widow Elizabeth, who married secondly Roger Elmerugge, and reverting upon her death in 1378 to John son of John Lenneysey,⁶² who had succeeded his father before 1374.⁶³ John Lenneysey the younger died in 1379, and his lands passed to his kinsman John Cheyne of Isenhampstead⁶⁴ (now Chenies), who in 1381 conveyed Netherbury to trustees for the purpose of a gift to Missenden Abbey.⁶⁵ They leased it for life to Isabella de Missenden, widow of John Golafre and lady of the manor of Overbury, and in 1383 conveyed the reversion in mortmain to the monastery of Missenden.⁶⁶ Netherbury presumably remained in the possession of that house until its dissolution, and afterwards in the hands of the king until 1614, when it was granted to Sir Marmaduke Darrell.⁶⁷ He was still holding the manor in 1623, and had a son and heir Sampson,⁶⁸ who perhaps succeeded him. Sir Marmaduke died some time before 1638, by which date his widow Anne had married Gilbert Neville.⁶⁹ By 1655 another Marmaduke Darrell⁷⁰ had succeeded to the manor,⁷¹ and soon after, apparently later than 1663, conveyed it to Sir William Bowyer, for in 1668 he sold it to William Fleetwood,⁷² who died in 1691. He was succeeded by John Fleetwood,⁷³ said to have been his son, and said to have been succeeded in 1745 by his sister Mary,⁷⁴ who had married Thomas Ansell in 1715.⁷⁵ Thomas and Mary Ansell had two sons, Thomas and John, who both died unmarried, whereupon the manor came to their daughter Mary, wife of Thomas Goostrey.⁷⁶ Mary died in 1780, and after the death of her husband the manor passed to their eldest daughter Mary, the wife of William Lowndes, who died in 1786.⁷⁷ Great Missenden is said to have been sold in 1787 to James Oldham Oldham, who died in 1822,⁷⁸ after which the manor came into the possession of George Carrington,⁷⁹ in whose family it has

³² Inq. a.q.d. file 401, no. 10. She was said to be the kinswoman and heir of William de Missenden, erroneously referred to as founder of the abbey in 1336.

³³ *Lansd.* 207 A, fol. 491. Thomas de Missenden is here stated to be the son of John Marshall of Missenden.

³⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 18 Ric. II, nos. 30 and 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 1 Hen. IV, pt. i, no. 73; pt. ii, no. 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 8 Hen. IV, no. 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 8 Hen. V, no. 87.

³⁸ *Lansd.* MS. 207 A, fol. 491.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 2 Edw. IV, no. 10.

⁴¹ *Early Chan. Proc.* bdle. 31, no. 455.

⁴² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), xlv, 91.

⁴³ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 395.

⁴⁴ *Metcalf, Visit. Northants.* 18.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *Mem. Pasch. Rec.* 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, rot. 16.

⁴⁶ *Metcalf, Visit. Northants.* 18.

⁴⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), ccccviii, 120; *Recov. R. Bucks.* Mich. 22 Jas. I, rot. 80.

⁴⁸ *His Inq.* states that he held both Overbury and Netherbury, but the latter appears to have been at this time in the possession of Sir Marmaduke Darrell.

⁴⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccclxviii, 87; *Feet of F. Bucks.* Trin. 9 Chas. I.

⁵⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccxcvii, 11.

⁵¹ *Recov. R. Bucks.* Mich. 12 Chas. II, rot. 81; *Feet of F. Bucks.* Mich. 12 Chas. II.

⁵² *Feet of F. Bucks.* Trin. 36 Chas. II.

⁵³ *Ibid.* East. 3 Geo. III; *ibid.* Trin. 13 Geo. III.

⁵⁴ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage; Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁵⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 47 Hen. III, no. 27.

⁵⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 44; *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 95; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

⁵⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 20 Edw. I, no. 156.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 29 Edw. I, no. 54; *Feud. Aids*, i, 98; *ibid.* i, 112.

⁵⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 11 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 38; *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.

⁶⁰ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 115.

⁶¹ *Feet of F. Div. Co.* Hil. 31 Edw. III, no. 32; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 2 Ric. II, no. 20.

⁶² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 2 Ric. II, no. 20.

⁶³ *Feet of F. Div. Co.* Mich. 48 Edw. III, no. 110.

⁶⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 3 Ric. II, no. 43.

⁶⁵ *Feet of F. Bucks.* 5 Ric. II, no. 4.

⁶⁶ *Inq. a.q.d.* file 401, no. 10; *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 264.

⁶⁷ *Pat.* 12 Jas. I, pt. v, no. 12. In 1577 Robert Bradbury died seized of the reversion of the 'manor of Missenden' after the death of Margaret his wife. His heir was his brother Henry. Possibly this document refers to Netherbury; *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), clxxviii, 54.

⁶⁸ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Mich. 21 Jas. I.

⁶⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, p. 380.

⁷⁰ Possibly the same as Marmaduke Darrell mentioned in 1623 (*Feet of F. Herts.* Mich. 21 Jas. I); *Recov. R. Mich.* 15 Chas. II, no. 17.

⁷¹ *Feet of F. Bucks.* Mich. 1655.

⁷² *Lansd.* 93, no. 94; *Feet of F. Bucks.* East. 24 Chas. II.

⁷³ *Recov. R. Bucks.* Mich. 10 Anne, rot. 58.

⁷⁴ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 377.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 387, quoting Parish Reg.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 377; *Feet of F. Bucks.* East. 3 Geo. III; *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 387, quoting Parish Reg.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 377.

⁷⁸ *Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks.* 385, quoting Monumental Inscription.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 378.

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since remained. Mrs. Carrington was lady of the manor until after 1899; Mr. George Carrington is the present lord.

The privilege of holding a fair on the eve and day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (14 and 15 August) was granted by Henry III to Joan de Sandford,⁸⁰ and confirmed in 1367 to Thomas de Missenden.⁸¹ A fair is vaguely mentioned in the grant of Netherbury to Sir Marmaduke Darrell.⁸² Later, fairs were held on Easter Tuesday and the Monday after Michaelmas, but have been abolished since 1883.

A market to be held weekly on Tuesdays was granted to Joan de Sandford together with the fair, and follows the same descent. It does not now survive.

View of frankpledge is mentioned in Great Missenden as early as 1254.⁸³ It remained with the courts leet in the possession of the overlords until the 15th century,⁸⁴ and was leased by them to the sub-tenants. In the reign of Edward I the sub-tenants of both moieties of Great Missenden claimed to hold the view together, paying 10s. for it to the Earl of Gloucester. They also held tourn twice a year 'without any servant of the king,' and had the right of gallows, pillory, and tumbrel.⁸⁵

Free warren was granted to Henry Husee in his moiety of Great Missenden in 1271,⁸⁶ and was confirmed to Thomas de Missenden in 1354.⁸⁷

A water-mill called Deep Mill, which is still in existence, in the south of the parish, on the River Misbourne, seems to have belonged, until the Dissolution, to Missenden Abbey.⁸⁸ It was granted in 1545 to Richard and Robert Taverner,⁸⁹ after which it came into the possession of Anthony Nyxe, miller, who sold it in 1584 to William Fleetwood, who died seised of it in 1594.⁹⁰ In 1610 it was granted to David Fowles, who married a Fleetwood,⁹¹ but had returned to William's grandson John Fleetwood before 1639,⁹² after which it descended in that family with the manor of Great Missenden.⁹³ A windmill is mentioned in 1773,^{93a} and is perhaps that now situated at Prestwood.

The reputed manor of *PETERLEY* or *PETERLEYSTONE* (Peterlaia, xii cent.) belonged at an early date to Missenden Abbey, and seems to have been

given to that monastery by Hugh de Noers and his son William in 1141.⁹⁴ It remained in the possession of the abbey until its dissolution,⁹⁵ when it seems to have been granted to Geoffrey Dormer.⁹⁶ It was held of the king as of his manor of East Greenwich.⁹⁷ In 1551 Geoffrey conveyed it to Robert Woodliffe,⁹⁸ but possibly for a term of years only, or in mortgage, for Robert Dormer, Geoffrey's grandson,⁹⁹ appears as lord of the manor in 1580. In 1557 Robert Woodliffe settled Peterley upon himself and Anne Drury, whom he was about to marry. He died in 1593 and was succeeded by his son Drew Woodliffe,¹⁰⁰ who in 1596 joined with his mother in conveying the manor back to Sir Robert Dormer.¹⁰¹ Sir Robert was created by James I Baron Dormer of Wyng, and hereditary Chief Avenor and keeper of the king's hawks.¹⁰² He died in 1616, having settled his newly-built manor house of Peterley on his wife Elizabeth for her life, with reversion to his third son Robert,¹⁰³ who is referred to as Robert Dormer of Peterley.¹⁰⁴ The latter died in 1656 and was succeeded by his son Charles,¹⁰⁵ and by his grandson Charles in 1677.¹⁰⁶ The last-named Charles became Baron Dormer of Wyng upon the death of his cousin Rowland Dormer in 1712,¹⁰⁷ and the manor of Peterley has since descended with that barony, and is now the residence of the thirteenth baron.¹⁰⁸

The Abbot of Missenden obtained a grant of free warren in Peterley in 1302, which was confirmed in 1426.¹⁰⁹

The 17th-century house having been allowed to fall into decay was completely destroyed and replaced by a small building of no particular interest in the first half of the 19th century.

The *ABBET OF GREAT MISSENDEN* for Arroasian Canons was founded in 1133 by William de Missenden, lord of that manor, who endowed it with lands in the parish, including Potter Row (Potterewe), Ballinger (Balenger), Kingshill (Kyngheshull), Peterley, Prestwood, and Moretensend.¹¹⁰ The advowson of the monastery remained in the hands of his successors.

Upon the dissolution of the monastery of Great Missenden the site and lands belonging were granted early in 1541 to Richard Greenway, a gentleman usher of the king's household, for twenty-one years.¹¹¹

⁸⁰ Chart. R. 41 Edw. III, m. 3, no. 13.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Pat. 12 Jas. I, pt. v, no. 12.

⁸³ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁸⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. II, no. 68; ibid. 11 Edw. II, no. 74; ibid. 21 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 59; ibid. 10 Ric. II, no. 38; ibid. 16 Ric. II (pt. i), no. 27; ibid. 22 Ric. II, no. 46; ibid. 4 Hen. IV, no. 41.

⁸⁵ Plac. de Quo War. (Rec. Com.), 95; Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 38.

⁸⁶ Cal. Chart. 1257-1300, p. 176.

⁸⁷ Chart. R. 28 Edw. III, m. 3, no. 12.

⁸⁸ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xx (2), 496 (7).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxviii, 69.

⁹¹ Pat. 8 Jas. I, pt. 35, no. 1; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* 386, quoting Parochial Reg.

⁹² Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxcii, 88.

⁹³ Recov. R. Bucks. East. 1 Jas. II, rot. 191; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 13 Geo. III.

⁹⁴ Harl. 3688, fol. 18b. He gave a virgate of land in Peterlaia held by Levenadus the Smith.

⁹⁵ Cal. Pat. 1422-9, p. 344; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 549.

⁹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxiv, 34.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Misc. 21 Chas. I, pt. 32, no. 105.

⁹⁸ Ibid. (Ser. 2), ccxxxiv, 34.

⁹⁹ *Genealogist*, vii, 173; Recov. R. Bucks. East. 22 Eliz. rot. 105. In 1574 there was a grant of Peterley to Anthony Kynwelmershe and his heirs. Probably he was a fishing grantee. Pat. 17 Eliz. pt. xi, m. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxxiv, 34; Fine R. 35 Eliz. pt. i, no. 37.

¹⁰¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 38 & 39 Eliz.

¹⁰² G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁰³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclviii, 102.

¹⁰⁴ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*. Robert Earl of Carnarvon, grandson and heir of the

first Baron Dormer of Wyng, appears from his inquisition in 1645 to have been seised of the manor of Peterley, but this must have been a false claim, for his uncle Robert was still living, and was holding the manor just before his death in 1656; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 384, quoting monumental inscription; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1656.

¹⁰⁵ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 1 Will. and Mary.

¹⁰⁷ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁰⁸ Burke, *Peerage*, 1907. A so-called manor of Peterley appears in the possession of William Fleetwood in 1684, and in that of his descendants in 1763 and 1773. It was perhaps an error of expression arising from their holding lands in Peterley; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 36 Chas. II; ibid. East. 3 Geo. III; ibid. Trin. 13 Geo. III.

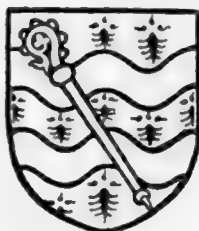
¹⁰⁹ Cal. Pat. 1422-9, p. 344.

¹¹⁰ Harl. 3688; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 247; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 548.

¹¹¹ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xvi, 726; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xc, 4.

Richard lived until 1552, but he seems to have surrendered the grant shortly before, as in 1550 and 1551 Edward VI gave the site of the abbey to his sister Princess Elizabeth for life.¹¹⁸ At the end of the same reign it was granted to the Duke of Northumberland,¹¹⁹ who was, however, executed in the same year for his support of Lady Jane Grey, and his lands forfeited.¹²⁰ Missenden Abbey then remained in the possession of the Crown until 1560, when it was granted for thirty years to Richard Hampden.¹²¹ In 1574 the reversion of the abbey lands was granted to Robert Earl of Leicester,¹²² who sold it in the same year to William Fleetwood. The latter died in 1594 and was succeeded by his son Sir William,¹²³ to whom the abbey was confirmed in 1612. John Fleetwood, son of Sir William Fleetwood, inherited his father's estates in 1631,¹²⁴ and died in 1639 leaving a son William who was only aged 4½ years at his father's death. In 1672 he became lord of the manor of Great Missenden, in which the site of the monastery presumably became absorbed.

The house now called Missenden Abbey stands on the site of the cloister of the monastic buildings, and contains a good deal of old masonry. The church, which stood to the north of the cloister, is completely destroyed, and a kitchen garden now covers its site, but the walls of the eastern range of claustral buildings are in large measure preserved, and the open 15th-century roof which covered the dormer of the canons is still in existence, and parts of it may be seen in various bedrooms now occupying the upper story of the east wing of the present house. Unfortunately no mediaeval masonry details are visible, and though the present kitchen must approximately occupy the site of the chapter house, no trace of the ancient arrangement remains. The walls of the southern range, which must have contained the frater, still stand in part, as do probably those of the western range, and the area of the cloister with its walks is almost entirely filled in with additional buildings, the corridors on the ground floor evidently following very nearly the lines of the former south and west walks of the mediaeval cloister. These corridors, with most of the architectural features of the house, are in the imitation gothic of the early 19th century, and have a vaulted plaster ceiling, and the whole building has evidently undergone many alterations, a 17th-century picture of it which is preserved being now hardly recognizable. To the east the ground rises steeply towards the parish church, and at the foot of the slope is the bed of the intermittent 'bourne,' which supplied the monastic buildings. The boundary wall of the garden on the north is in part old, and may be part of the mediaeval precinct wall, the stream being carried under it through a low arch. In a summer-house are preserved some very pretty pieces of 13th-century detail, doubtless from the



MISSENDEN ABBEY.
*Ermine two bars wavy
sable with a crescent or
bendways over all.*

monastic church, and a green glazed tile with raised patterns, also of the 13th century, has been dug up on the site of the church.

The church of **ST. PETER AND CHURCH ST. PAUL** has a chancel 31 ft. 3 in. by 19 ft., a nave 58 ft. 8 in. by 19 ft.; north and south transept 21 ft. by 15 ft.; a north aisle 17 ft. 8 in. wide, a south aisle 8 ft. wide, a western tower, north and south porches, an organ chamber and a vestry. The church was largely rebuilt in the first half of the 14th century, the chancel being widened to its present lines, the chancel arch inserted, the aisles and transepts added, and the tower begun but perhaps not finished. In the 15th century the clearstory and roof were added and a number of windows inserted. About the middle of the 16th century the tower was enlarged on the south side, evidently to make more room for bells. The lower part of the addition contains a stair, and it seems that the parish must have obtained the bells of the suppressed abbey which stood close by on the west. Of the four belfry lights three are of this date, but the fourth, that to the west, is a mutilated early 14th-century window which it is quite probable formed part of the abbey buildings. The south porch is a late addition. In recent years the north aisle has been rebuilt and greatly widened, the old material being re-used and the door and windows reset, while a new north porch was added. The organ chamber is also modern.

The east window of the chancel has in a 14th-century opening modern tracery of 15th-century detail in five cinquefoiled lights with tracery over. Externally the window is almost entirely modern, but the internal jambs and rear arch are rich 14th-century work, elaborately moulded with deep hollows, double wave moulds, and ogees in two orders. The inner order rests on mask-corbels, the outer upon slender circular shafts with richly carved foliate capitals, and circular moulded bases upon octagonal plinths, while some of the hollow members of the rear arch are enriched with carving in a running floral design and with four-leaved flowers. On either side are two highly decorated image niches of 14th-century date with moulded and shafted jambs and internal heads carved into ribbed vaulting, while traces remain of spire-like canopies. At the east end of the south wall is a series of modern canopied niches, seven in number and of 14th-century detail, which are said to have been designed from fragments uncovered at this point during the last restoration. Below is the cinquefoiled head of a single late 14th-century window, forming a niche now used as a credence, and west of this is the blocked opening of what was once a squint from a vestry. The vestry door, a little west of the altar rails, is of 14th-century date, but was much repaired and reset a little west of its old position at the recent restoration. The arched opening to the organ chamber is quite modern. At the east end of the south wall is a large 14th-century window, with moulded jambs and rear arch and with an internal label, now filled with 18th-century tracery in five uncusped lights. There is also a very gracefully designed 14th-century piscina with a sharp trefoiled

¹¹⁸ Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iii; 5 Edw. VI, pt. iii, m. 31.

¹¹⁹ Pat. 7 Edw. VI, pt. viii.

¹²⁰ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹²¹ Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. xv.

¹²² Pat. 16 Eliz. pt. i, m. 5; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxxviii, 69.

¹²³ Ibid.; Pat. 10 Jas. I, pt. v, no. 7.

¹²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccliv, 99; ibid. cccxcvi, 88.

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head with curiously slight cusping and a cinquefoiled ogee sub-head. The sill of the window before-mentioned is carried down to form sedilia, the backs of which had slightly sunk panels with sub-cusped cinquefoiled heads, now much defaced. In the western jamb is a small filled-in niche. West of the sedilia is a small priest's door also of 14th-century date, richly moulded on both faces and now blocked. There are two further 14th-century windows with tracery, somewhat restored, in two trefoiled lights with trefoils and a quatrefoil over. The jambs and rear arches are continuously moulded and there are both internal and external labels. Below the westernmost of these windows is a low window of the same date with a moulded rear arch and two trefoiled lights, the heads of which are modern or of very late insertion, and through its west jamb is pierced a squint from the south transept. The chancel arch is of similar detail to the nave arcades, the capitals ranging, but the arch itself is higher and of steeper pitch and has perhaps been rebuilt and widened in the 15th century, when the rood-stair was inserted. It is of two plain chamfered orders, and the responds have engaged quarter and half-round shafts with square fillets between and moulded circular capitals and bases. In its original state the chancel must have been a splendid example of the style of its time, and even in its defaced and 'restored' condition is extremely interesting.

The nave arcades, as already stated, are similar in design to the chancel arch, but have labels with grotesque dripstones, and the chamfer on the outer order of the arches is carefully stopped, while the details of the capitals and bases are slightly different. In the two eastern responds are the rood-loft doors, and there is a clearstory with five windows on each side, each of two trefoiled lights with trefoils in the spandrels. They are of early 15th-century date and have moulded internal jambs and rear arches with a square main head. The roof is of the same date, of flat pitch with six deep moulded principals and a moulded ridge, purlins, and wall plates. Beneath the principals are brackets, with cusped tracery in the spandrels, resting upon corbels in the form of angels holding shields. The tower arch is rather low and of three chamfered orders, the two innermost dying into the jambs and the outer being continuous.

The north transept has a three-light north window of early 15th-century date of three trefoiled lights, the middle one slightly higher than the side lights and sub-cusped, while the main head is square with trefoils in the spandrels. In the middle of the east wall is a 14th-century window of cinquefoiled lights with flamboyant tracery over and double wave-moulded jambs and rear arch now opening to the organ chamber. North of this is a wide niche or recess with a slightly ogee-shaped head. The back has been elaborately painted to represent hangings of crimson brocade worked in a flowing floral design. In this niche is a fragment carved with a shield bearing three bulls passant, two and one. There is a smaller niche to the south of the window, and below it a plain pointed piscina with a modern drain. At the south end of the wall is a low door, largely if not entirely modern, opening into the organ chamber; it replaces the lower door of the rood-stairs, the upper door of which, with a portion of the curved wall of the turret, is still visible.

On the west are two bays of arcading opening to the widened south aisle, one arch of which, with one respond and the pier, are modern and of 14th-century detail. The roof is modern.

The north wall of the north aisle is quite modern and has two reset three-light 15th-century windows. Between these is the reset 14th-century north door with wave-moulded jambs and two-centred head. Internally and a little to the east of it a plain holy-water stone has been inserted in the wall. The porch is quite modern and of 14th-century detail with a small two-light window on either side.

The south transept has a three-light window of early 15th-century date at the north end of its east wall with a four-centred main head and a double wave-moulded rear arch, the same mouldings occurring in two uncusped image niches, on either side of this window. South of these is a two-light 14th-century window similar in detail to but much smaller than the two windows at the west end of the south wall of the chancel. In the south wall is a small door either modern or completely restored and in the centre of the wall an early 15th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights. On the west is a single light of late 14th-century date, and a plain arch of two chamfered orders without responds opens to the south aisle.

The windows of the south aisle are identical with those on the north and the south door is opposite the north door and is similar in detail. At the west end of the aisle is the door to the added tower stair and just west of the south door is a small niche with a cinquefoiled head. The south porch, a late addition, appears originally to have been of two stories. The floor, however, has been removed, though a dormer window remains.

The tower is of three stages with an embattled parapet. The west door of 14th-century date is continuously moulded with double sunk chamfers and hollow moulds, but has been much restored. Above this the head and parts of the jambs of a late 15th-century window have been inserted, probably at a late date. The north, south, and east belfry openings are of two lights under a square label, but the west opening is filled with part of a fine early 14th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights, and enough remains to suggest elaborate tracery, though it has been cut off square a little above the lower heads. Internally the jambs are shafted, with rich floral capitals and circular bases, and there is an internal label.

The font is of the type so common in this neighbourhood, the finest example of which is perhaps that at Aylesbury. It is of late 12th-century date and has an octagonal bowl on a short circular moulded stem worked into a square base shaped like an inverted cushion capital. The seats, &c. are modern, but some old carved tracery has been worked in. In the south transept are the remains of several brasses, the only figure remaining being that of a woman of c. 1510. There is also a beautifully designed helm and mantling, part of a 15th-century achievement of arms, with the crest of a maidenhead. Below is an inscription in Roman lettering to Zacheus Metcalfe 1595, and Margaret Metcalfe 1596. There is also the inscription of a brass to John Iwardby and his wife Katherine the daughter of Bernard de Misenenden; she died 1436, but the date of his death is

left blank. The brass was evidently in the Abbey Church. In the south aisle is a monument to William Bois, 1631. It has a broken pediment surmounted by a figure of Time with his scythe over an arch fantastically constructed of books. In the north aisle is a monument to Dame Jane Walker, 1635, some time the wife of Daniel Bonde of London and later of Sir John Boys of Canterbury.

The tower contains a sanctus in a small opening, dated 1782, and six bells: the treble dated 1692; the second cast by Joseph Carter in 1603, and bearing his mark; the third dated 1640; the fourth cast by Thomas Mears in 1824; the fifth by Ellis Knight in 1623; and the sixth by Thomas Mears in 1840.

The plate is modern and consists of two chalices, a flagon, two standing patens, and a perforated spoon.

The first book of the registers contains all entries from 1694, baptisms and burials running to 1782 and marriages to 1753. A second book contains burial in woollen with notes of the affidavits from 1678 to 1784 and a further continuation of burials to 1812. The third book contains baptisms from 1783 to 1809, and a fourth the same from 1809 to 1812, and there is the first banns book of marriages from 1754 to 1786.

The patronage of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. Peter and St. Paul at Great Missenden belonged to the lord of that manor until it was given with its tithes by William de Missenden to the abbey, which he founded there in 1133.¹¹⁹ The living was appropriated by the monastery, a vicar being appointed by the abbot.¹²⁰

At the Dissolution the advowson fell to the Crown, and the vicarage was granted to Thomas Barnerdes, one of the former monks, in lieu of a pension.¹²¹ The right of presentation was kept by the Crown until about 1607, soon after which it seems to have been granted to John Ramsey, Viscount Haddington, for in 1609 he sold it, together with the rectory, to William Fleetwood.¹²² The advowson and rectory then became united, and have since followed the same descent, until the death of John Oldham Oldham in 1822, since when the advowson has been in the hands of his trustees.¹²³

The rectory of Great Missenden, which came into the king's hands at the Dissolution, was in 1541 granted to Richard Greenway, a gentleman usher of the Household, for a term of twenty-one years.¹²⁴ In 1560 the reversion of the rectory at the end of that term was granted to Richard Hampden, principal clerk of the king's kitchen, for thirty years, and fell to him late in 1561.¹²⁵ He, however, surrendered it about 1578, when it was granted for life to Griffin Hampden, and after his death to his daughters, Mary and Ruth, for their lives.¹²⁶ Mary, who subsequently married James Russell, and her sister were both living in 1597,¹²⁷ but evidently died before 1606, for in that year the rectory, which would revert to the Crown at their death, was granted to John Ramsey,

Viscount Haddington.¹²⁸ The latter sold it in 1609 to William Fleetwood,¹²⁹ who died seised of it in 1631,¹³⁰ and in whose family it descended in the same manner as Missenden Priory and Great Missenden Manor,¹³¹ in which it has presumably become merged.

There are Baptist chapels at Great Missenden, Lee Common, and at Hyde Heath, and a Primitive Methodist chapel at Lee Common.

In 1629 Nicholas Almond by deed **CHARITIES** conveyed to trustees his messuage in Thame—now a house and shop, 2 Corn Market, let at £16 a year—upon trust for the poor, subject to the payment of 6s. 8d. for a sermon on the Wednesday in Easter week.

The charity is regulated by a scheme of 20 April 1865, but the income has been absorbed in recent years in repairs of the property.

The charity of Dame Jane Boys, John Hampden, and another, founded in 1635, consists of a house and 4 acres at Prestwood, and allotment land, producing yearly £20 11s. 10d. By an order of the Charity Commissioners of 9 June 1896, made under the Local Government Act, $\frac{1}{2}$ th part of the net yearly income was apportioned as the ecclesiastical branch. In 1907 there was after repair and removal of the monument of the foundress a balance in the hands of the churchwardens of £2 19s. The net income of the remainder of the charity was, under the title of the Borough Charity, applied in apprenticeship premiums and outfits.

In 1690 Thomas Gregory, by will proved in the P.C.C. 29 March, gave £5 a year for poor housekeepers not in receipt of parish relief. The annuity is paid by the owner of Knives Farm, Hughenden. The operation of the charity was in abeyance, and in 1906 there was a balance in hand of £21 18s. 6d.

In 1864 William Dent by deed gave a sum of £1,000 consols for educational purposes, the dividends of which are duly applied.

In 1888 Miss Jane Douglas, by will proved at London 23 August, bequeathed to the vicar and churchwardens a legacy, now represented by £327 15s. 2d. consols, with the official trustees, the income to be distributed on 13 November in each year among forty aged poor persons. The annual dividend, amounting to £8 3s. 8d., is applied in charity tickets.

In 1881 Abraham Watson, by will proved with a codicil at London on 9 May, bequeathed £800 consols, the income, now amounting to £20 a year, to be applied towards the support of the infant schools.

The same testator bequeathed to the vicar and churchwardens of Great Missenden £180 consols, the income now amounting to £4 10s. annually to be distributed twice each year among the poor of the hamlet.

The sums of stock are held by the official trustees.

¹¹⁹ Dugdale, *Men.* vi, 548; Harl. 3688.

¹²⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 247.

¹²¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv (2), 262.

¹²² Feet of F. Bucks. East. 7 Jas. I.

¹²³ *Clerical Guide*; *Clergy List*.

¹²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xvi, 726; Pat. 20 Elis. pt. vi, m. 26.

¹²⁵ Pat. 20 Elis. pt. vi, m. 26.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 39 Elis.

¹²⁸ Pat. 4 Jas. I, pt. viii.

¹²⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 7 Jas. I.

¹³⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccclxiv, 99.

¹³¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxcxi, 88; Recov. R. Bucks. Mich. 1655, rot. 203; Inst. Bks. (P.R.O.); Recov. R. Bucks. East. 1 Jas. II, rot. 191; *ibid.* Mich. 10 Anne, rot. 58; Feet of F. East. 3 Geo. III; *ibid.* Trin. 13 Geo. III.

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LITTLE MISSENDEN

Missedene, Messedena (xi cent.) ; Musindone.

The parish of Little Missenden has an area of 3,214 acres. It is fairly open country, and lies for the most part at an altitude of over 500 ft. above the Ordnance datum, except where it is crossed by the valley of the Misbourne in the north, where the level sinks to between 300 ft. and 400 ft. 1,641½ acres of the parish are arable land, 853½ acres permanent grass, and 340½ acres wood.¹ The main road from London to Wendover passes through the north of the parish, and the village of Little Missenden is situated on a road which branches off and runs parallel to the main road for some distance before rejoining it. The church of St. John stands on the outskirts of the village, on the road from Wendover to Amersham, to the north of which there is a thick plantation. Three roads turn south from the village, leading to Beamond End and Holmer Green. In the north-west a road turns westward from the main road, and leads to Little Kingshill, with branch roads south to Holmer Green. The village consists of a few small houses of the 18th century, of brick and rough-cast, and some cottages. Of late a number of week-end cottages have been erected in the parish. The manor house has some remains of 17th-century work, but was modernized in the early part of the 19th century and later. The house called 'Little Missenden Abbey,' the residence of Mr. E. Callard, possibly incorporates the remains of an old house. It is the property of the trustees of Mr. Seth Smith.

The hamlet of Little Kingshill lies on the western boundary of the parish, and the village of Holmer Green in the south, with Beamond End about ½ a mile to the east, and Spurlands End about the same distance to the west. Bray's Green and Mantle's Farm and Wood, with the supposed site of a castle, lie in the north-east of the parish.

The subsoil is chalk, and the surface soil clay and chalk. The Metropolitan Extension Railway passes through the north-west of the parish, but there is no station, the nearest being Great Missenden, 2½ miles distant.

The Inclosure Award was made in 1854, and is in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace.²

The manor or reputed manor of **MANORS HOLMER** (Halmere, Holemere, xiii cent.) appears to have been identical with the hide held in Missenden before the Conquest by Alwin, a man of Syred, son of Sybi. In 1086 it formed part of the lands of the Count of Mortain, the Conqueror's half-brother.³ It was held of him by Wigot, of whom nothing is known. The sub-tenancy seems to have died out. Robert Count of Mortain died between 1088 and 1097,⁴ his lands passing to his son William, who, however, was taken prisoner by Henry I at the battle of Tinchebrai in 1106, and all his honours forfeited.⁵ His lands thus came into the possession of the Crown, and were ultimately granted by the Empress Maud or by King Stephen in 1141 to Reginald Earl of Cornwall, natural son of



LITTLE MISSENDEN CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

¹ Inf. supplied by Bd. of Agric. (1905).

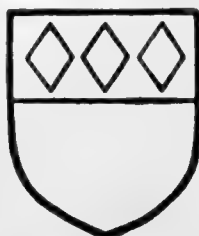
² *Com. Incl. Awards*, 12.

³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 243a.

⁴ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage*, ii, 360.

⁵ *Ibid.* ; A. S. Ellis, *Dom. Tenants of Glouc.*

Henry I,⁶ at whose death in 1175 they reverted to the Crown.⁷ Holmer perhaps followed this descent, but, if so, unlike the rest of the estates, which were reserved for the use of Prince John,⁸ it appears to have been granted to Gilbert Basset, son of Thomas Basset of Compton,⁹ for he and Egelina his wife appear as owners of property in Little Missenden in 1182.¹⁰ Gilbert's granddaughter Idonea, daughter of Eustachia Basset and Richard de Camvill, married William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury,¹¹ who was lord of the manor of Holmer in 1236.¹² He was succeeded in 1250¹³ by his son William, whose daughter and heir Margaret married Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln,¹⁴ lord of Holmer in right of his wife in 1284.¹⁵ Henry de Lacy died in 1311 in possession of the manor, leaving an only daughter Alice, who married first Thomas Earl of Lancaster,¹⁶ holder of the manor in 1316,¹⁷ and, secondly, Eubold Lestrangle, who settled Holmer upon his wife and himself in 1326.¹⁸ Eubold died without issue in 1335¹⁹ (his holding at that time not being called a manor), his wife Alice surviving until 1348.²⁰ In 1339, however, Roger Lestrangle, kinsman and heir of Eubold, granted the reversion of the manor, after the death of Alice and her tenant Robert le Warde, to the convent of Burnham, to hold in frank-almoign.²¹ Holmer continued in the possession of Burnham Abbey until the Dissolution in 1539, when it fell into the king's hands, and was annexed to the honour of Windsor Castle.²² The tenant at that time was Giles Mower, to whom a lease of the manor was confirmed by the king for twenty-one years,²³ to expire in 1560.²⁴ In 1557 a second lease of twenty-one years, from 1560, was granted to David and Sybil Penn,²⁵ holders of the manor of Beamond, and in 1573 a third lease for the same term, from the expiration of Penn's lease in 1581, was granted to Reuben Sherwood.²⁶ Thus Sherwood's term would not expire until 1602; however, in 1586 a further lease of twenty-one years from the end of Sherwood's term was granted to George Lee,²⁷ and again in 1590 for a similar period to Druce Payne at the end of George Lee's term,²⁸ which would expire in 1623. Druce Payne, however, had hardly gained possession of it when in 1624 the manor with appurtenances was given by James I to Edward and Robert Ramsey²⁹



BURNHAM ABBEY. Or a chief argent with three lozenges gules therein.



CURZON-HOWE, Earl Howe. Or a fesse between three wolves' heads cut off sable, for HOWE; quartered with argent a bend sable with three parrots or having collars gules thereon, for CURZON.

in fee-farm, at the request of John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness. The actual site of the manor was at this time in possession of John Honor, who died in 1632.³⁰ Holmer was, however, acquired by Thomas Style about 1625,³¹ probably by purchase from the Ramseys. He died about 1639, and his successor William Style, in 1640, leaving it entailed successively on his brothers Francis and Robert and his sisters.³² Francis held it until 1646; in 1653 and 1661 it was held by William and Elizabeth Standen, guardians of Elizabeth's daughters Mary and Elizabeth Style.³³ Elizabeth Standen was probably the widow of Francis Style (see brass in church). The daughter Elizabeth afterwards married Edward Hoby, and Mary became the wife of Henry Sayer.³⁴ Robert Style was holding it as their guardian in 1664 and 1669,³⁵ after which he held it himself as late as 1688. Some time before 1694 it was acquired by Henry Harris, who was still holding it in 1705, and whose widow Margaret was lady of the manor in 1709. In that year she sold it to Edmund Lambe,³⁶ who seems to have died in 1737. In 1738 Holmer was held by John Davis in right of his wife Sarah, which implies that she was the daughter and heir of Edmund Lambe. In 1757 he sold the manor to Nathaniel Collyer, who must have immediately conveyed it to James Mallors.³⁷ The latter seems to have died in 1766 leaving his son a minor, for in 1767 and 1768 the manorial courts were held by Benjamin Rosewell and Francis Mallors, James Mallors the younger appearing in 1770. About 1771 Holmer was acquired by Assheton Curzon,³⁸ in whose family it has since descended.³⁹ Earl Howe is the present owner.

The lords of Holmer had view of frankpledge 'without the sheriff' from the beginning of the 13th century.⁴⁰ Courts are mentioned as pertaining to Holmer in 1557, when they were reserved by the king⁴¹ until granted to Robert and Edward Ramsey with the manor in 1624. View of frankpledge and court baron still pertain to it.

BEAMOND Manor was probably part of the Mortain lands in Little Missenden, as it seems to have been given by Gilbert Basset to the monastery of Bicester, together with the church of Little Mis-

⁶ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, ii, 361.

⁷ Ibid.; Clutterbuck, *Hist. of Herts.* ii, 293.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Harl. 1411, fol. 63.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 434.

¹¹ Harl. 1411, fol. 63.

¹² Cal. Pat. 1232-47, p. 147.

¹³ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹⁴ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

¹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. II, no. 51.

¹⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 112.

¹⁸ Cal. Pat. 1324-7, p. 256.

¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 42.

²⁰ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

²¹ Cal. Close, 1339-41, p. 107; Cal. Pat. 1345-8, p. 151; *Feud. Aids*, i, 124.

²² L. and P. Hen. VIII, xv, 498 (35).

²³ Ibid. 562.

²⁴ Pat. 15 Eliz. pt. v, m. 40.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. 28 Eliz. pt. vi, m. 12.

²⁸ Ibid. 32 Eliz. pt. ix, m. 13.

²⁹ Ibid. 22 Jas. I, pt. viii, no. 11; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1623-5, p. 316; Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Chas. I, pt. i, m. 2.

³⁰ Ibid. Misc. dxxvii, 7; Exch. Dep. 11 Chas. I, E. 3.

³¹ Ct. R. in poss. of the steward of the manor.

³² Ibid.; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cccxcvii, 72.

³³ Ct. R. in poss. of the steward of the manor.

³⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 20 & 21 Chas. II.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ct. R. in poss. of the steward of the manor; Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 8 Anne.

³⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 30 & 31 Geo. II; Ct. R. in poss. of the steward of the manor.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Recov. R. Bucks. Trin. 45 Geo. III, rot. 256; ibid. East. 1 Geo. IV, rot. 304.

⁴⁰ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁴¹ Pat. 15 Eliz. pt. v, m. 40; ibid. 28 Eliz. pt. vi, m. 12; ibid. 22 Jas. I, pt. viii, no. 11.

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senden, in 1182;⁴⁸ it is found in the possession of that abbey in 1330-2,⁴⁹ and remained so until the dissolution of that house in 1536.

In 1541 Beamond was granted by Henry VIII to Sybil the wife of David Penn 'in consideration of her services in the nurture and education of Prince Edward,'⁴⁸ and was confirmed to her and her husband in 1553.⁴⁹ David Penn died about 1565, and was succeeded by his son John, whose lands passed to his son William in 1596.⁴⁸ William's son John inherited the manor in January 1638-9,⁴⁷ and died in 1641, when he was succeeded by William Penn,⁴⁸ whose son William died in 1693. Roger Penn became lord of Beamond upon his death,⁴⁹ and died unmarried in 1731,⁵⁰ when the manor passed to Sarah Penn the wife of Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston,⁵¹ in whose family it descended. Assheton Curzon, second son of the fourth baronet, inherited this manor, was created Baron Curzon of Penn in 1794 and Viscount Curzon in 1802. His grandson was created Earl Howe in 1821. The present Earl Howe is now lord of the manor.

The lords of the manor have possessed court leet and view of frankpledge from the 14th century,⁵²

which still survive. Free fishery is mentioned in 1618.⁵³

The reputed manor of *MANTELLS* (Mauntel-court, Mauntelesse xv cent., Maundeles xvi cent.) was held in the time of Edward the Confessor by Seric, a man of Sired, and in 1086 by Turstin Mantel,⁵⁴ and was assessed at half a hide. It was held of the king in chief by serjeanty of being the king's naperer.⁵⁵ In 1486 it is said to have been held by the service of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a knight's fee,⁵⁶ and in the time of Elizabeth and Charles I by grand serjeanty.⁵⁷

The half-hide remained in the family of Mantell, and in the 12th century was held by Robert Mantell, whose son and heir was a minor in custody of the king in 1185.⁵⁸ This boy, who was ten at that time, was probably the Walter Mantell who held it between 1201 and 1212,⁵⁹ when it was called a hide. He was succeeded by William Mantell, probably his son, who died in 1249 leaving a son Robert,⁶⁰ at which time it was described as a messuage, lands, and rent. He was followed by another Robert, who was living in 1284, and seems to have died shortly before 1291, when his lands were in the king's custody by



LITTLE MISSENDEN : THE MANOR HOUSE FROM THE CHURCHYARD

⁴⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 434.

⁴⁹ Ct. R. ptfo. 155, no. 2; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 189.

⁴⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 718.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 1257 n.; *Acts of P.C.* 1552-4, p. 252; Pat. 7 Edw. VI, pt. iv; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxli, 47.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* ccxlviii, 31.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* cccxciv, 63; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 291, quoting monumental inscription.

⁴⁸ *Recov. R. Bucks.* Mich. 1649, rot. 51; *ibid.* Trin. 2 Jas. II, rot. 72; Lips-

comb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 290, quoting monumental inscription.

⁴⁹ *Recov. R. Trin.* 10 Will. III, rot. 94.

⁵⁰ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 292, quoting monumental inscription.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 289; *Recov. R. Bucks.* Trin. 27 Geo. III, rot. 123; *ibid.* Trin. 45 Geo. III, rot. 256; *ibid.* East. 1 Geo. IV, rot. 304.

⁵² Ct. R. ptfo. 155, no. 2; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxli, 47; Pat. 16 Jas. I, pt. vii.

⁵³ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 267a.

⁵⁴ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 139;

Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 256; Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file viii, no. 19; *ibid.* 2 Hen. VI, no. 13.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII*, 149.

⁵⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxv, 2; *ibid.* cccxciv, 93.

⁵⁸ *Rot. de Dominabus*, &c. 20, S. Grimaldi.

⁵⁹ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 139; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245 and 256.

⁶⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. VIII, file viii, no. 19; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.

reason of the minority of his heir,⁶¹ and were farmed for 35s. 1½d. This heir would probably be the Robert Mantell who in 1336 enfeoffed his son Walter of the manor,⁶² so called for the first time. Walter died in 1356, and was succeeded by his son John,⁶³ whose son John Mantell of Hartwell inherited the manor in 1424.⁶⁴ Some time after, perhaps at the death of the last-mentioned John, the manor seems to have come into the possession of John Hampden, whose son Thomas died seised of it in 1485, leaving a son Richard.⁶⁵ Richard Hampden apparently conveyed it to trustees,⁶⁶ from whom it was presumably purchased by Thomas Woodmancy, who died possessed of it in 1505.⁶⁷ He left a widow Anne, who seems to have married secondly Robert Girton, and two sons, Thomas and John, who together with their mother conveyed Mantells in 1520-1 to Simon Watson.⁶⁸ The manor remained in the Watson family until 1554, when Kenelm Watson sold it to Thomas Denton of Hillesdon.⁶⁹ Thomas Denton died seised of it in 1558, and was succeeded by his son Alexander,⁷⁰ after whose death about 1574⁷¹ Mantells seems to have been sold to Richard Tothill, for he died in possession of it in 1593.⁷² His son William died in 1626 leaving as his heirs a daughter Katharine Tothill and a grandson William Drake, son of his daughter Joan,⁷³ between whom the manor was divided. In 1632, however, Katharine conveyed her moiety to William Drake⁷⁴ of Shardeloes and Amersham, in whose family it has descended, and is now possessed by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake of Amersham. Mantle's Farm and Wood still exist.

In 1254-5 Robert Mantell paid hidage of 6d. yearly and nothing for suit.⁷⁵

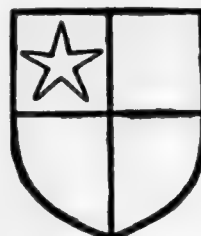
A half-hide in *LITTLE MISSENDEN* was held in the time of Edward the Confessor by Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester, but did not, however, remain to that see, for in 1086 it formed part of the lands of Hugh de Bolebec.⁷⁶ Hugh de Bolebec was succeeded by his two sons, Hugh who died without issue, and Walter⁷⁷ who was lord of the Little Missenden half-hide in 1166.⁷⁸ The latter died before 1185, leaving an only daughter and heir Isabel, who in that year was a minor in the custody of Earl Albric.⁷⁹ She married Robert de Vere, third Earl of Oxford, and the Bolebec estates thus became merged in his earldom. The overlordship of this half-hide continued in the possession of the Earls of Oxford as late as 1634.⁸⁰ It was held from the 13th century onwards as half a fee.

The sub-tenant of the Little Missenden half-hide previous to the Conquest was Ulviet, who was still holding it in 1086 of Hugh de Bolebec.⁸¹ Nothing is known of his descendants. In 1166 it was held by Raveingus de 'Musindone,'⁸² after which there is

no record of a sub-tenant until 1254-5, when the holder was William de Sumeford.⁸³ At this time portions of it were also held by Hugh de Messenden, perhaps a descendant of Raveingus, and William de



BOLEBEC. *Vert a lion ermine.*



VERE. *Quarterly gules and or with a molet argent in the quarter.*

Derneford or Demeford,⁸⁴ which suggests that they were perhaps husbands of three sisters, between whom the half-hide had been divided; William de Sumeford assuming the lordship as husband of the eldest. Hugh de Messenden was still living in 1262,⁸⁵ and for some time previous to 1275 Lawrence de Brok held a half-virgate in Little Missenden of William de Derneford,⁸⁶ so that William de Sumeford seems to have died without heirs. In 1275 Lawrence died, and was succeeded by his son Hugh de Brok.⁸⁷ In 1284-6 the half-hide was held by Hugh de Brok and Henry de Bray,⁸⁸ which implies that Hugh de Brok had obtained the portion of William de Derneford, and that Henry de Bray had succeeded Hugh de Messenden. If this Henry was Henry de Bray the King's Escheator he fell into disgrace and probably forfeited his lands about 1289.⁸⁹ Hugh de Brok seems to have had heirs,⁹⁰ but apparently they did not succeed to Little Missenden, for shortly afterwards it appears in the possession of Joan le Botiller.⁹¹ This lady was one of the sisters and heirs of Richard Fitz John who died in 1297,⁹² her husband being Theobald le Botiller. As neither Richard Fitz John nor Joan herself were seised of Little Missenden when they died,⁹³ she can only have held the estate for a while.

In 1371 Little Missenden was held by Peter de Brewes,⁹⁴ who received grants of lands in Buckinghamshire from Edward III.⁹⁵ He had a son John who died without issue in 1426 or 1427, and a daughter Beatrice who married Sir Hugh Shirley.⁹⁶ After Peter de Brewes there is no further record of sub-tenants in this portion of Little Missenden. It seems probable that this fee became absorbed in one of the other manors of the parish, and thus disappeared.

In 1254-5 William de Sumeford paid hidage of

⁶¹ Exch. Accts. bdle. 1, no. 16.
⁶² *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 107; *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 228.
⁶³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 47 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 24.
⁶⁴ Ibid. 2 Hen. VI, no. 13.
⁶⁵ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII*, 149.
⁶⁶ Pat. 15 Hen. VII, pt. ii, m. 5.
⁶⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xx, 6.
⁶⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 12 Hen. VIII.
⁶⁹ Com. Pleas D. Enr. Trin. 1 Mary, m. 12 d.
⁷⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxx, 2.
⁷¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* iii, 17; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clxxvi, 4.

⁷² Ibid. cxxl, 18.
⁷³ Ibid. cccxxxiv, 93.
⁷⁴ Feet of F. Div. Co. East. 8 Chas. I.
⁷⁵ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.
⁷⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 264a.
⁷⁷ Banks, *Dorm. and Ext. Peerage*, i, 38.
⁷⁸ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 316-17.
⁷⁹ S. Grimaldi, *Rot. de Dominabus*, &c.
⁸⁰ *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 245b and 247b; *Feud. Aids*, i, 85; Chan. Inq. p.m. 45 Edw. III, no. 45; *ibid.* (Ser. 2), cccclxxiii, 15.
⁸¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 264a.

⁸² *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 317.
⁸³ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.
⁸⁴ Ibid.
⁸⁵ Assize R. 57, m. 6 d.
⁸⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. I, no. 10.
⁸⁷ Ibid.
⁸⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 85.
⁸⁹ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, cccxxvii.
⁹⁰ Wrottesley, *Ped. from Plea R.* 428.
⁹¹ *Testa de Newill* (Rec. Com.), 247b.
⁹² Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 50.
⁹³ Ibid. 31 Edw. I, no. 32.
⁹⁴ Ibid. 45 Edw. III, no. 45.
⁹⁵ Add. MS. 5524, fol. 172.
⁹⁶ Ibid.

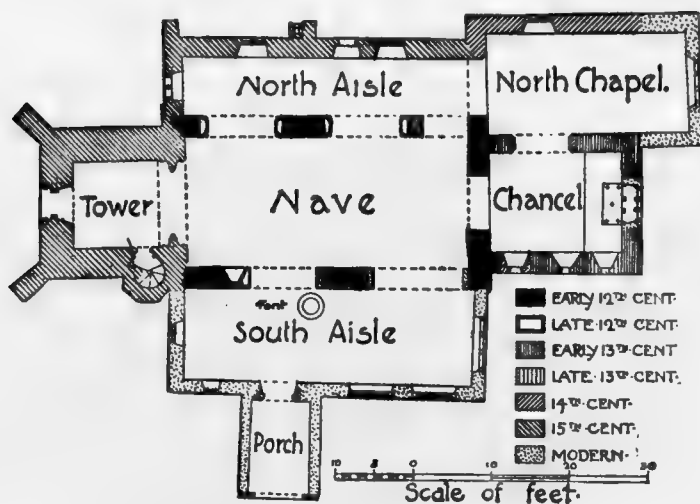
A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

£1 a year. Hugh de Messenden and Walter de Derneford, his fellow-owners, paid nothing for suit.⁹⁷

AFFRICK'S FARM or Manor (Auffrykkes, xvi cent.) was at an early date given to Godstow Nunnery, for it appears to have belonged to that house in 1291,⁹⁸ and to have remained in its possession until its dissolution.⁹⁹ In 1541 it was granted by Henry VIII to Sybil Penn together with the manor of Beamond,¹⁰⁰ and followed the same descent.¹⁰¹ Affrick's Farm still exists.

The church of **ST. JOHN THE CHURCH BAPTIST** consists of a chancel 17 ft. by 12 ft. 10 in., a nave 36 ft. 2 in. by 16 ft. 9 in., a north chapel 25 ft. 10 in. by 12 ft. 8 in., a north aisle 7 ft. 4 in. wide, a south aisle 12 ft. 7 in. wide with a south porch, and a western tower 11 ft. 1 in. square, all measurements being internal. It is one of the oldest buildings in the district, the nave and perhaps the chancel dating from the beginning of the 12th century. In the second half of the 12th century a south aisle was added, and late in the same century a north aisle. About the same time clear-story windows were inserted in the south wall and

The east window of the chancel is of three uncusped lights with shafted jambs and rear arches supported upon circular shafts with moulded bases and capitals, all of late 13th-century detail, but the window has been so much restored as to be of doubtful date. On the north is the 14th-century opening to the chapel with a two-centred arch of two chamfered orders, the outer of which is continuous. In the middle of the south wall is a lancet window with a rounded rear arch and a wide splay, c. 1200, and on either side are later lancets, that on the east having a late 13th-century moulded rear arch, while that to the west is a single trefoiled light set lower in the wall than the others. Its head appears to be a late insertion. The chancel arch is low, of a single plain order, semicircular, with a rough square abacus, but has been so much cut about and smothered in plaster and whitewash that its original details are not to be seen. The north arcade of the nave is of three unequal bays. The eastern bay has a small round-headed arch with no eastern respond, and evidently of very late date, cut through the wall in the 18th or 19th century. The two remaining bays have plain round-headed



PLAN OF LITTLE MISSENDEN CHURCH

perhaps in the north. The chancel shows no features earlier than the 13th century, but its plan and perhaps its walls are of the same date as the nave walls; it was at any rate remodelled in the 13th century, while a north chapel, probably much shorter from east to west than at present, was added to it in the 14th century. The tower is an addition of fairly late 15th-century date, at which time the north aisle was reconstructed, and in the 18th century the south aisle was rebuilt. In modern times little has been done beyond the most ordinary repairs, but whitewash and plaster have been most liberally used, the latter covering even the tooled stonework in several layers. For this reason some points in the early history of the church must remain uncertain; the length of the old south aisle, the number of clearstory windows, and the date of the eastern bay of the south arcade can only be decided by removing some at least of the accumulated whitewash and plaster.

arches and hollow-chamfered abaci with a deep upper member, showing that they belong to the end of the 12th century. A section of the old nave wall some 7 ft. long is left between the arches, and the angles of the jambs are worked with small shafts or bowtels surmounted by small foliate capitals. The south arcade is of two bays, the eastern being considerably the wider, having been enlarged at a late date, probably when the south aisle was rebuilt in the 18th century. The second bay remains untouched and is similar to the two bays on the north except that the jambs are plain and the abacus is of earlier type. Above this arch is a blocked round-headed clear-story window, the 15th-century wall plate cutting through its head, and to the west at a lower level is one of the original windows of the early

12th-century nave, a plain round-headed opening, now blocked and covered with plaster and whitewash. At the east end of the south wall is a dormer window to light the pulpit. Between the two arches, on the south face of the wall, is a low and shallow recess, whose nature is not apparent under the plaster and whitewash.

The north chapel has an 18th-century east window of three round-headed lights; and a two-light north window of 14th-century date with trefoiled heads and a quatrefoil over, and a moulded rear arch with an internal label. Beneath and to the west is a mutilated tomb recess of the same date with a low pointed arch. The arch from the chapel to the north aisle is also of 14th century date, like that to the chancel.

The north aisle has three 15th-century windows of two cinquefoiled lights under a square head, one in the west and two in the north wall, and between the

⁹⁷ Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁹⁸ Dugdale, Mon. iv, 369.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 373 and 377.

¹⁰⁰ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xvi, 718.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. xiii (2), 1257 n.; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxli, 47; ibid. (Ser. 2),

ccxlviii, 31; ibid. (Ser. 2), cccxciv, 63; Recov. R. Bucks. Trin. 2 Jas. II, rot. 72; ibid. Trin. 10 Will. III, rot. 94.

latter is the north door of the same date with continuously moulded jambs and four-centred head.

The south aisle is built of flint and brick and has an east window of the same detail as that of the chapel. In the south wall are two 18th-century pointed windows with two-light wooden frames and a doorway with a 15th-century moulded head reset on plain chamfered jambs. Immediately west of this is a small single 18th-century light placed rather high, and a west window of two clumsy trefoiled lights is of the same date. The south porch, mainly of brick, incorporates the remains of a 15th-century wooden porch, the outer archway and some carved detail being preserved.

The tower, of three stages with an embattled parapet and a south-east turret staircase, is of 15th-century date throughout. Its eastern arch is of two orders, the outer, with a double ogee moulding, being continuous, and separated by a wide hollow from the inner order which springs from round shafts with octagonal bases and capitals. The west door has a straight sided four-centred head and moulded jambs the inner members of which are carried round the arch, while the outer form a square head. The west window is of three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head. The belfry openings are of two cinquefoiled lights under a square head.

The font is of the local 12th-century type, with a fluted bowl and square base with inverted scallops, enriched with foliage carving in the usual manner.

The wooden fittings of the church are of little interest, but in the chancel are some 18th-century altar rails and panelling, and a 17th-century altar table.

The roofs of both nave and chancel are plain work of early 15th-century date with moulded wall plates, and ceiled on the underside of the rafters.

In the north chapel is an oak chest with elaborately mitred panels bearing the date 1693 in nail heads.

In the chancel is a brass with the figure of John Style of Little Missenden, 1613, and a slab on which were formerly the brass figures of Francis Style, 1646, his wife Elizabeth (Penn), and two daughters; the inscription and a small part of the figures of the two daughters are all that now remain. There is also a slab to Sarah (Drury), 1679, the wife, first of John Penn of Penn, and then of Robert Style.

The tower contains five bells: the treble cast by John Warner and Sons in 1881; the second, inscribed with the salutation, by a London founder of the 14th century, John Rofforde; the third has 'Sancta Margareta ora pro nobis,' and is the work of John Danyell of London, c. 1460; the fourth was cast in 1603 by Joseph Carter of Whitechapel; and the tenor is by Henry Knight, 1663.

The plate consists of a fine covered cup of the puritan type, hall-marked for 1639; a flagon and standing paten hall-marked respectively for 1729 and 1720 and both the gift of Mrs. Isabella Drake of Shardeloes.

The first book of the registers contains all entries between 1559 and 1718. The second book contains all between 1719 and 1774 except in the case of the marriages, which run to 1754. A third book contains

burials and baptisms between 1775 and 1812, while marriages are continued in two printed books running from 1754 to 1777 and from 1777 to 1812. Burials in woollen are contained in a separate book between 1711 and 1718 and there is a churchwardens' account book for the years 1711-87.

The church of St. John the Baptist at Little Missenden was granted by Gilbert Basset and Egelina his wife to the monastery of Bicester in 1182,¹⁰⁸ 'for the good of his own soul, that of Egelina his wife and those of his children,' and was confirmed to it in 1315 by Edward II.¹⁰⁹ The living was appropriated and a perpetual vicar appointed,¹⁰⁸ but the rectory and advowson of the vicarage have always followed the same descent. They remained in the possession of Bicester Monastery until the Dissolution,¹⁰⁸ after which they were granted in 1541 to Sybil Penn,¹⁰⁸ and followed the descent of the manor of Beamond (q.v.)¹⁰⁷ The present patron is Earl Howe.

Christ Church, Holmer Green, was erected in 1894, and is served from Holy Trinity, Penn Street, an ecclesiastical parish formed in 1850 from part of the civil parishes of Little Missenden and Penn.¹⁰⁸

There are Baptist chapels at Holmer Green, built in 1877, and at Little Kingshill, built in 1814, and a Wesleyan chapel.

— Brigginsshaw, as mentioned in *CHARITIES* a deed dated 10 May 1757, gave a yearly sum of 10s. out of his estate called Mill End for the poor. The annuity is now paid by Mr. W. W. T. Drake of Shardeloes, Amer-sham, and given in half-crowns to poor people.

In 1775 William Line, by will, charged his two meadows, called Elders and Calves Close, and an orchard adjoining at Little Kingshill with an annuity of £4 6s. 8d. for providing weekly bread for poor attending church and not receiving parish relief.

The annuity is paid by Mr. Clark the owner of the property charged, and distributed in bread to the clerk and six of the poorest and oldest people every Sunday.

In 1793 Sarah Bates by her will left a legacy, now represented by £100 consols with the official trustees, the income to be applied in providing clothes, bedding, medical aid, &c., to the poor, especially poor widows. The sum of £2 10s. is usually given in money.

In 1867 Miss Charlotte Raine by her will, proved on 20 May, bequeathed 2,000 shares in the Lambeth Waterworks Company, also a further 2,000 shares in the same company (subject to the life interest of a niece, who died in 1894), to the minister and churchwardens, the income to be distributed half yearly amongst the oldest and infirm poor (not exceeding ten for each bequest), the recipients to be selected for their respective lives, if considered deserving.

The trust funds are now represented by £14,208 15s. 10d. Metropolitan Water (s) Stock 3 per cent. with the official trustees, who also hold a sum of £147 8s. 10d. consols, representing the investment of the proceeds of three letters of allotment in respect of the said shares.

The annual income amounts to £429 19s. In

¹⁰⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 434.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 359.

¹⁰¹ Egerton Chart. 412.

¹⁰⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 189.

¹⁰⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VII.* xvi, 718.

¹⁰⁷ *Inst. Bks. P.R.O. Clergy List.*

¹⁰⁸ *Lond. Gam.* 11 Jan. 1850.

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1907 annuities were given to twenty beneficiaries at a cost of £431.

Charities founded by Miss Charlotte Raine by deeds of 1875 and 1876:—

(a) For the distribution of flannel; trust fund £157 17s. 11d. consols, producing yearly £3 18s. 8d.

(b) For soup and wine, &c.; trust fund, £209 3s. consols, annual income £5 4s. 4d., and

(c) For repairs, &c., of church; trust fund, £166 13s. 4d. consols, annual income £4 3s. 4d.

The several sums of stock are held by the official trustees.

In 1880 James Henry Bird, by deed, dated 7 December, declared the trusts of two houses in Paddington, being Nos. 108 and 110 Church Street, let on lease for a term of 79 years from Michaelmas 1842, at a yearly rental of £19.

The same donor by his will, proved in 1884, bequeathed a legacy represented by £725 14s. 8d. consols, with the official trustees. The annual rents and dividends, amounting together to £36 5s. 8d., to be expended on the repair of a tablet in the church, or maintaining the choir, bell-ringers, clerk, organist, for

sermons in commemoration of donor and his wife, and in necessities to the poor.

Educational Charities.—In 1849 Mrs. Penelope Hunt, by her will, proved in the P.C.C. 9 June, bequeathed £100 to the trustees of the National and Parochial School as part of the general income. Trust fund, £109 consols, with the official trustees, produces yearly £2 14s. 4d.

Miss Lydia Bates' Charity.—In 1868 a sum of £666 13s. 4d. consols, arising under the will of this testatrix, was transferred to the official trustees, the dividends to be applied as a permanent annual fund for the education of boys and girls residing within the parish. In 1898 the sum of £179 15s. 6d. stock was sold out to provide £200 towards the erection of new schools, the dividends on the remainder of the stock being accumulated to replace amount sold out. The amount with the official trustees is now £639 17s. 9d. consols.

The Holmer Green School consists of schoolhouse and land in hand, and an endowment of £395 17s. 3d. consols, with the official trustees, set aside in 1846. This school is in course of being enlarged.

STOKE MANDEVILLE

Stoches, xi cent; Stoke by Aylesbury, Stoke Maundevile, xiv cent.

The parish of Stoke Mandeville lies in the Vale of Aylesbury and now contains over 1,499 acres of land. Until 1885 some land at Prestwood formed a detached portion of the parish, but in that year it was attached for civil purposes to Great and Little Hampden parish.¹ This estate, lying close to Great Hampden, belonged from early times to the Hampdens, Alexander de Hampden in the 13th century granting common of pasture at Prestwood to the abbey of Missenden.² It afterwards became famous as the particular piece of land for which John Hampden refused to pay ship-money. In 1863 a memorial was put up near Honor End Farm, with the following inscription:—'For these lands in Stoke Mandeville John Hampden was assessed 20s. ship-money, levied by command of the king without authority of law, 4 August 1635. By resisting this claim of the king in legal strife, he upheld the rights of the people under the law and became entitled to grateful remembrance. His work on earth ended after the conflict in Chalgrove Field, the 18 June 1643. And he rests in Great Hampden Church.'

The main part of the parish is very flat, the land lying for the most part about 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum.³ The greater part, particularly in the north, is laid down in permanent grass, with about 497 acres of arable land and no wood.⁴ The subsoil is Gault and Upper Greensand and the surface stiff wet clay. It is well watered by a small tributary of the Thame which runs through the parish from south-west to north-east and flows close to the old church on the east side, serving the ditches of a rectangular inclosure near to the church and extending round the churchyard. There are moats at Brook Farm and Moat Farm. Two high roads pass through the parish, one from

Aylesbury to Wendover, and the other from Aylesbury to Princes Risborough. The latter passes through the village of Stoke Mandeville. The Great Western Railway and the Metropolitan Extension Railway, which has a station at Stoke Mandeville, cross the parish. Stoke Mandeville parish was inclosed by Act of Parliament, the award being given on 13 December 1798.⁵

The houses in the village are mostly of red brick, one or two of the 18th century, and some thatched. The old church lies on low ground three-quarters of a mile south of the village and was for this reason deserted, a new church being built in the village. Stoke House, now a farm, is a pretty square 18th-century building with parts of a moat on the west and north sides lying between the village and the old church. Stoke Grange to the north of the village, Hall End to the west, and Whitethorne Farm, are outlying farms.

In the time of King Edward the Confessor the manor of **STOKE MANDEVILLE** was held by Bishop Wulfwig⁶ of Dorchester, and after the Norman Conquest William I restored it to the episcopal see, then held by his favourite Remigius. The grant was confirmed to Lincoln by William Rufus,⁷ and the bishops remained the overlords of the manor till the 17th century.⁸ At the time of the Domesday Survey,⁹ however, the manor of Stoke Mandeville was appendant to the church of Aylesbury, a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral.

At the close of the 12th century the manor was held in two parts of the Bishop of Lincoln, each of his tenants holding the fee of one knight.

One moiety was in the hands of a Kentish family, taking their name from Eynsford. In 1166¹⁰ a William de Eynsford held six knights' fees of the

¹ Local Govt. Bd. Order 25 Mar. 1885.

² Harl. MS. 3688.

³ *Ord. Surv.*

⁴ *Inf. from Bd. of Agric. (1905).*

⁵ *Com. Incl. Award.*

⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks. i, 233b.*

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 270.

⁸ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245b; *Feud. Aids*, i, 98; *Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser.*

2), cclxxxiv, no. 100; *ibid. Misc. dxxx*,

4 Chas. I, pt. 25, no. 127.

⁹ *V.C.H. Bucks. i, 233b.*

¹⁰ *Red Bk. Exch. (Rolls Ser.)*, 376.

Bishop of Lincoln, and his heir appears to have been called Roger, since at the close of the 12th century a William son of Roger held one fee in Stoke Mandeville.¹¹ This William may be identified with the William de Eynsford who made a grant of one virgate of land in Stoke in 1199.¹² At his death, which took place before 1231,¹³ he held the 'manor of Stoke,' which was delivered by the king's escheators to the Bishop of Lincoln during the minority of the heir, another William de Eynsford,¹⁴ who presumably was seised of this part of Stoke when he came of age. He seems to have left two daughters¹⁵ as his heirs, one of whom married Nicholas de Cryel and the other William Heringaud.¹⁶ The heiress of William Heringaud was Christiana, the wife of William de Kirkeby,¹⁷ and she appears to have inherited the moiety of the manor of Stoke Mandeville. A certain Agnes daughter of Robert de la Lese of Eynsford had some right in it, however, since in 1282¹⁸ she quitclaimed it to both Nicholas son of Nicholas de Cryel and to William de Kirkeby and Christiana. In 1301 or 1302,¹⁹ William de Kirkeby died seised of this moiety of the manor, held in right of his wife and she held it alone in 1302-3.²⁰ In 1309,²¹ however, she granted her moiety of the manor to William Inge. During her life she was to hold it of him at the rent of £10 a year,²² the reversion being to William and his heirs, to hold of Christiana and her heirs. William Inge granted the moiety to his daughter Joan on her marriage with Eudo la Zouche.²³ Eudo died in 1326,²⁴ and Joan claimed the manor as part of her own inheritance. She afterwards married Sir William Moton,²⁵ who held half a knight's fee in Stoke Mandeville in 1346.²⁶ Another Sir William Moton, probably his grandson, died seised in 1393²⁷ of a manor in Stoke Mandeville called *OLDBURY MANOR*,²⁸ which may probably be identified with the 'moiety of the manor of Stoke Mandeville,' leaving a son Robert as his heir, a minor at his father's death.

Robert Moton obtained seisin of the manor,²⁹ but it was claimed by³⁰ William la Zouche of 'Totteneyz,' the grandson of Eudo la Zouche and Joan. William based his claim on the original grant by William Inge which was made to Eudo and Joan³¹ and the heirs of their bodies, so that her heir by Sir William Moton had no right in the manor. The suit was protracted since Robert Moton was abroad on the king's service³² in 1402, but William la Zouche was apparently successful, as he held the manor of Stoke Mandeville in 1409.³³ In that year he granted it to Henry, Bishop

of Winchester, Hugh Mortimer, Robert Isham, and John Neubold. From these feoffees this manor must shortly have passed to Henry Brudenell, a younger son of William Brudenell of Aynho.³⁴ By his will, dated 22 Jan. 1430-1, he left the manor of Oldbury to his third son Robert,³⁵ from whom descended the Brudenells of Stoke Mandeville.³⁶ Robert was succeeded by his son John Brudenell, who died in 1533,³⁷ but the manor is not mentioned among the lands held at his death.³⁸

His grandson Francis,³⁹ however, died seised of the manor of Oldbury,⁴⁰ and it passed to his son and grandson, both called Edmund. Both Francis and Edmund his son held the manor of Oldbury,⁴¹ and another manor in the parish called *NEWBURY* (q.v.), names which had disappeared by 1813,⁴² and it seems probable that the two moieties of the manor of Stoke Mandeville were united. In various settlements made by the Brudenells the 'manor of Stoke Mandeville'⁴³ is the name used apparently for the same property which had been included under Newbury and Oldbury. Edmund Brudenell the grandson of Francis, together with Joyce his wife, quitclaimed the manor in 1628⁴⁴ to Christopher Parkins and his heirs, but this may only have been a settlement. Lipscomb⁴⁵ gives 1639 as the date of the sale by Edmund Brudenell to Thomas Harborne.

In 1712⁴⁶ Thomas Jackson was said by the same historian to have been in possession of Stoke Mandeville and he died there in 1723. He was possibly succeeded by his son John, who endowed a charity in the parish.⁴⁷ In 1745, however, John Smith held the manor and obtained a quitclaim from Henry Eggleton and Dorothy his wife.⁴⁸ It seems probable that he may have been succeeded by William Wiseman Clarke, whose grandmother Elizabeth was a daughter of another John Smith, possibly his father.⁴⁹ William Wiseman Clarke, the great-grandson of Elizabeth, held the manor of Stoke Mandeville in the latter part of the 18th century,⁵⁰ and in 1790⁵¹ he sold it to Charles Lucas of Aylesbury, who was lord of the manor in 1813.⁵² His daughter held it in 1862,⁵³ and it is now the property of Mr. Edward Lucas.

The other fee in Stoke Mandeville was held of the Bishop of Lincoln at the close of the 13th century, by Geoffrey de Mandeville in dower of his wife. In 1254,⁵⁴ however, he was said to hold the whole of Stoke, but this is probably due to an omission, since the other moiety was held separately and directly from the

¹¹ *Teste de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

¹² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 23.

¹³ *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 564.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1231-4, p. 112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1272-9, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 258b.

¹⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹⁸ Feet of F. Div. Co. East. 10 Edw. I, nos. 42, 43, 45.

¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 30 Edw. I, no. 31.

²⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 98.

²¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 3 Edw. II.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. II, no. 31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ De Banco R. Trin. 6 Edw. II, m. 147 d.; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 1 Edw. III.

²⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.

²⁷ Nicholls, *Hist. and Antiq. of Leics.* iv, pt. 2, p. 870. The second William

Moton is omitted in the pedigree in *Visit. of Nott.* (Harl. Soc. iv), 128, 129.

²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 16 Ric. II (pt. 1), no. 21.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, p. 175.

³⁰ De Banco R. 570, m. 268 d.; *ibid.*

m. 442 d.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, p. 175.

³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. V, no. 46.

³⁴ Collins, *Peerage of Engl.* (ed. Brydges),

iii, 488.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Visit. of Bucks.* 1566 (ed. Metcalfe).

³⁷ Exch. Inq. p.m. bde. 29, no. 4.

³⁸ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 447.

Pedigree of Brudenell from Cardigan

MSS.

³⁹ According to the *Visit. of Bucks.*

1566, Francis was the great-grandson of

this John Brudenell.

⁴⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser 2), cclxxxiv, no. 100.

⁴¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 8 Jas. I; *ibid.* Trin. 16 Jas. I; Chan. Inq. p.m. Misc.

dxxx, pt. 25, no. 127.

⁴² Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 635.

⁴³ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Chas. I;

Recov. R. East. 4 Chas. I.

⁴⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Chas. I;

Recov. R. East. 4 Chas. I.

⁴⁵ *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 448.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 449.

⁴⁷ Cf. Charities of Stoke Mandeville.

⁴⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 18 Geo. II.

⁴⁹ Burke, *Commoners*, i, 110.

⁵⁰ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 635; Burke,

Commoners, i, 110.

⁵¹ Lysons, loc. cit.

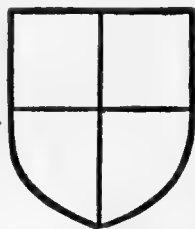
⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Sheahan, *Topog. of Bucks.* 197.

⁵⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Bishop of Lincoln. Geoffrey died before 1269⁶⁴ leaving his son John de Mandeville as his heir. The manor and parish seem to have taken their name from Geoffrey de Mandeville, but his family did not hold the fee for long, since John held no lands in Buckinghamshire at his death.⁶⁵ In 1284-6⁶⁶ his moiety was held by John de Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, but it has not been traced how he obtained it. Shortly afterwards he granted it to his brother William de Kirkeby and his wife Christiana for their lives.⁶⁷ William died seised in 1301 or 1302,⁶⁸ and Christiana held it alone in 1302-3⁶⁹ and 1316.⁶⁰ William de Kirkeby was his brother's heir;⁶¹ hence on Christiana's death some time after 1316⁶² the Bishop of Ely's moiety of Stoke Mandeville passed to the heirs of William. He had no children and his lands were divided amongst his four sisters,⁶³ Stoke Mandeville forming part of the share of his eldest sister Margaret. She had married Walter Doseville,⁶⁴ but both she and her husband predeceased Christiana. Her eldest son John died without direct heirs,⁶⁵ and Hugh Doseville his brother⁶⁶ succeeded to the moiety of the manor, which seems to have been settled on Hugh in 1313.⁶⁷ In 1314⁶⁸ he enfeoffed Master John Doseville and Robert Doseville and the heirs of Robert of its reversion. Robert was in seisin in 1332,⁶⁹ when Robert son of William Grimbaud, the descendant of another of the heiresses of William de Kirkeby, claimed a moiety of the manor of Stoke Mandeville from him. Hugh Doseville was called to give warranty,⁷⁰ but the suit was indefinitely postponed, as one of the parties was under age.



MANDEVILLE. Quarterly or and gules.

The Dosevilles, however, were not dispossessed, since in 1346⁷¹ Nicholas Doseville had succeeded Robert. The manor appears to have undergone a further subdivision, since three tenants appear, and the Dosevilles held only a half of a knight's fee.⁷² Nicholas Doseville seems to have been the last of that name to hold the moiety of Stoke Mandeville manor, and possibly left two daughters as his heiresses. The moiety seems to have been the inheritance of Joan the wife of Robert Derwalshaw and Cecilia the wife of Sir Robert le Strange.⁷³ In 1372 the latter complained that she had been disseised of the manor of Stoke Mandeville by Robert Derwalshaw and Joan, but in 1374⁷⁴ Robert le Strange and his wife and her heirs quitclaimed a moiety of the manor to Derwalshaw and Joan and her heirs. These latter granted the reversion, to fall in on their deaths, to John de Kyngesfold, who in turn sold it to Alice Perrers the celebrated

mistress of Edward III.⁷⁵ She deputed John Bernes and others to receive her interest from Robert Derwalshaw⁷⁶ on the understanding that they should re-enfeoff Robert and Joan for their lives. This was done, but on the attainder of Alice Perrers the moiety of the manor was seized by the king's escheators,⁷⁷ though she had no right in it, but only in the reversion. She, however, also held two-thirds of a messuage in Stoke Mandeville⁷⁸ of Robert Derwalshaw. In 1378⁷⁹ Robert, his wife having died, obtained restitution of his moiety to hold for life without paying rent, on condition that he kept it without waste. The reversion was vested in the king,⁸⁰ who, however, granted it in 1380 in fee simple to Sir William de Windsor,⁸¹ who had married Alice Perrers. To whom it afterwards passed does not appear. Sir William apparently held no lands in Buckinghamshire at his death,⁸² and the family of Brudenell seem to have obtained possession of this moiety of Stoke Mandeville at this time. It seems possible that it was known as the manor of Newbury. Edmund Brudenell, the eldest son of William Brudenell of Aynho and Raans,⁸³ was a Clerk of Parliament during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, and is said⁸⁴ to have held the manor, but it is not mentioned in his will, dated 21 June 1425. His only daughter and heiress Alice⁸⁵ became a nun, and his lands in Stoke Mandeville may have passed to his brother Henry, whose descendant Francis Brudenell of Stoke Mandeville died seised of the manors of Newbury and Oldbury in 1601-2.⁸⁶ The two manors were held together from this time, and the manor of Newbury followed the same descent as Oldbury (q.v.).

In 1254⁸⁷ Geoffrey de Mandeville held the view of frankpledge in Stoke Mandeville and paid 18s. a year for the right. In 1616-17 Edmund Brudenell obtained a grant of view of frankpledge to be held twice a year for his tenants in Stoke Mandeville, Ellesborough, and Little Kimble.⁸⁸ The Clarkes of Ardington also held view of frankpledge and many other rights.⁸⁹ William de Kirkeby⁹⁰ obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne lands in Stoke Halling, a hamlet in the parish, from Edward I.

The manor of *BURLEYS* apparently took its name from the family of Burley who held land in Stoke Mandeville in the early part of the 14th century. It seems to have been held at that time of the Kirkebys, but afterwards, about 1346, of the Bishop of Lincoln himself. In 1304⁹¹ Peter de Leycestre died seised of lands in Stoke Halling, held of Robert de Burley and his heirs, and in 1313⁹² the same Robert obtained certain lands in Stoke Mandeville from William Billy. In 1346⁹³ William de Burley's name appears as paying the feudal aid due from one knight's fee in Stoke Mandeville,

⁶⁴ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 495.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Edw. I*, no. 154.

⁶⁶ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

⁶⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 30 Edw. I, no. 31.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 98. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 112.

⁶¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 18 Edw. I, no. 37.

⁶² *Feud. Aids*, i, 112.

⁶³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 30 Edw. I, no. 31;

Abbrev. Rot. Orig. (Rec. Com.), i, 123.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ De Banco R. Hil. 5 & 6 Edw. II, m.

152.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Trin. no. 286, m. 139 d.

⁶⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 7 Edw. II.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. II.

⁶⁹ De Banco R. 286, m. 139 d.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Assize R. 1477, m. 46.

⁷⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 47 Edw. III.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, p. 226.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 1 Ric. II, no. 30.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, p. 226.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 503.

⁸² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 8 Ric. II, no. 38.

⁸³ Collins, *Peerage of Engl.* (ed. Brydges), iii, 488.

⁸⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii.

⁸⁵ Collins, *Peerage* (ed. Brydges), iii, 438.

⁸⁶ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 447;

Pedigree of Brudenell from Cardigan MSS.

⁸⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

⁸⁸ Pat. 14 Jas. I, pt. 13.

⁸⁹ Recov. R. Mich. 2 Geo. IV.

⁹⁰ Chart. R. 89, m. 3, no. 23 (24 Edw. I).

⁹¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 32 Edw. I, no. 42.

⁹² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 6 Edw. II,

nos. 17, 18.

⁹³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 123.



GREAT MISSENDEN CHURCH : NAVE LOOKING EAST



STOKE MANDEVILLE CHURCH : INTERIOR LOOKING EAST

which had formerly been held by Christiana de Kirkeby. The division of the two knights' fees belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln at this time suggests that a mistake was made in the return, since it seems unlikely that only one fee remained to the heirs of William and Christiana de Kirkeby respectively, while the other fee had been alienated to the Burleys. More probably William de Burley, who may have previously held of the Kirkebys, now held his land directly of the Bishop of Lincoln, and so appears for the first time as paying the feudal aid due from his land. In 1354⁹⁴ Alice de Burley, possibly the widow of William, held land in Stoke Mandeville. In the 15th century the manor of Burleys came into the possession of the elder branch of the Brudenell family. Edmund Brudenell of Raans,⁹⁵ nephew of that Henry Brudenell who first held the manor of Oldbury, granted Burleys Manor in 1452 to Edmund Rede and others, presumably as trustees. Edmund Brudenell died in 1470⁹⁶ and was succeeded by his son Drew,⁹⁷ but whether the latter ever was seised of the manor is not certain. At his death⁹⁸ no mention is made of it, but it afterwards came into the possession of his nephew Thomas, who inherited part of his lands. Drew's son and heir, Edmund, died, leaving no children,⁹⁹ and in 1538 Thomas Brudenell held a court baron for Burleys Manor.¹⁰⁰ In the next year he sold it¹⁰¹ to John Bosse, in whose name the manorial court was held.¹⁰² From John Bosse¹⁰³ it passed to his descendants Richard, Francis, Samuel, and Thomas Bosse in turn.¹⁰⁴ The last-named, together with his wife Elizabeth, sold the manor of Burleys in 1617 to Alexander Jennings,¹⁰⁵ who was holding it in 1640,¹⁰⁶ when his land was assessed at the yearly value of 50s. Lands in Stoke Mandeville were conveyed by Francis Jennings of Stoke Mandeville to Richard Jennings in 1653,¹⁰⁷ but the manor of Burleys is not mentioned in the indenture. In 1664¹⁰⁸ the land formerly held by Alexander Jennings was held by Anne Jennings, widow, and Michael Jennings. In the 18th century the manor was held by John Smith¹⁰⁹ with the manor of Stoke Mandeville, and afterwards passed to the Clarkes of Ardington.

The family of Stonor acquired lands in Stoke Mandeville and Stoke Halling during the 13th century, and their lands were afterwards called the manor of STONORS. In 1297-8¹¹⁰ Robert Albon and his wife Alice sold some land in Stoke Halling to Peter de Leycester. Peter died about 1304,¹¹¹ seised of several tenements there, which he held of various lords, and they passed to his kinswoman Juliana de Leycester the wife of Walter de Bernthorp. The latter was presented in 1305-6¹¹² for obstructing a common road at

Stoke Halling, but in 1323, after the death of Juliana,¹¹³ Robert Albon released to John de Stonor his whole right in the land that had belonged to Peter de Leycester or Gilbert Poygant; Peter de Barton and Nicholas de Leycester also quitclaimed¹¹⁴ tenements in Stoke Halling to John de Stonor. Juliana's husband held his wife's lands for life. Thus the Stonors seem to have succeeded Juliana de Leycester, and both Peter de Leycester and John de Stonor held some of their lands in Stoke of the Burleys.¹¹⁵ John de Stonor died in 1354¹¹⁶ and was succeeded by his son and heir, another John de Stonor. The lands in Stoke Mandeville passed after his death to his son Edmund Stonor,¹¹⁷ who in turn was succeeded by his son John. The latter, who was a minor, died before he attained his majority,¹¹⁸ and his lands passed to his younger brother Ralph in 1389 or 1390.¹¹⁹ Ralph enfeoffed William Sutton and others of lands and tenements in Stoke Mandeville,¹²⁰ but this was presumably merely a settlement, since he died seised of tenements there in 1394.¹²¹ This, however, seems to be the last time that the Stonors are mentioned as holding this estate.

In the 15th century the manor of Stonors in Stoke Mandeville apparently came into the possession of the Brudenells. Edmund Brudenell, who had held the manor of Burleys before 1452,¹²² does not seem to have held Stonors Manor as well, and possibly it remained with the Stonors until the time of Thomas Stonor, who in 1470¹²³ sold the manor of Bierton-Stonors in the neighbouring parish of Bierton. Thomas Brudenell, however, held the manor of Stonors about 1539, apparently in right of his wife. She was Elizabeth Fitz William,¹²⁴ and it does not seem likely that she can have had any right in the manor except by a marriage settlement. They sold it in 1540,¹²⁵ together with Burleys Manor, to John Bosse, from which time the two manors were held together.

A mill is mentioned in Domesday Book,¹²⁶ and was then worth 10s. a year, but to which moiety of Stoke Mandeville it afterwards appertained does not appear. In 1628¹²⁷ Edmund Brudenell, who was then seised of the whole manor, held a water-mill amongst the appurtenances.

The church of *ST. MARY* is a *CHURCHES* modern structure consisting of a chancel, nave, south aisle, and south-west tower, and is constructed of flints with brick quoins and dressings to the windows. It was built in 1886, and is designed in a style distantly approaching that of the 13th century.

The *OLD CHURCH* consists of a chancel 24 ft. by 12 ft., and a nave 40 ft. by 17 ft. 9 in., within the western end of which is built a late brick tower, a

⁹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 28 Edw. III (1st not.), no. 58.

⁹⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 447.

⁹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 9 & 10 Edw. IV, no. 34.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, nos. 563, 564.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* no. 564; Collins, *Peerage* (ed. Bridges), iii, 491.

¹⁰⁰ B.M. Add. Chart. 47369.

¹⁰¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 31 Hen. VIII.

¹⁰² B.M. Add. Chart. 47369, m. 2.

¹⁰³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxviii, no. 4.

¹⁰⁴ B.M. Add. Chart. 47369, m. 3;

Feet of F. Bucks. East. 27 Eliz.; B.M. Add. Chart. 47369, m. 567; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), Misc. dviii, no. 21.

¹⁰⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 15 Jas. I.

¹⁰⁶ (P.R.O.) Lay Subs. R. bdle. 80, no. 302.

¹⁰⁷ Close, 1653, pt. 39, no. 30.

¹⁰⁸ (P.R.O.) Lay Subs. R. bdle. 80, no. 336.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Stoke Mandeville Manor.

¹¹⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 26 Edw. I.

¹¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 32 Edw. I, no. 42.

¹¹² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 298.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 348.

¹¹⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 10 Edw. II.

¹¹⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 32 Edw. I, no. 42; *ibid.* 28 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 58.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Visit. of Oxon.* (Harl. Soc. v), 143; Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Ric. II, no. 48.

¹¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Ric. II, no. 48.

¹¹⁹ *Coram Rege* R. Mich. 20 Ric. II, m. 26.

¹²⁰ Close, 14 Ric. II, m. 38 d.

¹²¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Ric. II, no. 39.

¹²² *Ibid.* 9 & 10 Edw. IV, no. 34.

¹²³ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 9 Edw. IV.

¹²⁴ Collins, *Peerage* (ed. Bridges), iii, 491.

¹²⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 31 Hen. VIII.

¹²⁶ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 233.

¹²⁷ *Recov. R. East.* 4 Chas. I; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 4 Chas. I.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

south aisle 7 ft. 6 in. wide, and a half-timbered north porch. The narrow chancel arch appears to be the only remaining architectural feature of a small 12th-century church which consisted of a nave of the same size and a chancel somewhat shorter than the present ones. In the first half of the 13th century the chancel was lengthened, but the side walls were probably not rebuilt, and the south aisle was added in the first quarter of the 14th century, and the large north-east window of the nave probably dates from the middle of the same century. In the 15th century the nave walls were raised, and a low-pitched roof put on, but the only clearstory windows appear to be of much later date. The tower belongs to the last half of the 17th century.

The east window of the chancel is of three cinquefoiled lights with trefoiled lights over, beneath a two-centred head, and is of 15th-century date. The north wall is without openings, but the south contains two windows. That to the east is a 13th-century lancet with a wide internal splay and external rebate, and beneath it is a 13th-century piscina with a shouldered head, and a drain in the sill of the recess. The other window is square-headed, of two trefoiled lights, the jambs being of 14th-century date, but the head of the 15th. The mullions and jambs, both external and internal, are moulded, the latter with a pointed bow-tel. Between these windows is a very narrow doorway with a chamfered three-centred head, probably of the 15th century. The chancel arch is round-headed, 5 ft. 9 in. wide, of a single square order with a chamfered and beaded abacus, which is continued on the west face up to the north wall of the nave. On either side are two small roughly-cut squints, that on the north side having a cinquefoiled head about midway in the thickness of the wall. It has been blocked with a thin brick wall of recent date, and the southern squint is entirely built up on the west side.

The north wall of the nave, which probably retains in the lower part its 12th-century walling, has one large 14th-century window near the east end, from which the tracery has been removed and replaced by a wooden frame. The north door is of 14th-century date, with a continuous wave-mould in the jambs and two-centred head. The porch is perhaps of the 15th century, with a low-pitched roof, which cuts into the label of the doorway. It is entirely of timber construction. The south arcade is of three bays with octagonal piers, and moulded capitals and bases, the latter very plain. The arches are two-centred, of two chamfered orders, both chamfers having carefully designed stops, those in the inner order taking the form of heads of men or beasts, and the label of ogee section has grotesque human heads for drips. The west window of the aisle is of late 15th-century date, with three cinquefoiled lights under a three-centred arch. The two clearstory windows are square-headed and perfectly plain, probably 18th-century insertions, one at the south-east to light the pulpit, the other at the north-west to light a west gallery. The south aisle has a 15th-century east window of two cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a square head; to the north of it is a small image bracket. In the south wall the eastern window is of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over of flowing tracery, c. 1325, and just to the east of the south doorway is a single three-

centred light of late date. West of the doorway is a square-headed 15th-century window of two cinquefoiled lights, and rather coarse detail. The south doorway has a two-centred head of a single hollow-chamfered order, and is of the date of the arcade.

The east wall of the tower is of plastered brickwork, and is carried on a pointed arch which springs on the north from a chamfered respond with an engaged shaft, and on the south from a complete pier of the same detail, set a little to the west of the second column of the south arcade, but to the north of its line. It stands free on all sides, the wall which it carries butting against the north face of the arcade, the label of which is cut away from this point. The mouldings of arch and pier are carefully worked in plaster on a brick core, the details of the capitals being of the Tuscan order, and above the arch is a moulded string breaking up over the crown. The stair is on the north side, being carried up from the first floor in an octagonal turret at the north-east, finished with a domed cap of brickwork. The windows of the belfry stage are of two pointed lights under a round head with a pierced spandrel, and there is a similar window in the second story on the west.

The chancel roof is underdrawn with a plaster ceiling and covered with red tiles; the nave roof is plain work of 15th-century date, and the aisle roof is probably contemporary with it. In the chancel arch are the marks of a screen, and also in the east respond of the south arcade.

The church has been abandoned since the building of the new church, and is now in a deplorable condition. The nave roof is rotten and full of holes, the walls cracked and sodden with rain, and the whole building smothered in ivy, which has pushed its way through the roofs and unglazed windows. A few decaying pews remain in the nave, which is open to any chance comer, and desecrated with the scribbled names of trippers.¹²⁸

A few fittings taken from it are preserved in the new church. The font is octagonal, of the 15th century, with square panels on the bowl, the alternate panels containing a rose, a leaf pattern, a blank shield, and what seems to be the representation of a shrine with a gabled top, on which is a cresting of trefoiled arches, with a cross at either end.

There is also a canopied tomb of Jacobean style to three children of Edmund Brudenell, with a rhyming inscription:—

Cruell death by mortal blades
 Hathe slaine foure of my Tender babes
 Whereof Mary Thomas and Dorothee
 Within this place there bodies lie
 But God which never man deceived
 Hath their souls to him receaved
 This death to them is greatest gayne
 Increasinge their joy freeing them from payne
 O Dorathie my blessed childe
 Which lovingly lyved and dyed mild
 Thou wert my tenth even God's own choys
 In the exceedingly I did rejoyse
 Upon Good friday at night my doll depted
 Adew my sweet and most true hearted
 My bodye with thine I desyre should lye
 When God hath appointed me to dye

¹²⁸ That such an interesting building, with its beautiful south arcade, and long history, should be left to its fate in this manner is nothing less than a public disgrace to the parish.

AYLESBURY HUNDRED WESTON TURVILLE

Hoping through Christ he will provide
For my soul wth thyne in heaven to abide
And I your father Edmund Brudenell
Untill the resurrection with the will dwell
And so adew my sweet lambs three
Untill in heaven I shall you see
Such is my hope of Richard my son
Whose body lieth buried in King's Sutton.

There are five bells, the treble and second by Ellis Knight, 1633, the third of 1730, the fourth of 1659, an early work of the younger Henry Knight, and the tenor by Ellis Knight, 1636.

A plated set of communion vessels is in use; other silver plate exists but cannot, it is alleged, be found.

The registers are said to be lost.

The chapel of Stoke Mandeville **ADFOWSON** was originally appendant to the prebendal church of Aylesbury, together with the chapelries of Bierton, Buckland, and Quarrendon.¹²⁰ In 1266¹²⁰ the four chapels were granted by the Bishop of Lincoln to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and in 1294¹²¹ a vicarage was instituted of Bierton Church, with the chapels of Stoke Mandeville, Buckland, and Quarrendon. A separate chaplain was to be found by the vicar of Bierton to serve the chapel of Stoke Mandeville,¹²² the altar dues being worth 7 marks a year. In 1858 the chapels of Stoke Mandeville and Buckland¹²³ were separated from Bierton, and formed separate benefices. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln are still patrons of the living, which is now a vicarage. The rectorial estate has belonged since 1294 to the dean and chapter. It was leased by them in the 18th century to the governors of Christ's Hospital, London, who held it in 1813 and 1862.¹²⁴ The rectorial estate became the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1870.¹²⁴

A detached portion of Stoke Mandeville parish, at Prestwood, was amalgamated in 1852¹²⁵ with parts of Hughenden and Great Missenden parishes, and assigned to the Consolidated Chapelry of Prestwood, which forms a separate ecclesiastical parish. The living is a vicarage, of which Mr. C. D. Disraeli is the patron. The church of the Holy Trinity was built shortly before the formation of the parish,

and was consecrated in 1849. It was enlarged in 1885.

There is a Wesleyan chapel in Stoke Mandeville, built in 1818.

George Shaw,¹²⁶ who was curate of Stoke Mandeville and Buckland in 1774, attained considerable fame as a naturalist in the 18th century. He was the younger son of the Rev. Timothy Shaw, the vicar of Bierton, and was born in 1751, and as a boy showed his love for natural history. He was ordained deacon in 1774, but afterwards abandoned the Church as a profession, to study medicine at Edinburgh. He then went to Oxford as botanical lecturer. He took part in 1788 in the founding of the Linnaean Society in London, where he had practised for a year, and became one of the vice-presidents of the society. In 1791 Shaw was appointed assistant-keeper of the natural history section of the British Museum, and was keeper from 1807 till his death in 1813. He was an indefatigable worker, and the writer of many scientific papers and books.

In 1726 John Jackson, for carrying out the desire of his late father,

CHARITIES Thomas Jackson, by deed settled a yearly rent-charge of £1 for providing 120 twopenny loaves of good wholesome bread for the poor on Easter Day. The rent-charge is paid out of three cottages situated near the Bull Inn.

Charity of Annabella Ligo, founded by indenture of 15 October 1733, consists of 3 roods in this parish, let at £2 a year. In 1907 45 poor persons received gifts of bread in respect of these charities.

Unknown donor—In the Parliamentary returns of 1786, a yearly sum of £2 10s. was stated to be distributed to the poor of this parish, who also had a right to forty days' thrashing of wheat, barley, and bean straw. In respect of this charity, the sum of £5 a year was formerly paid by the Governors of Christ's Hospital under a lease from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln of the rectorial estate of this parish, which became the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1870.

The charge was redeemed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1880 by the transfer to the official trustees of £167 new 3 per cent. stock, now consols, now producing yearly £4 3s. 4d., which is distributed in gifts of money.

WESTON TURVILLE

Weston, xi cent. ; Weston Turville, xiii cent.

The parish of Weston Turville contains 2,323½ acres of land,¹ of which rather more than 1,070 are arable, the rest, with the exception of about 7½ acres of wood, being laid down in permanent pasture.² The subsoil is Gault, Upper Greensand, and Chalk, the surface being variable, either loam or clay. The population is occupied in agriculture and duck breeding. A little straw-plait is still made, but the industry is gradually dying out. The parish is well watered by various streams running north, one of which supplies the water for the mill. There are

moats at the Manor House, Manor Farm at West End, and near Broughton Farm. The Wendover branch of the Grand Junction Canal crosses the parish, and there is a large reservoir belonging to the Canal Company in the extreme south. The land lies for the most part between 200 ft. and 300 ft. above the Ordnance datum, and the village stands 300 ft. above the same datum. The Akeman Street, which runs from Aylesbury to Tring, and the main road from Aylesbury to Wendover, which follows the line of the Lower Icknield Way for part of its course, cross the parish, and the village of Weston Turville lies at

¹²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 304.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Linc. Epis. Reg. Bp. Sutton's Inst.*

¹²³ *Rec. of Bucks.* i, 233-45.

¹²⁴ *Sheahan, Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 109.

¹²⁵ *Lysons, Magna Brit.* i, 635; *Sheahan, Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 199.

¹²⁶ *Cf. Charities of Stoke Mandeville.*

¹²⁶ *Lond. Gen.* 9 April 1852 (1019).

¹²⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* li, 436.

¹ *Ord Surv.*

² *Inf. supplied by Bd. of Agric.* (1905).

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

the crossing. The nearest station is Stoke Mandeville, on the Metropolitan Extension Railway, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. A Roman amphora and other objects were discovered in the rectory garden. The parish was inclosed by Act of Parliament, the award bearing the date 5 July 1800.³ The manor-house is the residence of Mr. T. C. H. Hedderwick.

In the time of the Confessor⁴ **MANORS WESTON TURVILLE** was held in four parts. Earl Leofwine held $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides of land himself, and two of his men held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides; 2 hides were held by a man of Earl Tosti; Godric the sheriff held $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides as one manor, and two of his men held another $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides, making a total of 20 hides. After the Norman Conquest⁵ Weston Turville belonged to the lands of the Bishop of Bayeux, and the earlier division into four parts was obliterated. After the forfeiture of the bishop, Weston Turville was presumably granted to one of the Counts of Meulan, Earls of Leicester, and in this way became part of the honour of Leicester.⁶ Simon de Montfort as Earl of Leicester⁷ held it early in the 13th century, but after his death the earldom was granted to Edmund of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III.⁸ The latter died seised of three knights' fees⁹ in Weston Turville. From his time the honour of Leicester was held by the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, so that Weston Turville became part of the Duchy of Lancaster.¹⁰ Under the Inclosure Act of 1798 a piece of ground, rather more than half an acre in extent, was allotted to the Duchy of Lancaster. It was to equal one-twelfth of the common and waste lands and grounds as a 'compensation for all rights and interest of his said Majesty as Lord of the Manor.' This $\frac{1}{2}$ acre was sold shortly before 1862 to Mr. John Eldridge of Weston Turville. The paramount lordship presumably passed with it, but apparently no homage had been done to the duchy from any of the manors in Weston Turville since the inclosure of the common fields.¹¹ The Earl of Leicester in the 13th century held the pleas of *namio vetito* and the view of frankpledge in Weston Turville. In 1254 the rights were said to have belonged to the overlord of the manor since the Conquest, except for a time when the honour of Leicester was in the hands of the king.¹² This presumably refers to the time just before Simon de Montfort was made Earl of Leicester.

In the reign of Edward I the lords of the honour also claimed to have the return of writs in the manor of Weston Turville.¹³

The Bishop of Bayeux¹⁴ had subinfeudated all his land in Weston Turville in 1086. One hide was held by the Bishop of Lisieux, and the remainder of the land was in the hands of Roger, who may have been the Roger from whom the Bolebecs traced their descent in the female line. His son was named Anketill, and Roger son of Anketill was said to be in seisin¹⁵ of the manor of Weston Turville in the time

of Henry I. Roger's daughter Isabella married a Bolebec, and through this marriage his descendant Herbert de Bolebec claimed the manor in 1212.¹⁶ Whether his family ever held it in right of Isabella is not clear, but at the time of his claim the Turvilles were in seisin. How they became possessed of it is also lost in obscurity, but they may have obtained it through another daughter and heiress of Roger son of Anketill. William de Turville held the manor in the reign of King John,¹⁷ and in 1206 he granted it for the term of thirteen years to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex. William de Turville was succeeded by his son William, who had, however, died before 1222, apparently leaving no children.¹⁸ His heirs were Cecilia the wife of Reginald or Roger de Croft, Isabella the wife of Walhamet le Poure, and Petronilla the wife of Simon de Crewelton or Turville, who were presumably his sisters.¹⁹ The manor of Weston Turville was divided between Cecilia and Petronilla, but the land was divided amongst the three heiresses,²⁰ who seem each to have held one fee.²¹ The moiety of the manor assigned to Petronilla obtained the name of **WESTON MOLYNS**. Simon de Crewelton seems to have assumed the name of his wife's family and to have transmitted it to his descendants. In 1236 he and Petronilla obtained a quitclaim²² from Gilbert de Bolebec of his claim to Weston Turville. They were succeeded by William de Turville before 1278,²³ and he in turn was succeeded by Nicholas de Turville before 1296-7.²⁴ William was sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1288 and 1291,²⁵ and Nicholas in 1293.²⁶ The latter granted the manor to Hugh de Turpleton in 1329,²⁷ but before 1333-4 it had passed to Sir John de Molyms.²⁸ Walter son of Hugh de Turpleton quitclaimed it to Sir John and his wife Gille and their son John in 1338-9.²⁹ The new tenants had obtained a pardon from the king,³⁰ shortly after entering in the manor, of all debts and arrears of farms due at the Exchequer from William and Nicholas de Turville, contracted during the time of their shrievalty. Sir John de Molyms held the manor in 1346. He enfeoffed his son John de Molyms and his wife Joan for themselves and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to William the brother of the feoffee.³¹ John de Molyms the younger predeceased his father,³² but his widow Joan, who afterwards married Sir Michael Poyninges, held the manor till her death in 1369.³³ She had no children by her first husband, and it passed, according to the settlement by Sir John de Molyms, to William de Molyms. The latter died in 1380-1,³⁴ and the



TURVILLE. *Gules three chevrons vair.*

³ *Com. Incl. Awards.*

⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245b.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 25 Edw. I, no. 51(b).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, no. 38.

¹¹ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.*

214.

¹² *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 20.

¹³ *Ibid.* i, 44.

¹⁴ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

¹⁵ *Cur. Reg. R.* 55, m. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Cart. Antiq. R. Z.* 34.

¹⁸ *Cur. Reg. R.* 81, m. 8; Maitland,

Bracton's Note Bk. ii, no. 203.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245b.

²¹ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

²² Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 20 Hen. III.

²³ *Ibid.* Mich. 6 Edw. I; *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

²⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 25 Edw. I, no. 51 (b).

²⁵ *List of Sheriffs*, P.R.O.

²⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 524; Feet

of F. Bucks. Trin. 3 Edw. III.

²⁷ *Chart. R.* 7 Edw. III, m. 1, no. 3;

Cal. Pat. 1330-4, p. 493.

²⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 12 Edw. III.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 119.

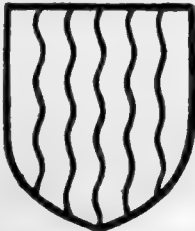
³⁰ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 43 Edw. III, pt. 2 (1st nos.), no. 15.

³¹ *Ibid.*

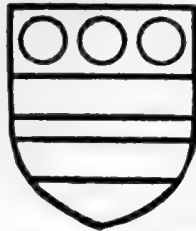
³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 4 Ric. II, no. 38.

manor was held by Margery his widow till her death.⁵⁵ It then passed to her grandson Sir William de Molyns,⁵⁶ who granted it to Margaret Bedford for life.⁵⁷ She held the manor at the death of a second Sir William de Molyns in 1429,⁵⁸ but his daughter and heiress Eleanor presumably entered on the manor on Margaret's death.⁵⁹ Eleanor married Robert Hungerford, Lord Hungerford and de Molyns,⁶⁰ and they held the manor of Weston Molyns jointly, but it was mortgaged in 1460⁶¹ with other lands to raise Lord Hungerford's ransom when taken a prisoner in Aquitaine. Lord Hungerford was attainted⁶² after the battle of Towton and died in 1465;⁶³ afterwards his wife married Sir Oliver Maningham, and brought a lawsuit to recover the



DE MOLYNS. *Paly wavy or and gules.*



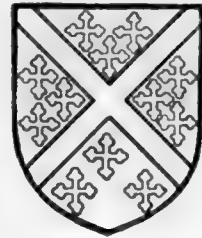
HUNGERFORD. *Sable two bars argent with two roundels argent in the chief.*

mortgaged manors,⁶⁴ alleging that the debts had been paid.⁶⁵ Apparently she recovered Weston Molyns, since in 1491⁶⁶ Maningham granted the manor to certain feoffees during his life, and afterwards quitclaimed to them his right in it for ever.⁶⁷ Eleanor's son and heir, Thomas Hungerford, was also attainted and beheaded in 1469.⁶⁸ On the accession of Henry VII the attainder was reversed, and Mary his daughter and heiress was restored in blood.⁶⁹ She was in the wardship of William, Lord Hastings, and was married to his son Edward.⁷⁰ The latter was created Lord Hungerford,⁷¹ and he and his wife recovered many of the manors belonging to her inheritance, Weston Molyns being among them.⁷² After the death of Edward Hastings his widow married Sir Richard Sacheverell, and they were in seisin of the manor in 1512.⁷³ It was apparently sold to Sir Andrew Windsor, first Lord Windsor, who also acquired the other moiety of Weston Turville about the same time. His grandson Edward, Lord Windsor, held the whole manor of Weston Turville in 1568,⁷⁴ and died seised of it.⁷⁵ Before 1617-18, however, his successor must have sold it to the family of Hill.⁷⁶ In that year William Hill settled the manor, after his

death and that of his wife Dorothy, on his son Bartholomew and Katherine his daughter-in-law and on their sons in tail male, with further remainders.⁷⁷ Bartholomew in the same year, however, was found to have been a lunatic for many years, but the 'lordship or manor of Weston Turville formerly known by the names of the manors of Weston Molyns and Weston Butlers' was still held by his mother according to the settlement.⁷⁸

Bartholomew's heir was his infant son William,⁷⁹ who may presumably be identified with the William Hill who held the manor in 1677.⁸⁰ Another William Hill had succeeded him in 1703,⁸¹ and, together with his wife Jane, was in seisin of Weston Turville Manor. He had died before 1717-18,⁸² when it was in the hands of Jane Hill, widow, Mary, Elizabeth, and Katherine Hill, and Martha Potter, widow, the last four being probably his daughters and heiresses. From them it seems to have passed to Henry Tomkins, who held the manor in 1754.⁸³ He died in 1784,⁸⁴ and Weston Turville presumably passed to his son Henry. The latter only survived his father a few years, and about 1789 his brother, Lieut.-Colonel Tomkins, succeeded him.⁸⁵ Lieut.-Colonel Tomkins died in 1800, and his widow held the manor during her life.⁸⁶ She presumably died about 1835, when it was advertised for sale⁸⁷ at the Auction Mart in London. It was then or shortly afterwards sold by H(enry) Tomkins to the Duke of Buckingham, who bought large estates in Buckinghamshire at this time. Many of them were mortgaged, and in a few years were seized by the mortgagees. Weston Turville was sold to Sir Anthony de Rothschild, bart.,⁸⁸ a few years before 1862, and Lord Rothschild is now lord of the manor.

The other moiety of the manor of Weston Turville was held by Roger Croft and his wife Cecilia, one of the heiresses of William de Turville.⁸⁹ Roger Croft held one fee in demesne,⁹⁰ and his moiety of the manor afterwards became known as the manor of WESTON BUTLERS. He and his wife obtained a quitclaim similar to that given to Simon de Turville and Petronilla from Gilbert de Bolebec in 1236.⁹¹ A Roger de Croft died in 1255,⁹² but he held no land in Buckinghamshire, and apparently his land, held in demesne, had passed to Hugh de Herdebergh in 1254.⁹³ Hugh was succeeded by his son Roger de Herdebergh,⁹⁴ who, however, died



WINDSOR. *Gules a saltire argent between twelve crosslets or.*

⁵⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Ric. II, no. 31; Close, 23 Ric. II, m. 4.

⁵⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Ric. II, no. 31.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 8 Hen. VI, no. 38.

⁵⁸ Ibid. ⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Feet of F. Div. Co. East. 38 Hen. VI.

⁶¹ Ibid.; Close, 38 Hen. VI, m. 9;

Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. IV, no. 56.

⁶² G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

⁶³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. IV, no. 56.

⁶⁴ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 12 Edw. IV.

⁶⁵ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 28, no. 111.

⁶⁶ De Banco R. Chart. Ent. Hil.

⁶⁷ Hen. VII, m. 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ De Banco R. Hil. 20 Hen. VII,

m. 147.

⁷² G.E.C. Complete Peerage.

⁷³ De Banco R. Hil. 20 Hen. VII,

m. 147.

⁷⁴ Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 4 Hen. VIII.

⁷⁵ Ibid. East. 10 Eliz.

⁷⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), clxxviii,

no. 47.

⁷⁷ Ibid. clxxi; Misc. 3 Chas. I, pt. 26,

no. 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid. cccxxxiii, no. 46.

⁷⁹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 28 Chas. II.

⁸⁰ Ibid. Trin. and East. 1 Anne.

⁸¹ Ibid. Hil. and Trin. 4 Geo. I.

⁸² Recov. R. Mich. 28 Geo. II.

⁸³ Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. ii, 497.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Lysons, Magna Brit. i, 661.

⁸⁶ Lipscomb, Hist. of Bucks. ii, 497.

⁸⁷ Sheahan, Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.

215.

⁸⁸ Maitland, Bracton's Note Bk. no. 203;

Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 262.

⁸⁹ Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.), 245b.

⁹⁰ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 20 Hen. III.

⁹¹ Cal. Inq. Hen. III, 87.

⁹² Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

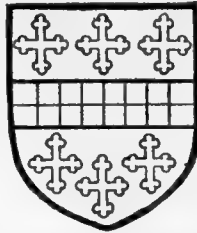
⁹³ De Banco R. 10 Edw. III, m. 348;

Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.), ii, 386;

Feud. Aids, i, 86.

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

before 1296,⁷⁵ when his land was held by his heirs, his two daughters Ella and Isabel. The former married William le Botiller of Wem,⁷⁶ and her sister may perhaps be identified with Isabel the wife of John de Hulle, who, jointly with her husband, granted the manor of Weston Turville to Ella widow of Walter de Hopton.⁷⁷ This perhaps was a settlement of the inheritance of the two sisters, since Ella may have been married to Walter de Hopton before her marriage with William le Botiller. It is, moreover, certain that this moiety of the manor of Weston Turville was not subdivided at this time, but passed to Ella and her heirs. Edmund le Botiller held one knight's fee in 1346,⁷⁸ and after his death it passed to his brother Edward.⁷⁹ He also died without direct heirs in 1376,⁸⁰ and the moiety of the manor of Weston Butlers was subdivided among his four sisters or their heirs.⁸¹ Dionisia, the eldest, was alive at the time of her brother's death, and was the wife of Hugh de Cokesey.⁸² The next sister Ida married William Trussel of Odiham, but she had predeceased her brother, and her purparty came to her daughter Margaret,⁸³ the wife of Fulk de Pembrugge.⁸⁴ In 1383 Fulk and Margaret granted their quarter of Weston Butlers to Walter de Cokesey the son and heir of Dionisia,⁸⁵ so that her descendants became possessed of a half. Another Walter de Cokesey died seised in 1407,⁸⁶ leaving Hugh his son and heir, aged three.⁸⁷ The latter died, and the moiety of the manor passed to his sister Joice,⁸⁸ whose husband was John Greville of Camden.⁸⁹ Their son Sir John Greville died seised probably in 1467⁹⁰ and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who assumed the name of Cokesey. He seems to have died in 1498–9,⁹¹ and was succeeded by his cousins Elizabeth and Margery, the daughters of Thomas Huddington and the descendants of Cecily, a sister of Joice Cokesey. In 1500⁹² Elizabeth was the wife of Robert Russel, and Margery of Robert Winter, and they sold their moiety of Weston Butlers in that year to Sir Reginald Bray for £120.⁹³ Elizabeth afterwards married as her second husband Sir Edward Stanley, and gave a further quitclaim to Sir Reginald Bray.⁹⁴ The latter died in 1503, and his niece Margaret,⁹⁵ who had married William Sandys, Lord Sandys,⁹⁶ inherited the greater part



BOTILLER. *Gules a fesse chequy argent and sable between six crosslets or.*

of his lands.⁹⁷ A dispute arose between them and Edmund Bray, a nephew of Sir Reginald, as to the partition of Sir Reginald's lands, but in 1510 a settlement was made through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, and the manor of Weston Turville was granted to Edmund.⁹⁸ He seems to have sold it to Sir Peter Vavasour, Edmund Windsor, and John Ede in 1529,⁹⁹ and ten years later Sir Andrew Windsor, Lord Windsor, was the lord of the manor,¹⁰⁰ which was united by him to the manor of Weston Molyns.

The third sister of Edward le Botiller, Alice, married Nicholas de Longville.¹⁰¹ She did not survive her brother, and her son Nicholas de Longville succeeded in 1376¹⁰² to a fourth part of the manor of Weston Butlers. A third Nicholas de Longville, her grandson, held this part of the manor in 1406.¹⁰³ Probably his share may be identified with the fourth part of the manor afterwards known as Whaplode's part. What Whaplode this was is unknown. A William Whaplode died presumably during the reign of Henry VI, since an inquisition on his lands was made in 1448.¹⁰⁴ The finding was, however, that he held no land in Buckinghamshire, and that neither the date of his death nor his heir could be ascertained. A man of the same name had been an escheator in the county in the reign of Henry V.¹⁰⁵ Whaplode's part, however, came to Sir Edmund Hampden, the second son of Edmund Hampden¹⁰⁶ of Great Hampden, and a vigorous Lancastrian partisan. He was attainted on the accession of Edward IV,¹⁰⁷ and his lands were forfeited. The king granted Whaplode's part for life to Richard and Thomas Croft in 1465,¹⁰⁸ and in 1467–8 their lands were specially exempted from the Act of Resumption of that date.¹⁰⁹ On the expiration of the grant this part of the manor seems to have remained in the hands of the Crown. Possibly it may be identified with a manor that Charles I held belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1650 it was taken into the hands of the commissioners for the sale of the honours, manor, and lands belonging to the king and queen.¹¹⁰

Ankaretta the fourth sister of Edward le Botiller married John Lestrangle of Blakemere, and her great-granddaughter Elizabeth Lestrangle obtained her fourth share of the manor of Weston Butlers on the death of Edward in 1376,¹¹¹ but being still a minor it was taken into the hands of the king.¹¹² Considerable confusion seems to have existed as to Elizabeth's true name, sometimes Joan¹¹³ and sometimes Elizabeth being given; but the latter seems to be correct.¹¹⁴

⁷⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 51(b).

⁷⁶ De Banco R. 308, m. 348.

⁷⁷ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 33 Edw. I.

⁷⁸ Feud. Aids, i, 124.

⁷⁹ De Banco R. 461, m. 59.

⁸⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 17.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Plea R. (Chester), 105, m. 3 d.

⁸⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 6 Ric. II.

⁸⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Hen. IV, file 57.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Harl. Soc. Publ. xxix, 425.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. IV, no. 72 (file 556).

⁹¹ Herald and Geneal. vi, 656. In the pedigree of the family Thomas is given as Walter, but this is probably a mistake,

since his heirs are the same as those of Sir Thomas Cokesey in the sale of the manor.

⁹² Feet of F. Bucks. East. 15 Hen. VII; De Banco R. East. 15 Hen. VII, m. 115; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Various, ii, 298.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 17 Hen. VII; De Banco R. Trin. 17 Hen. VII, m. 21 d.

⁹⁵ Miscell. Gen. et Herald. (new ser.), i, 62.

⁹⁶ Feet of F. Div. Co. Mich. 2 Hen. VIII.

⁹⁷ Close, 2 Hen. VIII, no. 30.

⁹⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 21 Hen. VIII.

⁹⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxi, no. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 17.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Coram Rege R. Mich. 8 Hen. IV, m. 106.

¹⁰³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 26 Hen. VI, no. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), iv, 319b.

¹⁰⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. IV, no. 43.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Cal. Pat. 1461–7, p. 473.

¹⁰⁸ Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), v, 589b.

¹⁰⁹ P.R.O. Parl. Surv. Bucks. 1649–

56, no. 20.

¹¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 17.

¹¹¹ Abbrev. Rot. Orig. (Rec. Com.), ii, 118 Ibid.

¹¹² Chan. Inq. p.m. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 17; De Banco R. Hil. Edw. III, m. 59; Chan. Inq. p.m. 22 Ric. II, no. 131; Fine R. 180, m. 21, 1 Ric. II, pt. 2; Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Ric. II, no. 60.

She married Thomas, Earl of Nottingham, but died in 1383¹¹⁸ while still a minor, and her share of the manor of Weston Butlers came to her aunt Ankaretta, her father's sister.¹¹⁹ Ankaretta was the wife of Sir Richard Talbot,¹²⁰ and her property came to her descendants, the Earls of Shrewsbury.¹²¹ The last time this part of the manor can be identified is in the inquisition on the lands of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who died seised of it in 1460,¹²² leaving his son John, aged twelve, as his heir. George Talbot, the fourth earl, married Anne daughter of William, Lord Hastings,¹²³ and sister to Edmund Hastings the husband of Mary Hungerford, who held the manor of Weston Molyns, and the fourth part of Weston Butlers probably came into the hands of the Hastings and passed with their manor to Lord Windsor, who obtained both Weston Molyns and Weston Butlers.



TALBOT. *Gules a lion and a border engrailed or.*

There is considerable obscurity in the descent of the third knight's fee in Weston Turville after its division among the sisters of William de Turville. Roger Croft paid scutage for it in 1234,¹²⁴ but he does not seem to have held it in demesne, and twenty years later it seems to have passed to Henry Hubald,¹²⁵ who held immediately of the honour of Leicester. He was succeeded by a family of the name of Charnells; in 1278 William de Turville¹²⁶ quit-claimed certain messuages and lands in Weston Turville for himself and his heirs to Nicholas de Charnells and his heirs in return for 12½ marks. Nicholas held the knight's fee in 1285.¹²⁷ He was succeeded before 1296-7 by George de Charnells.¹²⁸ In Warwickshire the name is also associated with the Turvilles and Herdeberghs,¹²⁹ so that it seems possible that the Charnells claimed their fee from Isabel, the third sister of William de Turville. In 1316 John de Longville appears as a military tenant in Weston Turville,¹³⁰ but possibly he was holding the land in wardship for one of the Charnells. At the close of the 14th century John Charnells and his wife Elizabeth held a manor in Weston Turville, which they sold to William Rede, clerk, and others, in 1396 for 200 marks.¹³¹ They were apparently the tenants in demesne, but this is the last time that the Charnells are mentioned, and the descent of their land is lost.

The sub-manor of *HIDE* in Weston Turville was

held as half a knight's fee of the manor of Weston Molyns.¹³² There is, however, some confusion as to the overlordship, since in the 13th century the half fee seems to have been held directly of the honour of Leicester,¹³³ and again in the reign of Henry VIII the manor of Hide was said to be parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, and held of the king as of the manor of Weston Turville.¹³⁴ Except in these two instances, however, the overlordship seems to have belonged to the manor of Weston Molyns and the half-fee is specially mentioned in the grant of that manor by Nicholas de Turville to Hugh de Turpleton.¹³⁵ In the early years of the 13th century Fulk de la Hide had several lawsuits with Robert de Turville about land in Weston Turville.¹³⁶ In one instance the land in question was said to contain two hides. John son of Fulk is also mentioned,¹³⁷ and in the time of Roger de Croft and Simon de Turville, Roger de la Hide held this half-fee.¹³⁸ He also paid scutage for it in 1234.¹³⁹ The manor of Hide afterwards passed to Robert Fitz Nigel, who was killed at the battle of Evesham.¹⁴⁰ Probably his widow Grace held it after his death, and she may have been the heiress of Roger de la Hide. In 1265-6 she obtained lands¹⁴¹ from Alan son of Gervase of Aldermanbury by exchange, and in 1287¹⁴² Robert Fitz Neel also bought land in Weston Turville from Roger le Sometur and his wife Alice. In 1302-3¹⁴³ Hide is mentioned, but the tenant's name is not given; in 1329, however, Robert Fitz Neel held the half fee,¹⁴⁴ and died seised of messuages, lands, and of rents of free and customary tenants in Weston Turville, leaving his daughter Grace as his heir.¹⁴⁵ These lands had been settled in 1317-18 on Grace, with remainder to her son, Robert de Nowers.¹⁴⁶ In 1346 the holding of Grace de Nowers in Weston Turville is described as one hide of land held as a knight's fee of John de Molyns.¹⁴⁷ Grace died about 1349,¹⁴⁸ and her lands passed to John son of John de Nowers.¹⁴⁹ Her capital messuage at Weston Turville was then of no value,¹⁵⁰ but her holding was released by the new tenant with other possessions as the manor of Weston Turville to King Edward III,¹⁵¹ Sir Ingelram Coucy, Earl of Bedford, and his wife Isabel, the daughter of the king.¹⁵² At this time it seems to have followed the same history as the manor of Fenels Grove in Great Kimble,¹⁵³ and came into the possession of Sir Robert Whitingham. He, however, gave Hide to his brother, John Whitingham,¹⁵⁴ who obtained a pardon from Edward IV in 1472 and retained the manor during the struggles of the Verneys to recover Sir Robert's lands. John died in 1485,¹⁵⁵ Margaret Verney being his heiress,¹⁵⁶ and in the same year Sir

¹¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Ric. II, no. 60.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 1 Hen. V, no. 52 (file 236).

¹²¹ Ibid. 7 Hen. IV, no. 68; *ibid.* 8 Hen. V, no. 127 (add. nos.); *ibid.* 9 Hen. V, no. 44 (file 289); *ibid.* 32 Hen. VI, no. 29.

¹²² Ibid. 38-9 Hen. VI, no. 58.

¹²³ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹²⁴ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 262.

¹²⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 20.

¹²⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 6 Edw. I.

¹²⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 86.

¹²⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, no. 51(b).

¹²⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1313-18, p. 27.

¹³⁰ *Feud. Aids*, i, 112.

¹³¹ Feet of F. Bucks. East. 19 Ric. II.

¹³² *Feud. Aids*, i, 98, 124; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xix, no. 36.

¹³³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

¹³⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxv, no. 160.

¹³⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 524.

¹³⁶ *Fines* (Rec. Com.), i, 245.

¹³⁷ *Rot. de Oblat. et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 389; *Fines* (Rec. Com.), i, 245-6.

¹³⁸ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 245b.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 252a.

¹⁴⁰ *Cal. Geneal.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 117.

¹⁴¹ Feet of F. Div. Co. Hil. 50 Hen. III.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* Bucks. Trin. 15 Edw. I.

¹⁴³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 98.

¹⁴⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 524.

¹⁴⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. III (1st

nos.), no. 75. His overlord was said to be William Botiller of Wern, but this may have been a mistake in the inquisition, since his daughter held lands of John de Molyns, and not of the Botillers.

¹⁴⁶ Feet of F. Bucks. Hil. 11 Edw. II; *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 413.

¹⁴⁷ *Feud. Aids*, i, 124.

¹⁴⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III (pt. 1), no. 81; *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 413.

¹⁴⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III (pt. 1) no. 85.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Cal. Anst. D.*, A. 387.

¹⁵² Cf. Great Kimble.

¹⁵³ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 121.

¹⁵⁴ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII* i, 45.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

John Verney and Margaret petitioned Henry VII for the recovery of her lands, including Weston Turville.¹⁵⁴ The manor, however, had been sold by John Whitingham in 1483-4 to Sir Henry Colet,¹⁵⁵ citizen and alderman of London, and the Verneys do not seem to have obtained it. In 1485 the manor was said to be held of the Verneys,¹⁵⁶ but at the death of Sir Henry Colet in 1505¹⁵⁷ it was held of the king. It passed to John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, son and heir of Sir Henry,¹⁵⁸ and was given by him to St. Paul's School.¹⁵⁹ The trustees of the school lands, the Mercers' Company of London, have held Hide¹⁶⁰ ever since, and they hold a court leet at the Manor Farm, the last having been held about twelve years ago.^{160a}



COLET. *Sable a chevron between three hinds tripping argent with three rings sable on the chevron.*

The name of *BEDGRAVE* can now only be traced in the name of a farm in Weston Turville. In the time of Edward the Confessor, however, it was held as a manor by Suen,¹⁶¹ a man of Alwin Varas, who could sell his land. After the Norman Conquest it was granted with Weston Turville to the Bishop of Bayeux,¹⁶² and his sub-tenant Roger held it at the time of the Domesday Survey. It was then assessed at two hides of land.¹⁶³ It does not seem to have followed the same descent as the rest of Roger's lands. In 1211¹⁶⁴ Ralph Malet paid half a mark for the enrolment of a release by Roger de Paschedale of all the land which the latter held of Ralph's fee in Bedgrave. This land may probably be identified with the half-fee held by the heirs of William Malet of the honour of Leicester in the 13th century.¹⁶⁵ The descent of Bedgrave cannot be traced further, and it probably was united with one of the other manors in Weston Turville. Early in the 19th century Bedgrave Manor Farm was the property of John Newman of Wendover.¹⁶⁶ In 1827 it was sold by him to John Hulbert of Stokes Hill, near Portsmouth, and in 1862 it belonged to Mr. G. A. Hulbert.¹⁶⁷

In 1086 there were said to be four mills in Weston Turville worth 33s. 4d.¹⁶⁸ At the end of the 14th century Walter de Gayton and his wife Amice¹⁶⁹ held four and a half carucates of land, a mill, and £4 rent in Broughton and Bedgrave, which were let at ferm to Michael of Northampton in 1276. Another mill is mentioned in 1346-7¹⁷⁰ in Weston Turville.

The church of *ST. MARY* consists of a chancel 30 ft. by 18 ft. 10 in. with a north vestry, a nave 62 ft. by 20 ft. 6 in., north and south aisles 9 ft. 2 in. and 9 ft. 6 in. wide respectively, a western tower 11 ft. 6 in. wide, and north and south porches. That there was a church here in the 12th century is to be assumed, and the present font and part of an octagonal shaft built into the south wall of the chancel are of that date, but the chancel arch and the three eastern bays of the south

arcade are the oldest part of the existing building, dating from the middle of the 13th century. The chancel was probably narrower than at present, and seems to have been rebuilt of its present width about 1340-50, the chancel arch being widened at the same time. About the same date a north aisle of five bays was added, and the south aisle rebuilt and lengthened westward by two bays to make it the same length as the north aisle.

In the 15th century a west tower was built, projecting but slightly beyond the west wall of the nave, and filling up the west bay of the arcades, within which it stands. The reason for this appears to be that the western limit of the churchyard was, as now, too close to the west end of the building to allow of the building of a tower wholly outside the nave in the usual fashion; a procession path within the boundaries of the churchyard would not then have been practicable, except by making an arched way through the tower from north to south, as has been done elsewhere in a good many instances. In this case the expedient of building the tower partly within the nave seems to have been considered the better solution.

At the same time, or soon afterwards, a clearstory was added to the nave, the chancel roof was heightened, the north aisle of the nave rebuilt, and the north vestry (or chapel) added. The lines of the 14th-century roofs of nave and chancel are still to be seen on the wall over the chancel arch.

The chancel has a modern east window of three lights with flowing tracery of 14th-century design, and in the north wall a two-light window of similar character, but old. To the west of it is a large arch, widened in modern times to hold the organ, leading into the north chapel or vestry, now also used as an organ chamber. It has a square-headed 15th-century east window of two cinquefoiled lights with upright cusped openings over, and a north door which is modern. There are three two-light windows in the south wall of the chancel, with modern tracery, but old jambs and rear arches of the same date as the north window; the middle of the three has flowing tracery, and the others have quatrefoiled circles in the head. At the south-east is a very pretty 13th-century piscina, with two drains and two pointed arches with a pierced quatrefoiled circle in the head and engaged shafts in the jambs. Into the same wall are built several architectural fragments, the *voussoirs* of a 13th-century arch with dogtooth ornament, two small armed figures of 13th-century date, perhaps part of a destroyed Easter sepulchre, and the 12th-century shaft already referred to.

The chancel arch is of rather clumsy shape of two hollow-chamfered orders, with responds of three engaged shafts having rather coarsely-moulded capitals.

The nave has a north arcade of five bays, the piers being of four half-round shafts attached to a central square, and the arches of two wave-moulded orders with labels and drips in the form of human heads; the capitals and bases are semicircular and moulded.

¹⁵⁴ *Parl. R. (Rec. Com.)*, vi, 317.

¹⁵⁵ *Cal. Inq. Hen. VII*, no. 111.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2)*, xix, no. 36.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* xxv, no. 160; xl, no. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Lysons, *Magna Brit.* i, 661; Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 497.

^{160a} From information kindly given by Mr. John Munger.

¹⁶¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 235a.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Pipe R.* 13 John, m. 1 d.

¹⁶⁵ *Testa de Nevill (Rec. Com.)*, 245b.

¹⁶⁶ Lipscomb, *Hist. of Bucks.* ii, 497.

¹⁶⁷ Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Bucks.* 497.

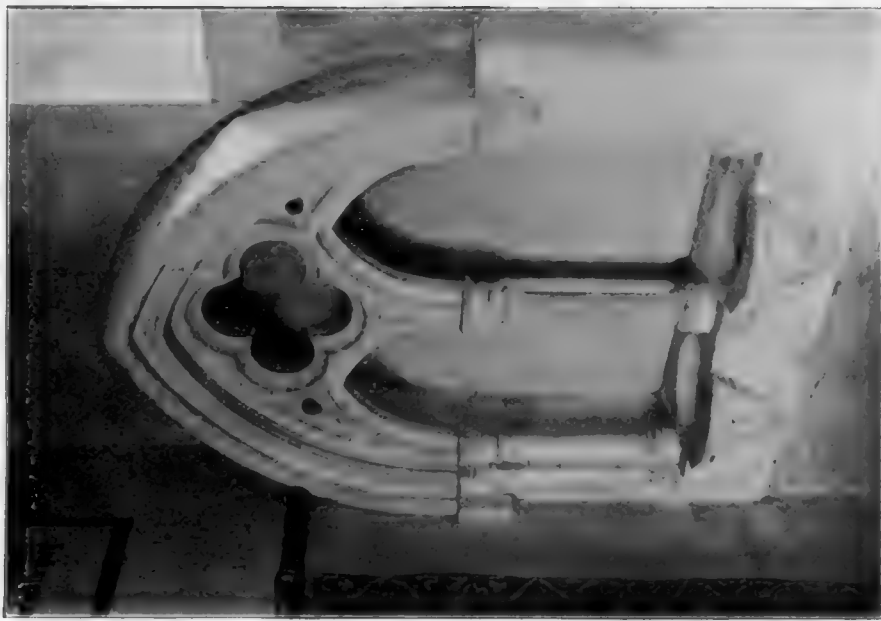
¹⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 234b.

¹⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, pp. 153, 178; Feet of F. Bucks. East. 15 Edw. I; *ibid.* Trin. 17 Edw. I.

¹⁷⁰ De Banco R. 345, m. 136 d.



WESTON TURVILLE CHURCH : THE FONT



WESTON TURVILLE CHURCH : PISCINA IN CHANCEL

The south arcade has two bays of the same description at the west, the three eastern bays being of two chamfered orders with a scroll label, and octagonal moulded capitals on round columns. The third bay is irregular, the western half of its arch being narrower than the eastern, and belonging to the date of the western bays, but copying the older detail. There is also a difference in span between the 13th and 14th-century bays, the former averaging 12 ft., the latter 10 ft. 6 in.

The clearstory has four windows a side, each of two cinquefoiled lights under a square head; they are spaced evenly between the tower and the east wall of the nave, and do not range with the arcades.

The north aisle opens to the north chapel by an arch of two chamfered orders, and at its south-east angle is the opening for the rood stair. In the north wall are four two-light 15th-century windows, cinquefoiled, with square heads and spandrels ornamented with trefoiled cusping in low relief on both faces. Between the second and third windows is the north doorway, a two-centred arch with continuous mouldings of mid 14th-century section, under a 15th-century wooden porch whose outer four-centred archway is partly built up on the west side. The west window of the aisle is c. 1350, with flowing tracery and good moulded details, of two trefoiled lights.

The south aisle has an east window of excellent 14th-century design, of two trefoiled lights with leaf tracery in the head, and a moulded rear arch and jambs with label. On either side are moulded image brackets, and at the south-east a trefoiled piscina recess with a shelf and drain, of the date of the window.

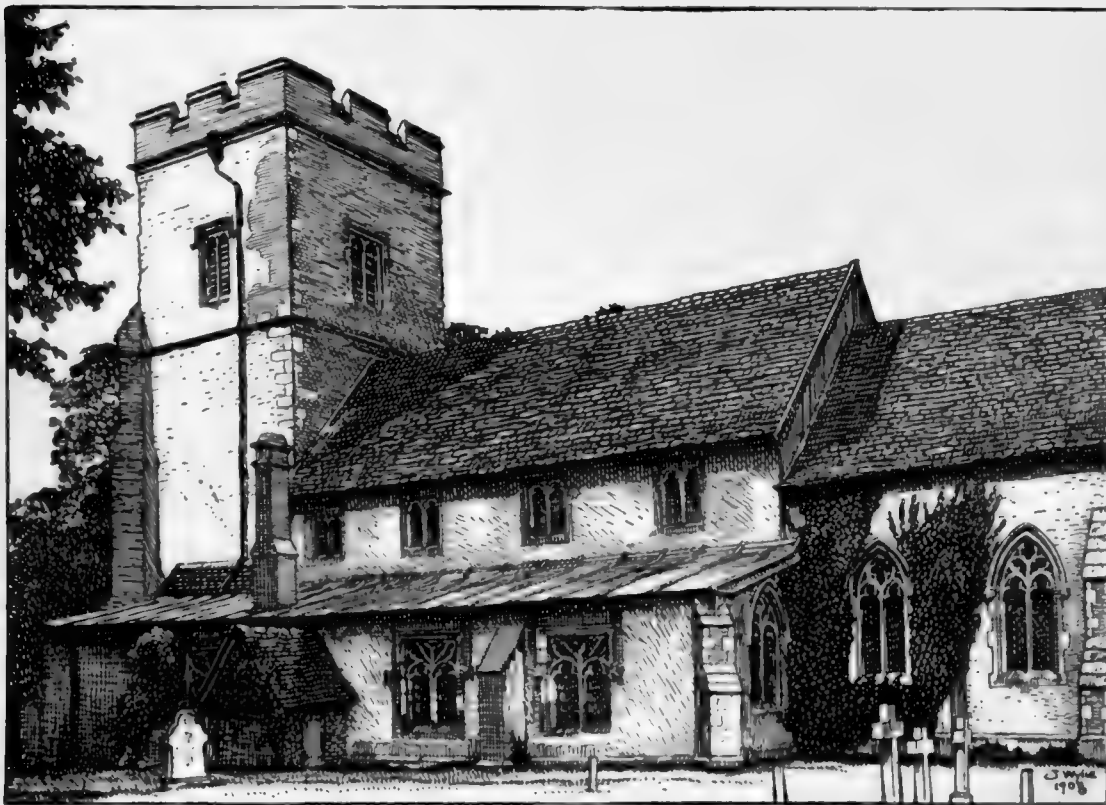
In the south wall are four square-headed two-light

14th-century windows of the same section and detail as the east window, but of unusual design, with cinquefoiled or feathered trefoiled heads and leaf tracery. The south doorway is between the second and third windows and is blocked up, the porch being also blocked and used as a coal-hole. The west window of the aisle is almost exactly like that of the north aisle, the tracery being modern. Externally the windows of the south aisle are a good deal made up in Roman cement, which destroys their effect to some extent, but in any case they are very remarkable specimens of 14th-century tracery, of bold and original design.

The tower is of three stages, embattled, with a half-octagonal stair projecting on the north face, and has square-headed belfry windows of two cinquefoiled lights, a wide cinquefoiled light on the west in the second stage, and in the ground stage a three-light west window over a four-centred doorway with continuous mouldings and plain spandrels under a square head.

The east arch is very tall, with an engaged shaft to the inner order and a wide splayed face on either side with continuous outer mouldings; in the north and south walls are four-centred chamfered arches opening to the aisles. The west bay of the south aisle is screened off as a vestry.

The roofs of nave and chancel are fine specimens of 15th-century detail, but the design of the former is inferior to the other. This has collars and arched braces, and a wide moulded wall plate, above which is a band of pierced cresting on which is set a line of modern shields with painted heraldry. The nave roof is of four bays, with tie-beams and collars with arched braces, the spandrels being filled with tracery



WESTON TURVILLE CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

A HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

below the tie-beams only, so that the upper members of the roof are rather empty, all the ornament being concentrated on the lower parts. The plates, as in the chancel, have open tracery with shields above them, but in this case the shields are blank. In the west bay on the north pairs of small shields take the place of the single shields elsewhere. Both aisles have lean-to roofs, that of the south aisle being modern, while the other retains some of its 15th-century timbers.

The wooden fittings of the church are all modern, except for the traceried head of a screen at the west end of the first bay of the south aisle; it is of 15th-century date, with a row of quatrefoiled circles over cinquefoiled heads. The pulpit also is old, of 17th-century date, with pretty low-relief bands of carving on the styles and rails, and there are two old chairs within the altar rails.

Just to the west of the screen head in the south aisle is a panel of oak with an inscription in incised letters filled in with black composition: 'Faith not exercised so one waxeth sicke. Ano domini 1578.'

The font stands in the third bay of the south arcade, and is a good example of the local late 12th-century type, with a large cup-shaped bowl, fluted below, and having a band of foliate ornament above, with a base like an inverted scalloped capital. In this instance there is only a single scallop on each face, filled in with foliate ornament. In the east window of the chancel is a half figure of our Lady and Child in white and gold 15th-century glass, and in the south-west window a shield of England with a label of France; the field is uncoloured. In the south aisle the tracery of the east and south-east windows is filled for the most part with original glazing, in conventional patterns of green, brown, and yellow. In the south-east window also is a quarry in one of the main lights, on which is the inscription, cut on the outer face:

Altiss^{mo} gloriosiss^{mo} Opt^{mo} Max^{mo} Laus et honor et
prostracio H.W. 1655.

On the north wall of the chancel is the brass figure of a man, c. 1600, with a shield having a cheveron between three crescents.

There are five bells, the treble by Chandler, 1700, the second blank, the third a London bell by John Danyell, c. 1460, inscribed 'Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum,' the fourth by Joseph Carter, 1590, and the tenor by the same founder, 1608.

The plate consists of a cup and cover paten of 1638, a flagon of 1694, given in 1697 by John Tipping, and two standing patens of 1608, given in that year by another man of the same name.

The first book of the registers contains the baptisms from 1538, the marriages from 1573, and the burials

from 1676 to 1720; the second contains baptisms and burials from 1721 to 1781, and marriages 1721-54; the third is the printed marriage register 1754-1812, and the fourth the baptisms and burials 1781-1812.

The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** Weston Turville was held by William de Turville at the close of the 12th century. In 1206¹⁷¹ he granted it to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, with the manor for thirteen years. On the subdivision of the lands and property of the younger William de Turville the advowson does not seem to have been divided, but probably was assigned to Cecilia and her husband Roger Croft. It came in consequence to the heiresses of Roger de Hederbergh,¹⁷² and passed to his daughter Ella and from her to the Botillers. After the death of Edward Botiller the advowson was held by his four sisters or their heirs,¹⁷³ each co-parcenor presenting every fourth time.¹⁷⁴ The whole advowson passed to the Windsors and the Hills in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁷⁵ In 1660 the Crown presented,¹⁷⁶ and in 1678 John Tipping.¹⁷⁷ The year before, however, William Hill and his wife Mary owned the advowson,¹⁷⁸ and the Hills probably had recently recovered it. It was settled by William Hill in that year on his son William, who, however, sold it in 1691 to All Souls College, Oxford.¹⁷⁹ The warden and fellows presented in 1722,¹⁸⁰ and are still the patrons of the living, which is a rectory.

The lords of Weston Molyns Manor also claimed the advowson of the church of Weston Turville,¹⁸¹ but it does not seem probable that they ever presented to the benefice.

There is a Baptist chapel at Weston Turville, which was built in 1855.

In 1604 William Findall, as appearing from a tablet in the parish church of Aylesbury, gave £6 13s. 4d. to be paid on Mid-Lent Sunday out of Summer Leys in Weston Turville, out of which 6s. 8d. was to be given to the poor of Weston, the remainder being applicable in Aylesbury.

Widow Turpin's Charity is endowed with 10 a. 1 r. 34 p. in this parish, now let at £22 a year, which is distributed in bread.

The Pennant Trust.—In 1837 the Rev. Thomas Pennant, a former rector, by deed dated 20 January (enrolled), conveyed unto the then rector two cottages near the rectory upon trust that the net rents and profits should be applied in November and December in the distribution of articles of useful clothing to any number not exceeding six in any one year of the poorest inhabitants of the parish, constant attendants at divine service in the parish church.

The cottages are let at £8 a year, the net income is usually divided equally among six poor people.

¹⁷¹ Cart. Antiq. P.R.O., Z. 38.
¹⁷² Cf. manor of Weston Butlers; Feet of F. Bucks. Trin. 33 Edw. I.

¹⁷³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 49 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 17; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 350.

¹⁷⁴ *Coram Rege* R. 582, m. 106; *De Banco* R. 461, m. 59; *Hist. MSS. Com.*

Rep. Various, ii, 298; Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Edw. IV, no. 43; *ibid.* 38 & 39 Hen. VI, no. 58.

¹⁷⁵ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 21 Hen. VIII; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccccxxxiii, no. 46.

¹⁷⁶ P.R.O. Inst. Bks.

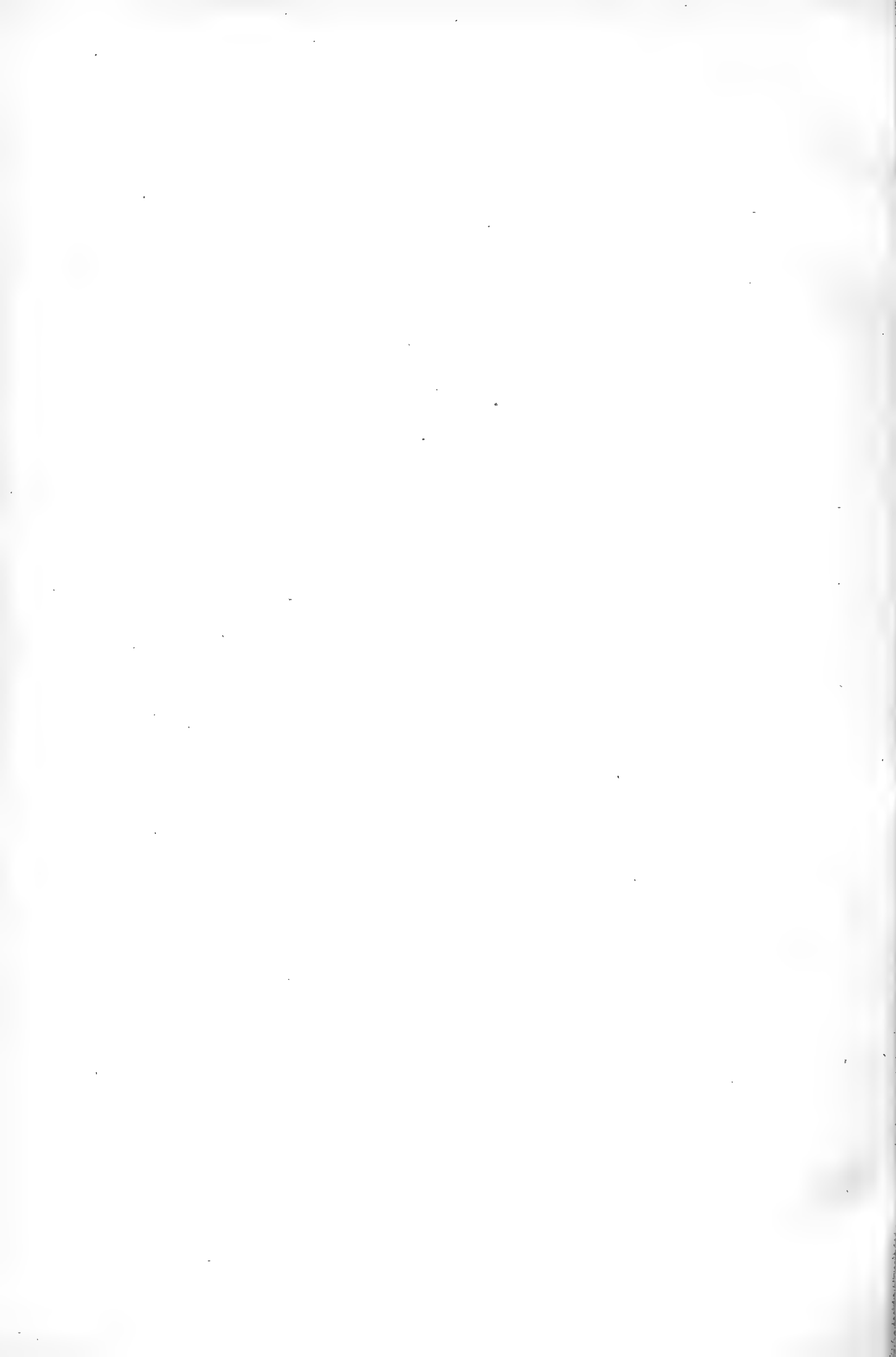
¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

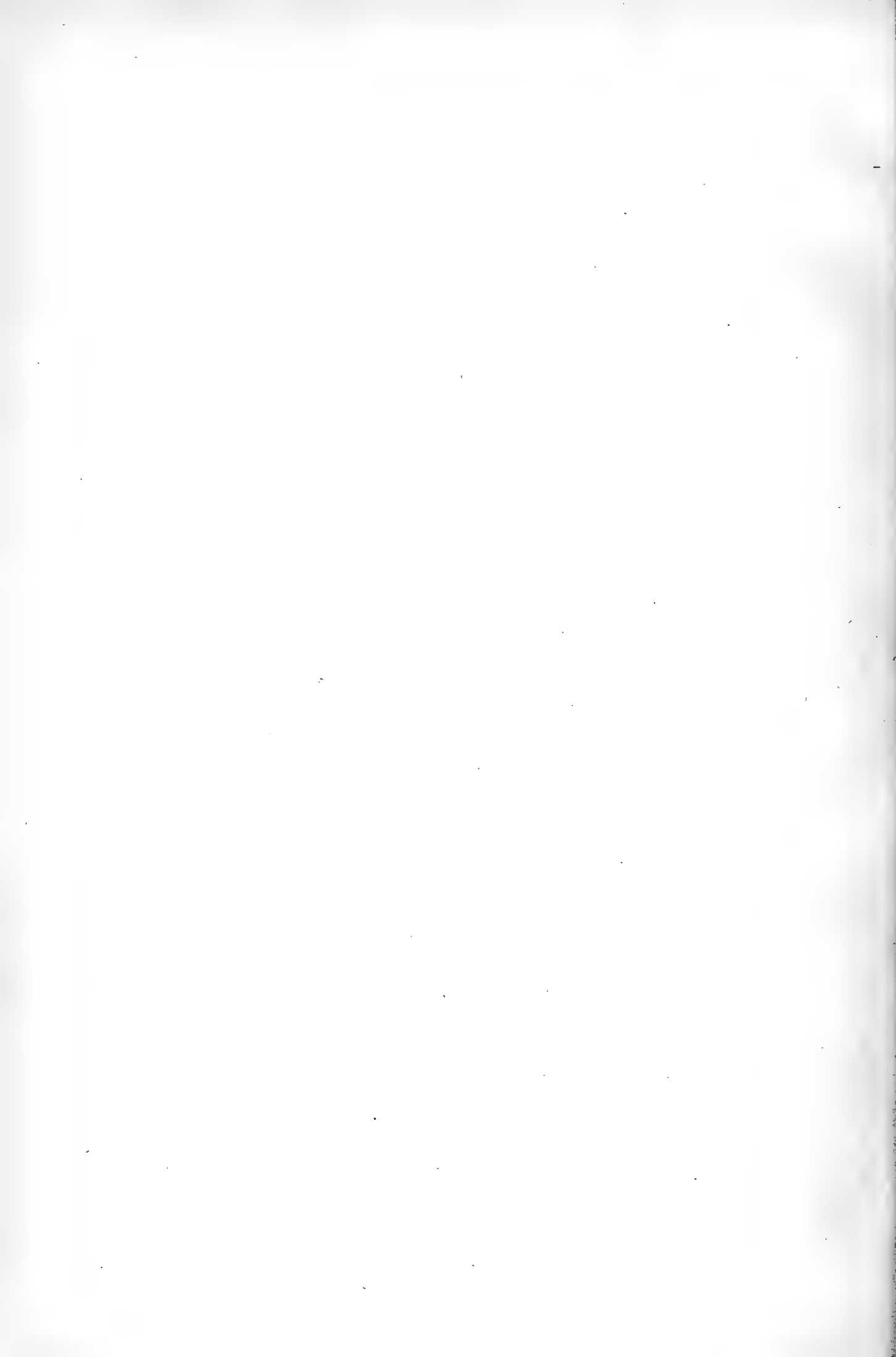
¹⁷⁸ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 28 Chas. II.

¹⁷⁹ C. T. Martin, *Cat. of the Archives of All Souls Coll.*

¹⁸⁰ P.R.O. Inst. Bks.

¹⁸¹ Feet of F. Bucks. Mich. 14 Edw. III; Chan. Inq. p.m. 43 Edw. III, pt. 2 (1st nos.), no. 15.







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The Victoria history of the
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